

# **JAN ERASMUS REYNING, PRIVATEER AND HERO**

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The period of great pirate activity in the Caribbean was the seventeenth century. By 1700, says David Marley <sup>1</sup>, “the high water mark of piracy had been reached and would begin to recede.” The Age of Rembrandt is thus also the age of piracy, and this is no coincidence. The Dutch Republic grew powerful in that Golden Age thanks to the rise of colonial expansion and overseas trade, which brought the nation into conflict with other nations pursuing the same goals (there were three wars between the English and the Dutch alone). The wealth thus acquired enabled its citizens to patronize great painters, who proliferated as if in response to the demand.

The English-speaking world thinks of pirates as people who led adventurous lives and found buried treasure; Johnny Depp's movies are the latest incarnation of this image. In Spanish America, on the contrary, pirates are remembered to this day as frightening and profoundly wicked men who robbed and killed innocent Spanish settlers. The reason why the English speaking world's jolly adventurers and even national heroes such as Sir Francis Drake are the Spanish speaking world's seagoing thugs, is easy to understand: it is a question of ownership of territory. For the Spanish, the matter was simple. Columbus discovered the New World in 1492, a year later the Pope divided the world between Spain and Portugal, and a year after that the two countries signed the Treaty of Tordesilas, confirming the division. By virtue of this agreement, all of the West Indies was Spanish, Spain had a monopoly on trade with its colonies, and so foreigners who traded with them, or established their own settlements, were enemy invaders.

For the other European powers, who of course rejected these claims, things were equally simple. They had the right to create a settlement anywhere in the West Indies and to

defend it. For this purpose they had the right to attack and seize Spanish settlements, and when their country was at war with Spain, as was frequently the case, they claimed the right to capture and loot Spanish settlements and to seize Spanish merchant vessels at sea. They also behaved in this manner among themselves, of course; every French or British or Dutch fleet took and retook islands, many of which thus changed hands several times. A related result of this competition was that pirates in the course of their career might serve different nations - we shall see that Reyning did - and pirate crews were international.

In wartime, governors of colonies would call on pirate captains and their crews to swell the ranks of fleets sent from the mother country, and these experienced fighters were very useful. The captains would be issued with commissions, and any merchant vessel they captured was brought back and sold. In Port Royal (today Kingston, Jamaica), the capital of British piracy in the Caribbean, one-tenth of the proceeds went to the King and one-fifteenth to the governor. In peacetime, the pirates insisted that Spain was still the enemy, and that their commissions were still valid, and so they continued to plunder. The colonial governors seldom could or would do anything about this. As one French governor of Tortuga Island explained: "it is certain that if one wishes to prevent these sorts of voyages, they will become *forbans* [outlaws], and one could never have their services again." The French pirates' headquarters at Petit-Goâve, near modern Port-au-Prince, Haiti, was in theory under his rule.

The idea of hiring pirates to fight your wars seems strange to us, but seventeenth-century European powers used mercenary soldiers, the equivalent on land, who - like pirates - got their food by stealing it from settlements. For a Spanish fleet raised to defend the colonies, the Armada de Barlovente, private individuals bought the ships and got to captain them. For d'Estrées' fleet, which we shall meet in due course, Louis XIV provided the ships and soldiers, but private individuals put up needed money in an arrangement called *course de compte et demi* (joint-venture privateering).

A privateer, I should explain, is a pirate with a commission. These people had a variety of names, in fact. The French pirates called themselves *boucaniers*, a word derived from *boucan*, smoked meat. It refers to one way they made a living on the island called Hispaniola. When the Spanish governor of Santo Domingo ordered his settlers to move

