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A
DEFENCE

OF THE

Scots Settlement

At D A R I E N .

W I T H

An ANSWER to the *Spanish*
MEMORIAL against it.

A N D

ARGUMENTS to prove that it is the
Interest of *England* to join with the
Scots to protect it.

To which is added,

A DESCRIPTION of the
Country, and a particular Account of
the *Scots* Colony.

EDINBURGH,
Printed in the Year M. DC. XC. IX.

E R R A T A.

Ag. 79. l. 21. instead of *Orba*, read *Uraba*; p. 83. l. 1. the
like. P. 83. instead of *Pincarton*, read *Pennicook*.

TO THE
KING'S

Most Excellent Majesty.

S I R,

THE Interest You have
in the flourishing of
Your Antient Kingdom
of Scotland, whose Crown is trans-
mitted to You by an Hundred and
eleven of Your Ancestors, without
ever having been on the head of a
Foreigner, emboldens the Author to
lay the following Sheets at Your
Majesty's Feet.

The design of them is no vindi-

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cate

The Dedication.

cate the Settlement of the Scots in Darien, and Your Majesty's Justice in protecting them, against the oblique Aspersions which are cast upon it in the Spanish Memorial.

The Sovereignty of the Crown of Scotland hath always bin held Sacred by our Ancestors, who never were sparing of their Blood to defend it either from the Invasion of Foreigners or the mean Compliance of some few of our Princes that were unworthy to wear it; and therefore were either totally excluded from it, as the Family of Baliol, or oblig'd to reassert its Right when rescu'd out of the Hands of their Enemies, as happen'd to our William I. and James I.

Providence having now plac'd it on the Head of Your Majesty, whose
Heroic

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Heroic Courage is known to all the World, our Nation should be unjust to Your Character to expect any thing less than that our Crown, which You receiv'd free and independent from Your Ancestors, should be transmitted by You with greater advantages than ever to Your Successors.

Therefore it is, Great Sir, that a privat Subject of Your antient Kingdom takes the boldness to vindicate the Sovereignty and Dignity of Your Crown as King of Scots, and to put such as are Enemies to it in mind, that when Edward I. and II. of England invaded it, the Scottish Nation did gallantly defend it, advanced Robert Bruce to the Exclusion of Baliol the nearest Heir, and acquainted the Princes of Christendom

The Dedication.

that they did so in defence of their Independency; adding that they would expel Robert Bruce, if he offer'd to betray their Liberty, and would never subject their Crown to that of England, whilst there were 100 Scots men alive.

This being the fundamental Constitution of our Government, and the Condition on which that Prince and his Successors were admitted to our Crown, they can in no wise be look'd upon as Friends to Your Majesty's Dignity as King of Scots, who call in question what You enact in the Parliament of that Kingdom, or that offer to traverse it by contrary Proclamations.

We are Your Majesty's Subjects as well as our Neighbors, and have
an

The Dedication.

an equal Right to share Your Protection, which it's hop'd they will at last be convinc'd it is their Interest to agree to in relation to our American Settlement.

Your Majesty's Paternal Affection to the Kingdom of Scotland hath discover'd it self in many Instances; nor is it desir'd or expected by our Nation, that it should any way interfere with the like Care and Affection, which is owing to our Brethren of England; but there is no reason that they should enjoy a Freedom of Trade throughtout the World, and that we should be denied it.

Your Majesty in Your Gracious Proposals of an Union, gave sufficient Evidence of a Fatherly Concern

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for both Nations. Therefore as it hath pleased God to make You the Glorious Instrument of our Common Deliverance, that he would also make You the happy Instrument of our inseparable Union; and after a long Reign here, Crown You with Everlasting Glory hereafter, is the sincere and ardent Prayer of,

Your Majesty's Loyal

and

Affectionate Subject,

Philo-Caledon.

(1)

A DEFENCE of the Settlement of the Scots on the Isthmus of DARIEN in America. With Arguments to prove, That it is the Interest of England to join with them, and to protect them in that Colony.

THE Heads propos'd to be insisted upon in the following Sheets, are, *The Legality of the Scots Establishment: The Advantage or Disadvantage that may redound from it to England: Whether the Scots without the Assistance of the English may be able to maintain their footing in America; and what may probably be the Consequences if the Scots should be oppos'd therein by the English, and miscarry in the Undertaking.*

The chief Objections against the Legality of their Establishment, arise from the Memorial delivered in against it to the King, by the Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain, May 3. 1699. O. S. as follows:

“ THE

2 *A Defence of the Scots*

“ THE Under-Subscriber, Ambassador
 “ Extraordinary from his Catholick Ma-
 “ jesty, finds himself oblig'd by express Or-
 “ ders, to represent to your Majesty, that the
 “ King his Master having receiv'd Information
 “ from different places, and last of all from the
 “ Governor of *Havana*, of the Insult and At-
 “ tempt of some *Scots* Ships, equip'd with Men
 “ and other things requisit, who design to set-
 “ tle themselves in his Majesty's Sovereign De-
 “ mains in *America*, and particularly the Province
 “ of *Darien*. His Majesty receiv'd those Advices
 “ with very much discontent, and looks upon
 “ the same as a Token of small Friendship, and
 “ as a Rupture of the Alliance betwixt the two
 “ Crowns (which his Majesty hath observed
 “ hitherto, and always observes very religious-
 “ ly, and from which so many Advantages and
 “ Profits have resulted both to your Majesty
 “ and your Subjects) as a Consequence of which
 “ good Correspondence, his Majesty did not
 “ expect such sudden Insults and Attempts by
 “ your Majesty's Subjects, and that too in a
 “ time of Peace, without pretext (or any cause)
 “ in the very Heart of his Demains.
 “ All that the King desires, is, That this
 “ may be represented to your Majesty, and
 “ that your Majesty may be acquainted, that
 “ he is very sensible of such Hostilities and un-
 “ just Procedures, against which his Majesty
 “ will take such Measures as he thinks conve-
 “ nient. Given at *London*, May $\frac{13}{3}$. 1699.

It

Settlement in Darien. 3

It were easy to make proper Remarks upon the Weakness, Insolence and Ingratitude of this Memorial, but it is not worth while; all the World knows what the Crown of *Spain* owes to his Majesty of *Great Britain*; and therefore a more civil Application might reasonably have been expected to a Prince who hath not only sav'd the *Netherlands*, but prevented his Catholick Majesty from being insulted on his Throne at *Madrid*. But these things we pass over, and come to the chief Point in the Memorial, which is, *That the Scots have posted themselves in the King of Spain's Demains in America, contrary to the Alliance betwixt the two Crowns.* If this be prov'd to be false, then the Cause of the Complaint ceases, and his Majesty of *Great Britain* hath reason to demand Satisfaction for the Affront offer'd thereby to his Justice and Sovereignty.