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closer to the capital, they had to abandon much of their livestock, so that feral cattle roamed the interior. The *boucaniers* would come from the west end of the island (modern Haiti) and adjoining Tortuga Island, and live in the woods for two or three years at a time, shooting the cattle, eating the best parts, leaving the rest of the meat to rot (smoking none of it despite their name), and eventually taking the hides home to sell them and buy more powder and shot. When the cattle were all gone they concentrated on piracy, and now they were joined, says Vrijman, by “the scum of the sea, mostly Englishmen.” The British pirates took the name of buccaneers also, but the French disliked them (because, for one thing, they looted Spanish churches, beat and killed monks and raped nuns) and so adopted the name *flibustiers* instead, which is derived from the English “freebooter”, or the Dutch *vrijbouter*.<sup>2</sup>

I am not aware that any Dutch island served as a centre for piracy, but there were Dutch pirates. Reyning met several of them, but not the two most notorious, Nicolas van Hoorn and Laurens de Graff. The latter, known to the Spaniards by the placatory diminutive of Lorencillo, was the brilliant tactician who sacked Veracruz in 1683.

The activities of pirates are seldom recorded in one convenient location; one typically has to do a long search through various civil and naval archives to find where their paths crossed those of the authorities (whether they were being commissioned or permitted to practise their trade, or punished for it). In the case of the Dutch pirate Jan Erasmus Reyning, however, we actually have his own account of his life.<sup>3</sup> He told it in 1691 to Dr. David van der Sterre, the doctor in charge of the slave trading depot on Curaçao. Van der Sterre’s account is an interesting document even though it is almost unreadable: his sentences are ill-formed, you can never tell to whom or what his pronouns refer, and above all he sometimes seems not to have understood Reyning. This is no doubt partly because he was a doctor and not a seaman. Fortunately his account was revised and made clearer in 1937 by L.C. Vrijman, and that is the version I here present. We shall see that the account sometimes contradicts itself (as well as the historical facts), and Vrijman added a few attempts at explanation

Reyning was born in Flushing (Vlissingen, in the province of Zeeland) in 1640. His father was a sailor, originally from Denmark - thousands of sailors from all over Europe found work at that time in Dutch merchant and naval vessels - and the lad went to sea at the

age of ten. War with England broke out in 1652, and father and son served together on a privateer capturing English shipping. On the second voyage Jan Erasmus' father was killed before his eyes in a battle. Thereafter the lad was in the Dutch navy. In the second Anglo-Dutch war he was captured and imprisoned in Ireland. He escaped three times and generally made himself such a nuisance that at the end of the war he was among the first prisoners to be exchanged.

In 1667 he signed on with a ship going to Surinam. Its crew discovered that the Dutch colony founded at Cayenne in 1663, which had been taken by the French and then by the English, had been abandoned; so a garrison of six men was put ashore, with Reyning in charge. Within two months the French came and reclaimed the place, and Reyning found himself a prisoner on Martinique. Here he caught the eye of the governor - or perhaps he was given to that gentleman as a servant. He might have been content to be a French boatman, but the governor, who was about to retire, proposed to take him back to France with him. So when they reached Tortuga, Reyning slipped away and went to work on a plantation in Santo Domingo. He soon realized that the labourers there were literally worked and beaten to death, and so became the indentured servant of a *boucanier*. Two years in the woods, and he was ready to go back to sea. Soon he was serving aboard an English privateer with a Dutch master, Captain Casten from Amsterdam. At least, van de Sterre calls Casten a privateer, but Vrijman comments that neither England nor Holland was at war with Spain at the time, so even if Captain Casten had a commission, it must have expired. Such irregularities were common.

At Port Royal, Reyning became co-owner of a ship with another Dutchman called Jelles Lecat. So says van de Sterre, but even though captured ships often sold cheaply, it seems surprising that he could afford it. He may well have had a share less than half. The account then says he sailed with, and made captain of the vessel, a third Dutch pirate called Rok Brasiliano, whom he chose for his experience. He certainly could not have chosen him for congenial company. Born in Groningen, he took his nickname from the Dutch colony in Brazil, which he had been chased out of. Other pirates admired his courage, but when he got drunk he would slash at people on the streets with his sword, and once when he landed at a

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settlement and asked where he could steal pigs (pirate crews spent half their time scavenging for food) and the locals couldn't tell him, he roasted some of them on spits. Rok and Reyning soon quarrelled, duelled, and parted company. By this time Reyning was mate of another captured ship, and its co-owner with Lecat, who was the captain. He and some of his crew went ashore to shoot cattle, got lost in the forest for three weeks, and at one point were so weak that they could only lie under wild plum trees and wait for the fruit to drop. Somehow they crawled to the shore, swam out to an island and were rescued.

Reyning might have gone for years as a privateer, in the company of Lecat, Rok Brasiliano and others of that ilk, but inevitably international politics intervened. Years of raiding of Spanish settlements by British pirates had finally provoked some small Spanish raids in retaliation. A Spanish privateer from Santiago de Cuba turned the tables and inflicted a little damage on Jamaican settlements. Furious, the governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, organized reprisals. Vrijman quotes the British Colonial state papers on the topic. The governor's instructions to the commanding officer of the expedition are a masterpiece of hypocrisy: he was to attack Santiago de Cuba or such other place as he saw fit. In fact, the commander was the notorious Henry Morgan, he had two thousand men under him - the largest pirate force ever assembled - and the target was the wealthy city of Panama, the transshipment point at which silver from Peru was loaded onto mules and carried across the isthmus on its way to Spain. It was 1671 and Morgan had ten years' experience of such operations.

It is hard, through the double filter of van de Sterre and Vrijman, to tell how important a role Reyning claimed to have played in the great sack of Panama. At moments one has the impression he and Morgan were the leaders, though he says he was fifth in command in Morgan's regiment on the march overland, a more modest rank. Morgan and Bradley were the leaders, with 1,000 men each; Reyning was perhaps a company commander. Exquemelin<sup>4</sup> makes no mention of Reyning anywhere in his very popular book *Histoire des boucaniers d'Amérique*, though he was on this expedition as a ship's doctor.

Be that as it may, the fleet landed on the Caribbean coast of Panama. Their goal, of course, lay on the other side of the isthmus, the Spanish had been told by a turncoat that they

were coming, and the harbour at the mouth of the Chagres River was defended by a heavily armed fort, the Castillo San Lorenzo. 470 men, including Reyning, Lecat and Rok, were sent to take it, which they did after two days' fighting, killing 340 crack Spanish soldiers, but Bradley and all but 100 attackers died and few of the survivors escaped without wounds. It was Reyning who carried the fort on the second day, or so he says.

The march across the isthmus took ten days and involved steep mountains, thick jungle, disease, poisonous snakes, and Indian attacks. A guide led them to the city via back trails, so that the 1,200 attackers had the advantage of surprise when they fell upon 400 cavalymen, 2,400 infantrymen, six or seven hundred Indians, hundreds of blacks, and two herds of mad bulls who were meant to charge the enemy ranks and break them up in confusion.<sup>5</sup> In the ensuing battle, 600 of the defenders died and the rest scattered, having no desire to regroup; for one thing, they noticed that the buccaneers shot their prisoners. One reason for the attackers' savagery was that the pirates never brought food with them, so they had to win in order to eat. In any case, the Spanish had little ammunition or artillery and the pirates were experienced fighters.

The city thus fell without much resistance. For four weeks it was thoroughly looted, anything the pirates had no use for (such as priceless Chinese porcelain) was smashed, then the city was burned down. 175 mules laden with booty were driven to the Caribbean coast, along with 3,000 prisoners for whom it was hoped to secure a ransom. Now Morgan had all his crews searched, and any booty worth more than a shilling was seized in order to share it out according to a prearranged plan; then he sailed away with all of it.<sup>6</sup>

And so Reyning found himself none the richer for his bravery. Off Cartagena (present-day Colombia) he was chased by a Spanish coastguard, he sought help from Morgan and was refused, so he sailed to Jamaica. Here he found that all those who had bought commissions to take part in the sack of Panama now had to hand them in. He told the authorities that he would go out and persuade his partner, Jelles Lecat to do so. Once he found him, of course, they sailed away.