To prove the Falshood of the Allegation, That the Province of *Darien* is part of the King of *Spain's* Demains: It is positively denied by the *Scots*, who challenge the *Spaniards* to prove their Right to the said Province, either by *Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender, Possession or Conquest*; which being the only Titles by which they or any other People can claim a Right to those or any other Dominions, if the *Spaniards* cannot make out their Right by those or any of those, their claim must of consequence be null and void.

It

It is evident that the *Spaniards* cannot pretend a Title to that Country by Inheritance, Marriage, or the Donation of Prince and People; and as to Conquest it would be ridiculous to alledge it, since the *Dariens* are in actual possession of their Liberty, and were never subdued, nor receiv'd any *Spanish* Governor or Garrison amongst them. Nay, they were so far from it, that *Waser*, *Dampier*, and others that have wrote of that Country, do all agree that they mortally hate the *Spaniards*, were in War with them, and that the *Spaniards* had no Commerce with those *Indians*, nor command over them in all the North side of the Isthmus a little beyond *Porto Bello**.

Capt. *Sharp* in the Journal of his Expedition, published in Capt. *Hacke's* Collection of Voyages, gives an account, that in 1680 he landed at *Golden Island* with 330 Men, and being join'd by one of the *Darien* Princes, whom they call'd *Emperor*, and another to whom they gave the Title of *King Golden-Cap*, with some hundreds of their Men, took *Sancta Maria*, attempted *Panama*, and made prize of several *Spanish* Ships; which is the more remarkable, because Capt. *Sharp* was afterwards tried in *England* for Robbery and Piracy on this very account, but acquitted because of his Commission from those *Darien* Princes: which is a plain Demonstration that the Government of *England*

* *Waser's New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 11, 65, 149, 150, 151.

land did then look upon *Darien* to be no way subject to *Spain*, whatever some who are Enemies to the *Scots*, do now say against the Legality of their Settlement in that Country. This same Expedition against the *Spaniards* by the assistance of the *Darien Indians*, is confirm'd by Mr. *Dampier* in his Introduction to his *New Voyage round the World*. And the Bp of *Chiapa*, a Prelate of their own, in his *Relation of the Spanish Voyages and Cruelties in the West-Indies*, p. 217. owns "that the *Spaniards* had no Title to the *Americans*, as their Subjects, by right of Inheritance, Purchase, or Conquest.

We have likewise a large Account, and a full Confirmation of the War and perpetual Enmity betwixt the *Dariens* and *Spaniards* in the History of the Buccaneers of *America*, Vol. 2. Part 4. wrote by *Basil Ringrose*, who was one of their Company. There he informs us that the *Indians* of *Darien*, and the *Spaniards*, are commonly at War with one another; and that the Buccaneers were invited into that Country, and join'd by the *Darien* Princes, Capt. *Andreas*, Capt. *Antonio*, and the King of *Darien*, who assisted them in the taking of *Sancta Maria*, and their attempt upon *Panama*; and the King whose Daughter the *Spaniards* had stole away, promised to join the Buccaneers with 50000 Men. This is the more remarkable, because those very Princes or their Successors are now in League with the *Scots*, and have joyfully receiv'd them into their

Coun-

Country. So that it is the strangest Imposition that can be put upon any Nation, and one of the most audacious affronts that ever was put upon so Great a Prince as *K. William*, for the *Spaniards* to pretend a Right to *Darien*, and accuse him of a Breach of the Peace, because a Colony of his Subjects have settled themselves there; when it is so well known to the World that the Crown of *Spain* has no manner of Title to that Province.

Then as to any claim by virtue of Possession, the *Spaniards* have not the least ground of Plea: All they can alledg on this Head is, that they were once admitted by the consent of *Capt. Diego*, another of the *Darien* Princes, to work on some Golden Mines within 15 Leagues, or thereabouts, of the *Scots* Settlement. But it is plain that this makes nothing for their purpose. That Prince admitted them only as Labourers, but not as Proprietors; and when they broke the Conditions on which they were admitted, *viz.* to allow the *Dariens* such and such Shares of the Product, they were expell'd again by force; and ever since that time the *Dariens* refuse to have any further dealings with the *Spaniards*, who made themselves odious to them by their Treachery and Insolence: So that *Mr. Wafer* tells us *pag. 133.* they allow a distinguishing Mark of Honour to him who has kill'd a *Spaniard*: and *pag. 179.* that *Lacenta*, one of the chief of the *Darien* Princes, did in his converse with him, express his Sense and

and Resentment of the havock made by the *Spaniards* in the West of *America*, at their first coming thither.

It remains then that the *Spaniards* can lay no other claim to *Darien* but what they plead from the Pope's general Grant of *America*, its being bounded by their Dominions, and the Treaties with England, which shall be consider'd in their order.

To urge the Pope's Grant amongst Protestants is ridiculous, and amongst Papists themselves but precarious: but admitting it were sufficient to justify their Title, it is easy to prove that the *Spaniards* have forfeited all the Right that they can claim by virtue of that Grant.

The Church of *Rome* will not publickly own her power to grant a Right of Conquest, but in order to propagate the Faith, and not that neither, except the Infidel Prince or People be guilty of a Breach of Treaty. So that the Pope's Grant with those Restrictions is so far from establishing the Title of the *Spaniards*, that it plainly overthrows it.

That the *Indians* were committed to the *Spaniards* by Pope *Alexander VI.* on condition that they should teach them the Christian Religion, is prov'd by *Don Bartholomew de las Casas* Bishop of *Chiapa*, in his *Account of the first Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America*, and the *Relation of their unparallel'd Cruelties*, p. 195. and there he likewise owns, "that by their acquitting themselves so ill of
" that

“ that Commission, they ought to make restitu-
 “ tion of all they have taken from them un-
 “ der this pretext. And pag. 200. he charges
 them with breach of the Terms prescrib'd by
 the Apostolical Brief, tho Queen *Isabella*, to
 whom it was granted, earnestly intreated them
 in her last Will to keep exactly to it. P. 218.
 he says that the Title of the King of *Spain* to
 the *Indians*, is founded only on the obligation
 he had taken upon himself to instruct them in
 the true Faith, as appears by the Apostolick
 Brief: which they were so far from perform-
 ing, that instead of converting their Souls, they
 destroyed their Bodies; having in those early
 days, viz. in the time of the Emperor *Charles*
V. murder'd above 40 Millions of them; and
 took so little care to instruct them in the Chri-
 stian Religion, that they perfectly obstructed
 their Conversion, and sold those very Idols that
 some of the poor People had thrown away
 with abhorrence, to others of the *Indians*;
ibid. p. 194. which, together with their other
 horrid Impieties, created an aversion in those
 poor Infidels for Heaven it self; according to
 the known Story of *Hathwey* an *Indian* Prince,
ibid. p. 21. “ who being fasten'd to a Stake by
 “ the *Spaniards* in order to be burnt, for no
 “ other Crime but endeavouring to defend him-
 “ self and his Subjects against their Cruelties,
 “ ask'd a Friar that was discoursing to him of
 “ Heaven, promising him eternal Happiness
 “ there if he would believe, and threatening
 “ him

“ him with Hell if he did not, whether Hea-
 “ ven was open to the *Spaniards*; and being an-
 “ swer'd that it was to such of them as were
 “ good, replied immediatly that he would not
 “ go thither for fear of meeting such cruel and
 “ wicked Company as they were, but would
 “ much rather chuse to go to Hell, where he
 “ might be deliver'd from the troublesom fight
 “ of such kind of People. So that their forfei-
 ture of all Right or Title to *Darien* by the Pope's
 Grant, if it were of any validity, is plainly de-
 monstrated.

Their next Plea is, that *Darien* is bounded or
 inclos'd by their Dominions, viz. by *Portobello*
 and *Carthagena*, with their Territories on the
 North, and *Panama* and *Santa Maria* on the
 South. To this it is answer'd, that *Darien* is
 bounded only by the Sea on both sides, without
 so much as a *Spanish* Fort or Garrison, from
Nombre de Dios to the Gulph of *Darien* on the
 North Sea, or from the River of *Chepo* to the
 River of *Congo* on the South Sea. The Terri-
 tories of the *Spaniards* confining on both ends of
 the *Isthmus* are not unlimited, but are restricted
 on both sides by the *Dariens*, who, as has been
 already said, were never subject to *Spain*. Nor
 is it any new thing in the World for independ-
 ent Soveraintys to lie inclos'd within the
 Dominions of other Princes; to instance in no
 more than *Orange* and *Avignon* in *Europe*; *Ceu-
 ta*, *Metilla*, &c. possessed by the *Spaniards*
 themselves in *Africk*, which lie in the very ne-

form of *Morocco*; and yet the *Spaniards* don't think their Title to them e're a whit the worse. The *Dutch* and *Portuguese* have both of them Settlements on the Coast of *Brasil*, to which the *Spaniards* pretend a Right. The *French* have Settlements in *Hispaniola* and *Guiana*, notwithstanding the Neighborhood of the *Spaniards*. The *English* and *French* have both of 'em Plantations in *Newfound-land*. The *Dutch* in time of Peace settled on *Long Island* in the middle of the *English* Plantations, yet no War ensued upon it. The *English* possessed themselves of *Bahama* Islands, tho the *Spanish* Fleet passed betwixt them and *Florida*: and the *English* have several times settled at *Port-Royal* in *Campechy* Bay, to cut Logwood, &c. and remov'd and settled as they found convenient. K. *Charles II.* in time of Peace granted a Patent to *Dr. Cox* to settle a Colony in the Bay of *Mexico*, which was never question'd by the *Spaniards*: and the *French* have now since the Conclusion of the last Peace, planted a Colony on the River *Mississippi* in that same Bay, against which we hear of no Complaints from *Madrid*. So that the Plea of the *Spaniards* from this Topick is perfectly overturn'd by Common Practice, the Law of Nations, and their own Concessions in parallel Cases.

The next Plea of the *Spaniards* is from the Treatys betwixt them and the Crown of *Great Britain*, of which they alledg the Settlement of *Scots* at *Darien* to be a Breach: But that there's

there's no ground for this Allegation, will appear to those that peruse the said Treatys, viz. that of *May 23. 1667.* and that of *July 1670.* wherein there's not the least mention of excluding either Party from enlarging their Dominions in *America*, upon Wastes, or by consent of the Natives, in such places as have never yet been possess'd by *Spain* or *Great Britain*. So that all that can be infer'd from those Treatys is, that they were a mutual Security for the peaceable possession of what each Crown enjoy'd in that Country, and no more; which is sufficiently confirm'd by the Patent granted to *Dr. Cox*, and the settling and removing of the *English* in *Campechy* Bay, &c. without Controul, as before mention'd.

Having thus made it evident that the *Spaniards* have no manner of Title or Right to *Darien*, it is natural in the next place to shew that they themselves are guilty of the Breach of Treaty by proceeding in this Affair as they have done.

By the third Article of the Treaty between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, concluded at *Madrid May 11. 1667.* it is provided, That if any Injury shall be done by either of the said Kings, or by the People or Subjects of either of them, to the People or Subjects of the other, against the Articles of that Alliance, or against common Right, there shall not therefore be given Letters of Reprisal, Marque or Countermarque, by any of the Confederates, until such time as

Justice is follow'd in the ordinary Course of Law. Yet the *Spaniards* without any such Procedure, or offering in the least to prove their Title to *Darien*, present a virulent and huffing Memorial, at the very first charging the King with want of Friendship, and a Breach of Alliance, and threatening to take such measures as they shall think meet: when their sickly Monarchy has not yet had time to breath, since rescu'd from the common Danger wherein *Europe* was involv'd, by the Arms of that very Prince whom they treat so ungratefully.

But this is not all; for contrary to the express Words of that same Treaty, they attack the *Scots* by Sea and Land, who had done them no Injury, but acquainted them that they came thither peaceably, without any hostile design against them or any other People; and were so generous as to reject the Motion of Capt. *Andreas*, one of the *Darien* Princes, and their Ally, when he offer'd to make them Masters of *Panama*, if they would but join him with 500 of their Men.

The *Spaniards* have also, contrary to the 10th and 11th Articles of the Treaty concluded at *Madrid*, July 7. 1670. concerning *America*, detain'd the *Scots* and *English* Prisoners who were forc'd ashore at *Carthagena* by Shipwrack, tho all such Practices be expressly provided against by the said Articles: and they have also violat-ed the 14th Article of that Treaty which forbids Reprisals, except in case of denying or unreasonably

reasonably delaying Justice. From all which it is evident that the King of *Great Britain* has just reason to demand Satisfaction of the *Spaniards* for attacking his Subjects contrary to Treaty; and that the *Scots* being thus injuriously treated, may very lawfully, not only make Reprisals upon the *Spaniards* for themselves, but join with the King of *Darien* in taking *Sancta Maria*, *Panama*, or any other place belonging to the *Spaniards* in that Country, of which the *Dariens* are Natural Lords, and the *Spaniards* Tyrannical Usurpers, as is pleaded by the King of *Darien* himself; and therefore he invited the *English* Buccaneers to assist him to retake it: and by this Capt. *Sawkins* justified his Proceedings in a Letter to the Governour of *Panama*, asserting that the King of *Darien* was true Lord of *Panama*, and all the Country thereabouts; and that they came to assist him. *History of Buccaneers*, Vol. 2. part 4. p. 32. And we have mentioned before that Capt. *Sharp*, who was accused of Piracy for that same Expedition, and succeeded *Sawkins* in his Command, was acquitted in *England*, because he had that Prince's Commission.