The British were not as naive as this might suggest. They were always reluctant to take strong action against piracy, lest the pirates take commissions from other countries and

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Jamaica lose the profit from their raids. And this is what Reyning did. Back off the Mexican coast, Reyning met a British naval vessel which tried to arrest him, and he had to take refuge in Campeche harbour. Here he made the boldest move of his career: he offered his services to the Spanish as a coastguard. For years the Campeche coast had been infested with Englishmen who lived in the forest and cut down logwood, a species of tree whose resin yielded a dyestuff, selling the logs to English vessels that snuck into the Laguna de Términos. Here was a clever way to get revenge on the English and make them pay him his prize money.

The story he told van de Sterre is as follows: he put the proposal to his crew, and the English members refused. They wanted to prey on Spaniards, they said, with or without a commission. Now Reyning went on shore – an odd thing to do, we may think, when some of his crew were discontented – and returned to find them mutinying and drunk on wine from a Spanish merchant vessel they had recently captured. Reyning turned to the captured Spanish crew and promised that if they helped quell the mutiny he would serve the King of Spain. They did, alongside Reyning's Dutch and French crew members, and he set the English crew ashore on an island to await rescue. How much of this story is true, is hard to say - Marley calls the mutiny “suspiciously convenient.”<sup>7</sup> Certainly the story that the Spanish crew helped seems designed to flatter the Spanish authorities. No matter, an experienced naval fighter was someone they could use. Within a year Reyning's ship had captured 32 English merchant ships. The records of the furious British do not show Reyning's name, however, because he stayed in port and conducted the business arising out of these operations, while the actual patrolling and fighting was done by Lecat. We know that in 1669 this partnership had been in the logwood trade themselves!

Then Reyning learned that war had broken out between England and France on one side and the Netherlands on the other, and he resigned his Spanish commission and hastened to Curaçao to receive a Dutch one. He was very welcome there. The island was cut off from home by enemy blockade and, being barren, could not support its large population of smugglers and slave-traders. It was the depot for slaves destined for Spanish America. (A Dutch company had the monopoly; the other traders were technically smugglers, since their

trade with the Spanish American colonies, while welcomed by the settlers, was illegal).

And so, from 1673 to 1675, Reyning became a hero in the eyes of Dr. David van de Sterre and the entire population of Curaçao. In the course of his privateering on their behalf, he lost one ship which he half-owned, and was given the command and a quarter ownership of another one. The Dutch West India Company gave him no ship and no reward, merely a vote of thanks. He captured Saint-Eustatius, only to be informed by the English governor that peace had been declared between England and the Netherlands and the island was to be returned to the Dutch. He captured the brother of the governor of Marie-Galante, to whom he released him. The captive was very unwilling to leave Reyning's ship, as he had been treated so well. The shipload of meat, fruit and wine that he received as ransom furnished the wedding feast of Jan Donker, the governor of Curaçao. Reyning also, at Donker's request, entertained the guests by storming and taking the fort with a hundred men, firing powder but no shot. No beer or wine was served until after the show!

France was still an enemy, and Reyning harassed French ships in company with another Dutchman, Jurriaen Aernouts. He captured the French fort at Grenada, but when a naval vessel could not dislodge him, the settlers starved him out. He negotiated surrender terms, but the French reneged on them and imprisoned him and his crew on Martinique. He and a few others spiked the guards' wine so that they fell asleep, escaped in a hijacked dugout canoe, but were carried off course into Lake Maracaibo, where the canoe fell apart. When he finally got back to Curaçao, he went home to Amsterdam. The word "home" may seem surprising, but he had a wife and children, whom he had not seen for nine years. He would have returned after the sack of Panama, but in Jamaica his crew got very drunk and the captain with whom he had arranged his and their passage got scared and left in haste without them.

In a few weeks he was asked to serve under Captain Jacob Binckes. Here van de Sterre's record would appear to be less reliable than usual. It suggests that Reyning won all the battles, and that Binckes was a fool who claimed all the credit. In fact, Reyning commanded only an 8-gun vessel, when a ship of the line carried fifty guns or more. Binckes was a veteran naval commander, having been in two Anglo-Dutch Wars and led a successful



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expedition in 1673 in which - in cooperation with Cornelis Evertsen, better known as Keesje Duivel - he captured 34 English and French prizes, destroyed 150 more, and retook New York. In this new campaign, in 1676, he captured Cayenne, Marie-Galante and Saint-Martin before landing at Tobago and fortifying it against the inevitable French counterattack.

This came soon, in the form of a fleet led by the Duc d'Estrées, a favourite of Louis XIV but a poor general and a worse admiral. On March 3, 1677, he sailed his fleet right into the harbour. In the ensuing firestorm he destroyed ten of Binckes' thirteen ships but lost six of his own; meanwhile, repeated infantry assaults on the fort failed, with heavy losses, and d'Estrées retreated. Back in Paris he was feted as a hero for destroying the Dutch fleet, and he was given another one and told to try again.

When he arrived off Tobago again in December, Binckes had still not been reinforced; he had 500 men to defend the island against a thousand French troops or more. D'Estrées did not bother with the harbour, since there were only two ships in it, but attacked the fort. This time, moreover, he used his artillery. And as luck would have it, the third shot hit the powder magazine and blew up Binckes and his officers (they were just sitting down to lunch) and all the defendants – except Reyning. He did not believe in formal lunch, he said; he was on a ship. Perhaps rather he was too junior to sit at that table. In any case, he and a few men fled overland, found a sloop and sailed it with a mast made of two oars and a sail made of two shirts, for ten days, reaching Aruba - they were too weak from hunger to alter course and put into Curaçao. When Reyning got to the latter island, he set about fortifying it. D'Estrées, however, ran his entire fleet aground on rocks in the Islas Aves, east of Bonaire; a *boucanier* ran aground and fired a warning shot, and D'Estrées thought the shot meant: follow me.

Again Reyning went back to the Netherlands. For some years he sailed merchant vessels between Holland and Spain - and even up and down the Spanish coast, since Spain was now such a weak sea power that she relied on foreigners to build her ships and carry on her coastal trade for her. Whereas Reyning says no ill of the Spanish authorities he served as a coastguard based in Campeche, he has some strange stories about those he served in Spain. And none is stranger than his account of a voyage in 1687-88 to deliver a cargo of slaves

from Curaçao to ports along the South American coast of the Caribbean. All his stories show him as both brave and clever; on this occasion he had to be very clever.

Spain had not the sea power to transport its own slaves, and by 1685 the Dutch West India Company had a virtual monopoly of this trade. The Spanish, who in theory had a monopoly on all trade with their colonies, disliked this situation and so hired the Coymans Company of Amsterdam to act as middlemen. This complication was further compounded by the constant struggle between Church and State for temporal power in Spain and its colonies. In this war the Church scored a victory when the Inquisition, on 5 March 1687, declared the slave contract null and void on the grounds that the Coymans were Lutheran heretics, liable to infect the slaves with wrong ideas during the voyage from Africa!

Reyning relates that his job was made even harder by a Father Francisco de Rivas, who came on board at Cádiz, over the objections of the papal nuncio there, but with the support of the Jesuits, who said he was to convert the slaves to Catholicism. Reyning believed the man was not set on conversion, but on seizing Reyning's cargo for himself, and blamed him for all the trouble he had on that voyage. At Cumaná, Rivas persuaded the authorities to sell him a cargo of slaves from an illegal Portuguese ship which Reyning had seized en route, thus depriving the Coymans Company of the prize money. At Cartagena, Rivas had Spanish officials search the ship inch by inch for contraband. They seized small items from the crew but found nothing to justify seizing the ship. Furious, Rivas drew a cross on Reyning's chest and said, "I swear by this cross that I will do everything in my power to take this ship away from you." Then he invited Reyning to anchor within range of the fort's guns so that food and drink might more easily be brought *for the slaves*. Needless to say, Reyning talked his way out of that trap. At Portobelo, the last stop, Rivas tried to persuade officials to seize the ship, tried to raise a gang of sailors to rush on board and seize Reyning, then tried to incite the crew to mutiny. Reyning's response was to politely inform the governor that if the local militia attacked his ship, as rumour had it that they would, he would be regretfully obliged to destroy the town and the fort. When the guns of the fort were trained on him, he sailed out of port in the middle of the night, with only himself and his son on deck; the ship took a few cannonballs but suffered no great damage. He sent a crew to return