Having fully prov'd that the *Spaniards* have no Title to *Darien*, it remains to be prov'd that the *Scots* have as good and just a Title to their Settlement there, as any People in the World can have; which may easily be demonstrated thus:

They were authorised by an Act of Parliament, and the King's Letters Patent, to plant Colonies in Asia, Africa, or America, upon Places not inhabited, or any other Place, by consent of the Natives, not possess'd by any European Prince or State. Being provided with this Authority, than which there cannot be a Greater, or one more duly and honestly limited, they equipp'd their Ships, and landed on the North side of the Isthmus of Darien in November 1698. where the Spaniards, as has been fully prov'd, never had any Possession, and no other European Prince or State pretends any Claim to it. Being arriv'd there, they fairly obtain'd the consent of the Princes and People of the Country, and particularly of Capt. *Andreas*, who is the chief man in that Tract; and after a solemn Treaty and Alliance deliberately made, and wrote in *Spanish*, because the said Prince understands that Language, they peaceably enter upon their new Colony, without either Force or Fraud. So that they have religiously kept to the Conditions of the Act and Patent, which is a plain demonstration that they have a just and legal Title to their Settlement, and a Right to the Protection of the Government, against the Attempts of the Spaniards, or any other People whatsoever.

The next Topick to be insisted upon, is the Advantage or Disadvantage that may redound to England from this Settlement. We shall begin

gin with the Disadvantage which consists in the supposed Damage it may do to the Trade of England, and that it may, as is pretended, occasion a Rupture betwixt them and Spain. To this we may easily reply, that being a distinct and independent Nation, we are not oblig'd to consult their Interest, any further than they consult ours; and that we have as much reason to maintain this Colony, because of the Advantage it may bring to our selves, as they have to oppose it, because of the Disadvantages that they fancy may arise from thence to England. But withal we deny that it can be any damage to their Trade, which from that part of the World consists chiefly in Sugar and Tobacco, neither of which are yet to be found in *New Caledonia*. But that which we look upon to be a compleat Answer to the Objection is this, That they may be Sharers with us in the Settlement if they please, and by consequence Partners in the Profits and Trade, and lay it under such Regulations as may prevent its endamaging the Commerce of England.

And whereas it is further objected, That by the great Immunities and freedom from Customs granted to the Scots Company for so many years, we shall be able to undersell the English Company, forestal their Markets, and lessen his Majesty's Customs; we answer, that this Objection is in a great measure obviated, since we do not now pretend to set up an *East-India* Trade; but admitting it were true, it will be

to the general Advantage of the *English* Nation, since the Buyers are always more than the Sellers. It must certainly be better for the Kingdom in general, that every one who has occasion for Muslin or *Indian* Silks, &c. should save so many Shillings *per* Yard or Piece in their pockets, than that some two or three Merchants should once in an Age get Money enough to make a Daughter or two a Countess or Dutchess. Nor can it be denied but it's better for *England*, that Housekeepers in general should save that Money to buy Provisions for their Families, which consumes our own Product, than that a dozen of Merchants should be enabled by the extravagant Prices of those Commodities to keep their Coaches. Add to this, that the *English* if they please by joining with the *Scots*, may have an equal Share of all those Immunities; and if there should be for some time a lessening of the King's Customs, of which there is at present no manner of prospect, it will be sufficiently made up in time to come by a large addition, if that Colony prospers; so that the King's Bounty in that respect is but like the bestowing of charge to improve barren or waste Ground, which will return with treble Interest to him or his Heirs.

There's another Objection made against the *Scots* Company, that by their Constitution such Ships as belong to them must break Bulk no where but in *Scotland*, which will diminish the number of *English* Ships and Seamen, and
make

make *Scotland* the only Free Port of all those Commodities. To which it's replied, That tho our own Ships are obliged to break Bulk no where but at home, they don't lay the same Obligation upon others, but, allowing them a free Trade to *Darien*, they may carry their Goods where they please; or upon fair Proposals, there's no doubt but the Parliament of *Scotland* will give the *English* all possible Liberty as to that matter.

Then as to the hazard of a Rupture with *Spain*, we reply, That the *Spaniards* are in no condition to break with *England*, when they are not able to maintain themselves against the Insults of the *French* by Sea and Land: and the only way to secure them in the *British* Interest is to have a powerful Colony in *Darien*, which lying in the very Centre of their *American* Dominions, and within reach of their Silver and Gold Mines, will be an effectual Curb upon them, and not only prevent their own Hostilities, but their joining at any time with our Enemies; or if they do, being Masters of their Money, we shall speedily cut the sinews of their War.

In the next place we urge that it will be very much for the Interest and Advantage of *England* to encourage and support us in this Settlement.

1. Because by this means the *Scots* will increase their Shipping, and come in time to have a Naval Force, capable of assisting the *English*

in the common defence of the Island, in maintaining the Sovereignty of the Seas, and conveying their Merchantmen in time of War; the necessity of which is obvious enough, since they and the *Dutch* both have scarce been able to secure their Trade, maintain the Dominion of the Seas, and defend themselves from the Invasions of the *French* during the last War. Nor can the *English* always promise to themselves the Amity of the *Dutch*, who are their Rivals in Trade, and differ far enough from them both in Temper and Interest, there's nothing to cement them but the Life of our present Sovereign: Whereas the *Scots* being united with the *English* under the same Government, and inhabiting the same Island, must of necessity have the same Interest as to Trade, and to defend the Country against all Foreign Invaders, as they constantly did in former times, against *Romans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, notwithstanding their living then under a separate Prince, and their frequent Wars with *England*. Nor is that brave resistance which a few of them made to the *Dutch* at *Chattam* to be forgotten, which did in a great measure repair the Honour of *England*, and make amends for the Ignominy and Disgrace which that Attempt put upon the *English* Nation.

2. As *Scotland* increases in Shipping, they will increase in Wealth, and by consequence be able to bear a greater share of the Burden of any Foreign War, which will save Men
and

and Money to *England*, and lighten their Taxes.

3. The Success of the *Scots* in their *American* Colony, will be an additional Strength to the *English* Plantations in the *West Indies*, as well as an advancement of their Trade, by consuming their Product, and giving them theirs in exchange.

4. The Success of the *Scots* at *Darien* will be of great advantage to *England*; for the more Money the *Scots* acquire by their Trade, the more they will spend in *England*, which being the Seat of the Government, must frequently be visited by their Nobility and Gentry, who generally furnish themselves in *England* with their best Apparel, Household-furniture, Coaches and Horses, &c. besides the Money that the young Noblemen and Gentlemen spend in their Passage through that Nation, when they go and come from their Travels. These things occasion their laying out vast Sums of Money annually in the City of *London*, which being the Seat of the Government, will as certainly draw Money from *Scotland*, as the Sun draws Vapours after it.