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one of the cannonballs to the governor “in case he should need it again.” Contradictory orders reached that gentleman from Madrid: Reyning was to be left alone; he was to be detained till two cruisers came to arrest or sink him. Reyning left none too soon. His bravery had saved the Coymans a ship and 180 000 pieces of eight. A few months later a sister ship was seized and sold for “smuggling” food and drink for its own crew.

Much as I hate to spoil a good yarn, however, Rivas may have had nothing to do with the harassment by the various port authorities. Vrijman states that the Coymans’ slaving contract was not renewed in 1687 because the Inquisition objected to a Protestant company having it. In reality the Inquisition was by then very weak and may not have influenced the decision. The villains of the story were probably the Spanish customs officers, who constantly found problems with cargoes, in order to receive bribes. The Coymans may well have ordered their captains to ignore the outstretched palms.

With this success van de Sterre's story ends, but Vrijman discovered some details about the rest of Reyning's life. Thus we know that in 1689 he was made a *commandeur* in the Dutch navy, and in 1694 was given command of a 44-gun warship, the *Drakesteyn*. He took part in the disastrous attack on Brest, and for his bravery he was given the rank of *Extraordinaris kapitein*. After various small naval actions, he spent the winter of 1697 in Portsmouth, and then was made vice-admiral of a convoy of merchantmen sailing to Bilbao. That city is a few miles up a river, which has a sandbar at its mouth, and the convoy pilot said the water over the sandbar was too shallow; they would have to wait for a very high tide. Two days later a sudden storm tore the flagship and Reyning's ship from their anchors and drove them on the rocks; he and over four hundred other men drowned: a stupid end for someone who had risked his life in countless fights.

Marley described Reyning as a “relatively minor historical figure [who] is nonetheless remembered because of [his] highly detailed - albeit boastful and colourfully exaggerated - biography.”<sup>8</sup> The judgment seems at first to contradict Vrijman's statement that van de Sterre's account fits with the known facts, but the two can be reconciled. Vrijman seems to be speaking of the salient facts of Reyning's life; some of Reyning's more death-defying episodes may be exaggerated or invented - sailors' yarns - but essentially,

where it is colourfully exaggerated is in the details. For example, we have seen that Reyning gives the impression he and not James Bradley led the battle for the Castillo San Lorenzo, though later he admits his rank was more modest. He also implies that he was second in command to Binckes, who consistently denied him proper credit for his achievements, and that he once called Binckes a liar to his face. His bravery seems certain, but some exaggeration in the detail of battles is also probable. Thus he claims that when serving under Captain Casten, he was the only man to get on board a merchantman, was driven back, boarded again (still alone), and the third time was joined by two Frenchmen, the brothers Campagnie, and then everybody else joined in and the prize was captured.

We must also give him credit for his native intelligence. It is surely not insignificant that he was in charge of the six-man party that briefly reoccupied Cayenne (he styles himself Governor of the place), or that he caught the eye of the Governor of Martinique as a bright lad; and that the captain of the *Witte Lam* was quite prepared to take him home from Jamaica, but not his crew; and that he was the one to deal with the authorities when he was a Spanish coastguard. He is portrayed as the practical pirate; if food is needed he is the one who goes and finds it. And of course, his handling of the diabolical Jesuit Rivas is masterly.