5. The Success of the *Scots* in their foreign Plantation, will not only ease *England* of great numbers of their Pedlars, so frequently complain'd of in Parliament by Country Corporations and Shopkeepers, but it will occasion the return home, and prevent the going out of vast numbers of their Youth, who follow the same
sort

fort of Imployment, or betake themselves to the Sword in *Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Muscovy, Germany, Holland and France*; by which means the Government of *Great Britain* may furnish their Fleets and Armies at a much cheaper and easier rate than formerly, and with as good Mariners and Soldiers as any in the World.

6. The *English* by joining with the *Scots* and supporting their Colony at *Darien*, may have their Plate brought home in their own Bottoms, and from their own Mines, with which we are assured that Country abounds, without being obliged to touch at *Cadiz* or any foreign Port, being liable to the vexatious Indultos of foreign Princes, or in such hazard of being intercepted as they many times were during the late War.

7. The *English* may by joining with the *Scots* render themselves more capable than ever of keeping the Balance of *Europe* in their hands; a Trust which Nature and Providence seems to have assign'd 'em, since their Situation and Naval Force not only makes it proper for them, but they have had an opportunity put into their hands in little above the Revolution of one Century, of twice breaking the Chains of *Europe* when threaten'd with Slavery; first by the *Spaniards*, and then by the *French*. This is so much the more evident, that by being possess'd of *Darien* they will be able either to prevent the uniting the *Spanish* and *French* Monarchies; or if not so, to render that Union so much the less dangerous, when it will be in their power to seize their

their Treasure and Dominions in the *Indies* without which that bulky Monarchy must fall by its own weight. This is likewise of so much the greater importance, that it may very probably either prevent a religious War, towards which the *Papists* discover so much inclination, or at least bring it to a speedier Conclusion: for we have as good reason to look upon the *Spanish* Mines in the *West Indies* to be Antichrist's Pouch, by which he maintains his War against the Church, as the old *Taborites* had to call the Silver Mines in *Bohemia* by that Name. It is certainly the surest Method of destroying Antichrist, to seize his Purse; for if he once be depriv'd of *Judas's* Bag, he will quickly drop *St. Peter's* Keys. It's by the Charms of her Gold that the *Babylonish* Whore hath made the whole World to wonder after her, and the Kings of the Earth to be drunk with the Cup of her Fornication.

8. By this means the *English* may be better able to prevent the ruin of their Trade in the *Mediterranean* and *West Indies*, if the *French* should possess themselves of the Kingdom of *Spain*: and they will likewise be the better able to prevent their possessing themselves of the *Netherlands*; which if once they should do, and get Ports there capable of holding a Fleet, they would also ruin their *Eastland* Trade, and put a period to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

9. It will effectually unite the *Scots* to *England* by an inseparable Tie, if the *English* join

us in this Undertaking: Their Ancestors would have gladly purchased this Union at a much dearer rate, but were always outbid by *France*: and the want of that Union made the *English* not only an easy Prey to their successive Conquerors, but lost them all the large Provinces that they enjoy'd beyond Sea, which were their natural Barriers, gave them a free Access to the Continent, and made the *English* Name so glorious in the days of their Ancestors.

10. It will be of general advantage to the Protestant Interest, and contribute to the advancement of pure Christianity, without any of the *Romish* Sophistifications: which certainly ought to weigh much with all true Protestants; and so much the more, that the Pope and the Conclave of *Rome* have espoused the Quarrel of the *Spaniards* in this Affair as a Cause of Religion. Doubtless the poor *Americans* will be more inclinable to imbrace Christianity, when they find the difference of the Morals and Doctrine betwixt Protestants and Papists, and see that the former treat them with Humanity, and seek their Welfare both in Body and Soul; whereas the *Spaniards* have render'd themselves, and the Religion they profess, odious, by the inhuman Cruelties and brutish Lusts which they have exercis'd upon so many Millions of the Natives. This is so far from being a Calumny, that an unexceptionable Author of their own, *Don Bartholomew de las Casas* Bishop of *Chiapa*, formerly mention'd, who was an Eye-witness

witness of their Cruelties, gives an account that they had in his time destroyed above 40 Millions of the poor *Indians*; tho they receiv'd them with the greatest kindness imaginable, were ready to do 'em all the friendly Offices that one man could desire of another, and testified their great Inclination to have embrac'd the Christian Religion. But the *Spaniards* aim'd at the Destruction, and not at the Conversion of the *Indians*; and are avowedly charg'd with it by the said Bishop, who in many places of his Book declares, that after they had sent for the Chiefs of the Countries to meet them in a amicable manner, which the poor harmless Creatures did without suspicion of any Fraud, these merciless Tyrants murder'd them by wholesale, on purpose to make themselves terrible to them. This was a Practice so inconsistent with Humanity, that all the People of the World ought to have resent'd it; as having much more reason to declare the *Spaniards* to be Enemies to Mankind than ever the *Roman* Senat had to declare *Nero* to be such.

But this sort of Treatment compar'd with what they made others to suffer, may well be call'd Mercy: for tho it was Death, the *Indians* were hereby quickly deliver'd from their Misery; whereas they put multitudes of others to lingering Deaths, that they might feel themselves die gradually: and yet this is not so intolerable neither as the Condition of those poor People that had the misfortune to survive that Cruelty;

Cruelty: for the whole time of their Lives under that miserable Servitude, is but Death prolong'd, or making his attacks upon 'em by intolerable Labor, and continual Hunger, the most insupportable of all Plagues; those poor Creatures that toil in the Mines, and are employ'd in Pearl-fishing, &c. having no more Sustainance allow'd them, and that too of the coarsest sort, than is just enough to keep Soul and Body together, in order to prolong their Misery. Then let any man, who has but the least remains of Humanity left him, judg whether the Scots could be criminal, if they should have actually landed upon a Spanish Settlement, and have seiz'd the same, in order to deliver their Brethren the Sons of Adam, from such hellish Servitude and Oppression as the above mention'd Bishop describes; and if no man that has any bowels of Compassion within him can say they could, what shadow of reason is there to blame the Scots for erecting a Colony where the Spaniards never had any footing?

The next thing to be consider'd is, whether the Scots without the assistance of England, may probably maintain their footing there, which there's no doubt may very well be determin'd in the affirmative.

1. Because the whole Kingdom of Scotland being more zealous for it, and unanimous in it than they have been in any other thing for forty or fifty years past, it is not to be doubted

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but they will use their utmost Efforts to support themselves in it by their own Strength; or if that will not do, by making Alliances with other Nations that are able to assist them with a Naval Force.

2. If they meet with no other Opposition but what the Spaniards are able to make to them, it will be easy for the Nobility, and Gentry, and Royal Burroughs of Scotland, to raise Money upon their Lands, &c. to increase their Stock for the American Trade, and buy Ships of Force to protect it: Nay, without that, but giving Commission to the Buccaneers to become an over-match for the Spaniards.

3. Supposing the French should offer to join with the Spaniards, and assist them to drive the Scots from Darien, as some say they have already proffered; we are not to imagine that the Spaniards will accept their Proffers in this case, when they refused them as to the driving the Moors from before Ceuta. The Reasons are obvious: They declin'd the accepting their Proffers as to Ceuta, because they would not thereby give the French an opportunity of possessing themselves of any of their Towns in Africa, as it is but too common for foreign Auxiliaries to do in such cases. Then certainly they have much greater reason to refuse their Proffers as to Darien, America being of infinitely more value to them than some African Towns: and if once the French should get footing there, it would be in vain for the Spanish Grandees any

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further to dispute the Succession of *France* to their Crown; for they would immediately seize upon their Mines and Treasures in the *West-Indies*, without which the *Spanish* Monarchy is not able to support it self.

Or supposing the King of *Spain* should live for many years, and by consequence keep the *French* out of possession; yet having once got footing at *Darien*, which they will certainly do, if the *Scots* be expell'd by their assistance, the *Spaniards* will quickly be convinc'd to their Cost, that they are more dangerous Neighbours than the *Scots*; not only because of their greater Power to do them more mischief, but because of their incroaching Temper, which all *Europe* is sensible of; and being of the same Religion with the *Spaniards*, and having of late years set up for the Champions of Popery, they will by the Influence of the Clergy, bring all the *Spanish* Settlements of *America* to a dependance upon them, and a love for them as the great Protectors of the Catholick Faith; which will at once destroy the Interest of *Spain* in *America*.

This will appear to be no vain Speculation, to those that consider the Temper of the Popish Clergy, and the Insolence of the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who so daringly reflected upon the late Alliance of *Spain* with Protestant Princes and States, tho' absolutely necessary to preserve that Nation from being swallowed up by *France*.

Whereas the *Scots* being zealous Protestants,
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and for that very reason hateful to the Popish Clergy and Laity, they are under a moral Impossibility of having so much Influence to withdraw the *American* Settlements from the Obedience of *Spain*: and besides, being under an obligation by the Principles of their Religion, and their fundamental Constitution, not to invade the Property of another, the *Spaniards* have no cause to fear any thing from them, provided they forbear Hostilities on their part; but on the contrary may find them true and faithful Allies, and useful to assist them in the defence of their County, if attack'd by the *French* as in the late War: it being the interest of the *Scots* as well as of the *Spaniards*, to prevent the accession of the Crown of *Spain* to that of *France*.

These things, together with the known Endeavours of the *French* to procure an Interest amongst the Natives of that Country, and especially with *Don Pedro* and *Corbet*, in order to a Settlement, make it evident enough that it is the Interest of *Spain* the *Scots* should rather have it than the *French*, who have already been tampering with the *Spaniards* as well as with the *Indians*, and doubt not to have a large share of *America* whenever the King of *Spain* dies.

But admitting that the *Spaniards* should so far mistake their Interest, as to accept of the Profers of the *French* to expel the *Scots*, it is not impossible for the latter to find other Allies than the *English* to assist them with a naval Force to maintain their Possession.

The *Dutch* are known to be a People that seldom or never mistake their Interest: They are sensible how useful the Alliance of *Scotland* may be to them, both in regard of their Liberty to fish in our Seas without controul, and of being a Curb upon *England*, in case the old Roman Maxim of *delenda est Carthago*, should come any more to be applied by the English to that Republick, as in the Reign of K. *Charles II.* They are likewise sensible of the advantage it would be to their Trade to be Partners with the *Scots* at *Darien*; and how effectual it may be to disable the *French* to pursue their Claim to *Spain*, and by consequence to revive the old Title of that Crown upon their own seven, as well as to swallow up the other ten Provinces. These things, together with a long continu'd Amity and Trade betwixt *Scotland* and *Holland*, and their Union in Religion and Ecclesiastical Discipline, are sufficient to evince that the *Dutch* would become our Partners in *America* with little Courtship. That they are able to assist us in that case with a Naval Force sufficient, is beyond contradiction; and that they would soon be convinc'd it is their Interest to do it, to prevent that monstrous Increase of the *French* Monarchy, is obvious enough from the part they acted in the lated War.

But admitting that none of those Considerations should prevail with the *Dutch*, and that they should likewise abandon us; it is not impossible for us to obtain an Alliance and Naval Force

Force from the Northern Crowns: It's well enough known that those Kingdoms abound with Men and Shipping, and that they would be glad with all their hearts to make an Exchange of these for the Gold and Silver of *America*, which they might easily carry from Town to Town, and from Market to Market, without the trouble of a Wheel-barrow, as they are now obliged to do with their Copper. From all which it is evident enough that it is not impossible for the *Scots* to maintain themselves in *Darien* without the Assistance of *England*.

The next thing to be discours'd of is, what the consequences may probably be, if the English should oppose us in this Settlement.

We could heartily wish there had never been any ground for this suggestion, and that the Opposition we have met with from *England* had been less National than that which we had from both their Houses of Parliament, after the passing an Act for an *African* Company, &c. in ours: and it were to be wish'd that so many of the English had not given us such proofs of an alienated mind and aversion to our Welfare, as they have done since by their Resident at *Hamborough*, and their late Proclamations in their *West-India* Plantations: and we could have wish'd above all that His Majesty of *England* had not in the least concurr'd, or giv'n his Countenance to that Opposition; for as King of *Scots* it is plain he could not do it: he hath confirm'd

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firm'd what we have done by the Touch of his Scepter, which no private Order or Instructions can revoke. And we could wish that his English Counsellors, who put him upon those things would remember that *Strafford* and *Laud* lost their Heads for giving *K. Charles I.* that fatal Advice of oppressing and opposing the *Scots*.

We did verily think that the suffering of our Crown to be united with that of *England* in the Person of *K. James* their First, and our Sixth; our reasonable coming to the rescue of their expiring Liberties in the Reign of *K. Charles I.* our being so instrumental to rescue them from Anarchy and Confusion, by the Restoration of *K. Charles II.* and above all, our generous and frank Concurrence with them in the late happy Revolution, and Advancement of *K. William III.* We did verily think that all these things deserv'd a better Treatment; and to evince that they did, we shall beg leave to insist a little upon the first and last.