Van de Sterre, in fact, portrays Reyning as one of nature's gentlemen. He is never drunk; he dines regularly with the governor of Campeche; the brother of the governor of Marie-Galante is reluctant to leave his ship, where he is a captive. Indeed, while he is as fierce and brave as any other professional fighter, he is unusually decent for his time and place. He duels with Rok because Rok has attacked his buddy Lecat; on another occasion he defends a Dutch lad whom the crew want to kill; at the battle for the Castillo San Lorenzo he locks all the women in the chapel and refuses to let his men get at them (one of the frustrated men shoots at him). As such he is presented as standing out from such bloodthirsty cruel men as Rok Brasiliano.

One detail in van de Sterre suggests this picture may have some truth to it. I have said that he sometimes seems not to have understood Reyning, and such a case occurs where the old pirate is telling about Binckes' capture of Saint-Martin. Reyning took a prisoner and refused to kill him because it was not necessary. Binckes wanted no prisoners and was

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furious at this disobedience. Van de Sterre fails to understand Reyning's motive, and talks at great length about how useful it is to take a prisoner who can give you information. His account of this full life can certainly give us information, despite the problems of interpretation caused by the double narrator, and despite the reservations we may have about the details.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> David Marley: *Pirates and Privateers of the Americas*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1994, Preface, p.ix-x; the entry for Reyning is at p.340-345.

<sup>2</sup> This is the common etymological explanation, but the Dutch term would refer to “free booty,” which is a tautology. It may be a popular version of “flyboater,” which also occurs and which comes from the Dutch word *vlieboot*, a boat used on the river Vlie, then (in derision) of the Sea Beggars' small ships (1572), of a coastal vessel (1577), then of one used “for warlike purposes, voyages of discovery, etc.” (OED).

<sup>3</sup> David van de Sterre: *Zeer aanmerckelijcke Reysen gedaan door Jan Erasmus Reyning*, Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1691; Vrijman's edition was published Amsterdam: P.M. Kampen en zoon, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> Alexandre-Olivier Exquemelin was born in Harfleur about 1645. In 1666 he went to Tortuga as an indentured servant for three years, and thereafter became a pirate surgeon or surgeon's mate. He was with Morgan at the sack of Panama. In 1674 he settled in Holland and studied medicine, qualifying as a surgeon in 1679. Concurrently with his studies, he wrote his pirate memoirs, *De americaensche Zee-Roovers*, which appeared in 1678 and were a great success, being translated into English, French and Spanish in a few years. See: John Esquemeling, *The Buccaneers of America. With a New Introduction by Percy G. Adams*. New York, Dover Publications 1967. Bibliographical details about the

many editions and translations of Exquemelin can be found in: “De Scheepschirurgijn Exquemelin en zijn Boek over de Flibustiers” in: H. de la Fontaine Verwey: *Uit de Wereld van het Boek II. Drukkers, Liefhebbers en Piraten in de Zeventiende Eeuw*. Amsterdam, Nico Israel, 1978.

Exquemelin went back to pirate surgery, serving in Pointis and Ducasse's sack of Cartagena in 1697. He died some time after 1707.

<sup>5</sup> Marley's account of the sack of Panama (*Ibid.* p 268-269, s.v. Morgan, Sir Henry) says the march took seven days and was “epic” and “gruelling.” The opposing force outside Panama he gives as 1200 infantrymen and 400 cavalry, and no blacks or bulls (he does say the pirates stopped to slaughter cattle and eat).

<sup>6</sup> Reyning's impression of events was shared by all the rank and file in the expedition who had expected to be rewarded handsomely, but they did not understand that the citizens of Panama had packed their wealth and put out to sea to wait till the attack was over, hence the disappointing yield.

<sup>7</sup> Reyning's story of how he came to serve the Spanish, and Marley's comment, are in the latter's essay “Reyning and De Lecat,” in his *Pirates and Engineers*, Windsor, ON: Netherlandic Press, 1992, p.49-54.

<sup>8</sup> In a first draft of his *Pirates and Privateers of the Americas*.