The English have no cause to think that we were ignorant of the Reason why their politic *Henry VII.* chose rather to match his eldest Daughter with the King of *Scots*, than with the King of *France*, because he foresaw that if the King of *Scots* should by that means come to the Crown of *England*, he would remove the Seat of his Government thither, which would add to the Grandure and Riches of *England*: Whereas if the King of *France* did by that means fall Heir to the English Crown, he would

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would certainly draw the Court of *England* to *Paris*. This the *Scots* were so far from being ignorant of, that many of the Nobility and Gentry did express their dislike of the Union of the Crowns, as well knowing that it would reduce our Kingdom into a Subjection and Dependence upon *England*, and drain us of what Substance we had; and therefore some of them express'd themselves on that occasion, that *Scotland* was never conquer'd till then: yet such was our Zeal for the common Welfare of the Island, the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of *Europe* in general, which were then almost in as much danger by *Spain*, as they had been since by *France*, that we quietly and freely parted with our King, and suffer'd him to accept the English Crown, rather than that Nation should be involv'd in War and Confusion, and the Protestant Religion indanger'd by another Successor, as it must necessarily have bin, had the Infanta of *Spain*, whose Title was then promoted by the Popish Interest, succeeded. And all the reward we had for this Condescension and Kindness, was a contemptuous and disdainful refusal, on the part of *England*, of an Union of the Nations when propos'd, tho' the same would visibly have tended to the benefit of the whole Island, the general advantage of *Europe*, and the security and increase of the Protestant Interest. And our King was so little thankful on his part, that tho' he promis'd solemnly in the Great Church of *Edinburgh* before his de-

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parture, that he would visit his Antient Kingdom once in three years, he never saw it after but once, and that not till 14 years after. And by the influence of that same Faction in *England*, who are still our Enemies, he made Innovations both in Church and State, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and his own solemn Oath; which laid the foundation of all those Disasters that ended in the fatal Exit of his Son, and the Subversion of the Government of both Nations. These were the first Advantages we had by the Union of the Crowns.

His Son King *Charles I.* had scarce ascended the Throne, when we had new Proofs of the Disadvantages we labour'd under by that Union; for he by the Advice of some Enemies to our Nation, did in an imperious and arbitrary manner send for our Crown, tho the only Monument almost left us of our Independency and Freedom; but was generously answer'd by him that had it in keeping, That if he would come and be Crown'd in *Scotland*, he should have all the Honour done him that ever was to his Ancestors; but if he did not think it worth his while, they might perhaps be inclin'd to make choice of another Sovereign, or to that effect; as recorded in the Continuation of *Sir Richard Baker's History*. Another Disadvantage we had by that Union of the Crown, was this, That that unfortunate Prince being inspir'd with an aversion to the Constitution of our Countrey, by his Education in the Court of *England*,

land, he made an unnatural War upon us to bring us to a Conformity with *England* in Church-Matters. We shall not here offer to debate which of the Churches was best constituted, or most agreeable to the Scripture-Pattern: It suffices for our Argument, that we were injur'd in having a foreign Model offer'd to be obtruded upon us, which was the Consequence of the Union of the Crowns, and of having our King educated in another Nation; but that was not all, another mischievous effect of the Union was this, that whatever King *Charles* had deserv'd at our hands, yet out of natural Affection, Conscience and Honour, we were oblig'd to do what we could to prevent his illegal Trial and Death, and to defend his Son's Title, which threw us into Convulsions at home, occasion'd us the loss of several Armies, and expos'd our Nation afterwards to ruin and devastation by our implacable Enemy the Usurper, which together with the ungrateful Retributions made us by the Government after the Restoration, were enough to have wearied any Nation under Heav'n, but our selves, of the Union of the Crowns.

Yet such was our Zeal for the Protestant Interest, the Welfare of the Island, and the Liberty of *Europe*, that tho we had a fair opportunity of providing otherwise for our security and the Advancement of our Trade, and of forming our selves into a Commonwealth, or

of bringing *England* to our own terms, yet we frankly and generously concurr'd with them to settle our Government on the same Persons, and in the same manner as they did theirs, and all the Reward we had from them is, that an Union of the Nations, tho' twice propos'd by his Majesty in Parliament, hath been contemptuously rejected, our King questioned by a Parliament of *England* for an Act of his Parliament in *Scotland*, which is a manifest Impeachment of our Sovereignty; a Compliance with which excluded *Baliol* and his Heirs for ever from our Crown; and to this they have added an opposition to our receiving foreign Subscriptions at *Hamburgh* and elsewhere, refus'd us a Supply of Corn for our Money, to relieve us in our Distress; and discourag'd our Settlement at *Darien*, by forbidding their Subjects to trade with us there. If these continued Sights and Injuries be not enough to make us weary of the Union of the Crowns, let any Man judg.

To discover a little of the unreasonableness of this sort of Treatment, we dare appeal to the calm thoughts of such of our Neighbours in *England*, as prefer the Interest of the Publick to private Animosities, and foolish ill-grounded Piques, either as to Church or State; whether at the time of the Revolution, and before we declar'd our selves, they would not have been willing to have assur'd themselves of our Friendship, at the rate of uniting with us as one Nation?

on? Had we but demurr'd upon forfeiting the late K. *James*, or made but a Proffer of renewing our antient League with *France*, and joining with that Crown to keep that Prince upon the Throne of *Great Britain*; they know we might have made what Terms we pleas'd with the late King and *Louis XIV.* on that condition, and might have been restor'd to all the Honours and Privileges that our Ancestors enjoy'd in *France*, which were almost equal to those of the Natives; and yet that gallant Nation thought it no disparagement to them, however we be despis'd and undervalued now by a certain Party in *England*.

Had we but seem'd to have made such Overtures, the English must needs have foreseen that the natural Consequences of such a Design, if it had taken effect, must have been these, *viz.* the late King's Adherents in *England* would certainly have join'd us, and our Nation would have afforded them a safe retreat, in case of any Disaster, till they could have concerted Matters to the best advantage; the late King would not have yilded himself such an easy Conquest, nor disbanded his Army in such a manner as he did; *Ireland* had certainly never revolted, since every one knows that the Revolution was begun, and in a great measure perfected there by the *Scots* of the North; so that *England* must have become the Theatre of War, bin liable to an Invasion from *France* on all occasions, would only have strengthened her Fetters

ters by struggling with them, and expos'd all the Patriots of her Religion and Liberty to Butchery and Destruction.

These must certainly have been the Consequences of our adhering to the late King, and the English would have thought they had had a very good Bargain if they could have bought us off in that case with uniting both the Kingdoms into one, and granting us a joint Trade to their own Plantations; whereas now they will not allow us to settle a foreign Colony of our own, and treat us as Foreigners in theirs.

To shew that this is not a mere Conjecture, that has no other ground but a Vision of the Brain, they may be pleas'd to consider the honorable Privileges granted us by their Ancestors, and some of the greatest Princes that ever sway'd their Scepter, *viz.* King *Edward* and *William* the Conqueror, who by the Consent of the States in Parliament assembled, enacted, *That the Scots should be accounted Denizens of England, and enjoy the same Privileges with themselves, because of their frequent Intermarriages with the English, and that they did ever stand stoutly as one Man with them for the common Utility of the Crown and Kingdom, against the Danes and Norwegians, fought it most valiantly and unanimously against the common Enemy, and bore the burden of most fierce Wars in the Kingdom. This they will find in a Book call'd, Archaionomia, translated from the Saxon by William Lambard, and printed at London by John Day, in 1568.*

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It must be granted, that the Reasons of such a grateful Retribution are redoubled now: Intermarriages betwixt the two Nations are more frequent than ever; the Union of the Kingdoms under one Crown for almost 100 years; the generous Concurrence of the *Scots* in the last Revolution; their loss of so many gallant Officers and brave Soldiers in the common Cause during the late War, and the preservation of *Ireland*, which hath been twice owing to our Countrymen, might reasonably entitle us to the same Priveleges now, that our Ancestors were formerly allow'd by King *Edward*, and *William* the Conqueror. We need not insist on another sort of Obligation, that we have put upon *England* twice within this 60 years, *viz.* the delivering them from their Oppressions in the time of K. *Charles* I. the Anarchy of the Rump, and several Models of Armys and Juntos, by encouraging General *Monk's* Undertaking; for it cannot be denied that we had the Ballance of *Europe* in our hands at the time of the last Revolution, and that we turn'd the Scale to the advantage of *England* in particular, and of *Europe* in general, which must be allow'd to be as great a Service, as that which was so thankfully rewarded by *Edward*, and *William* the Conqueror; whence it is evident that those Englishmen, who at present oppose our Settlement in *America*, don't inherit the gratitude of their Ancestors, when they not only will not allow us to trade in conjunction with them, but with-

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stand our doing any thing that may advance a Trade by our selves.

If they object that what we did in all those cases was no more than our duty, and what we ow'd to our own Preservation as well as to theirs: it is easy to reply, that admitting it to be so, yet by the Laws of God and Men People are encourag'd to perform their Duties by Rewards; and their Ancestors were so sensible of this, that tho they knew we were equally concern'd to defend the Island against foreign Invaders as well as they, yet they thought themselves oblig'd in Policy as well as Gratitude, to reward us; which they not only did by that Honorary *Premium* of allowing us to be Denisons of *England*, as above-mentioned, but sometimes gave to us, and at other times confirm'd to us the three Northern Counties of *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, to be held in Fee of the Crown of *England*.

It is likewise very well known with how much Honour the Parliament of *England* treated us, when they courted our Assistance against *K. Charles I.* and what large Promises that Prince made us, if we would have but stood Neuter; which tho we had reason to think many of those that opposed him had no great kindness neither for our Civil nor Ecclesiastical Constitution, yet the sense that we had of the common Danger that our Religion and Liberties were in at that time, made us proof against all those Tentations; so that after all

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Endeavours for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England* prov'd unsuccessful; we sent in an Army, which cast the Ballance on the side of the latter; who before that time were reduc'd low enough by the King's Army, as is very well known to such as are acquainted with the History of those times, and is own'd by my Lord *Hollis* in his Memoirs lately publish'd.

But to return to the last Revolution: Tho we must own that we owe our Deliverance to his present Majesty, and were oblig'd in Conscience and Honour to concur with him; yet who could have blam'd us to have stood upon Terms before we had fallen in with *England*? especially considering how ungratefully (nay villanously) we were treated by *Cromwel* and his Party, after we had sav'd them and the Parliament of *England* from the Scorpions that the Cavaliers had prepar'd to chastise them with; as is own'd by the said Lord *Hollis*. Nor could we have been any way culpable, if we had stood upon higher and surer Terms with his Majesty, considering how unthankfully we were abus'd and enslav'd by our late Kings, for whom we have acted and suffered so much. And tho we must own that no less Present than that of our Crown was sufficient to testify our Gratitude for what the Prince of *Orange* had done for us, yet we were under no necessity of gratifying him in that manner, since our Deliverance was effected before hand, and that he him-

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self in his Declaration express'd it to be no part of his design to come for the Crown; so that our Reward was as frank and generous as his Service.

Then as to *England*, we were under no manner of obligation to continue the Union with them: We might have insisted upon having our King obliged to reside as much amongst us as amongst them: that we should be govern'd without any consideration or respect to their Interest, any further than it fell in with our own. We might have insisted upon an Act that we should not be oblig'd to attend his Majesty at any time at the Court of *England*, about our Affairs; but that he should either attend upon our Administration in person, *pro re nata*, as he does now upon the Affairs of *Holland*, or lay down Methods to have his Pleasure signified to us at home in such cases as it was requir'd; which would save a vast deal of Money annually to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Then as to the Succession, we were under no necessity of settling it in the same manner as they did in *England*: for since they had made a Breach in the Line, they could not handfomely have blam'd us to have made an improvement of it, and either to have limited the Reversion after his present Majesty's Death, as we should have thought best, for the security of our Civil and Religious Liberties; or we might have settled it upon the Prince of *Orange* and his Issue by any other Wife, there being cause enough

enough then to conceive that he was never like to have any by his late excellent Princess. Had we taken any of these Methods, it must be own'd that *England* would have been considerably weaken'd, and lessen'd in the Esteem of the World by it; that we should have thereby had an opportunity of making such foreign Alliances with *France*, as formerly, or with any other Nation as would have made *England* uneasy, and perhaps unsafe, on occasion; and therefore it must be reckon'd highly impolitick, as well as ungrateful, in our Neighbours to treat us continually at such a rate, as if they had a mind to bring us under subjection, since we have so many open Doors to get out at. They must not think that we have so far degenerated from the Courage and Honour of our Ancestors, as tamely to submit to become their Vassals, when for 2000 years we have maintain'd our Freedom; and therefore it is not their Interest to oppress us too much. If they consult their Histories, they will find that we always broke their Yoke at long-run, if at any time we were brought under it, by Force or Fraud. The best way to assure themselves of us is to treat us in a friendly manner: Tho we be not so great and powerful as they, it is not impossible for us to find such Allies as may enable us to defend our selves now as well as formerly.

None of these things are suggested with an ill design to raise Animosity betwixt the Nations,

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tions, or to perswade to a Separation of the Crowns, but meerly to shew those of our Neighbours, who use us so unkindly, that they are bound in Gratitude, Duty and Interest to do otherwise, and particularly to support us in our *American* Settlement, and not to lay our King under a necessity by their froward Humours in Parliament or otherwise, to discourage us in that Undertaking, as they have hitherto done, and continue still to do in their *American* Colonies, by their Proclamations against having any Commerce or Trade with the *Scots* at *Darien*; tho they be settled there according to the Terms of his own Patent, and an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*.

We are not insensible that the present Juncture of Affairs obliges the Kingdom of *England* to carry fair with *Spain*, and may admit that in part as an Apology for some of that Opposition we have met with from them; but the questioning our Act of Parliament at first, and their hindring our Subscriptions at *Hamburgh* afterward, before ever they knew what our design was, make that Excuse of little weight: but allowing it all the force they would have it to bear, it may be worth their while to consider whether it be more their Interest to encourage the *Spaniards* in an unjust Opposition to our *American* Settlement, or to support the *Scots* in maintaining their Right. It is certain that the *Spaniards* are in no condition to break with *England*; or if they should, it's in the
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power of the *English* to reduce them speedily to reason: whereas if the *Scots* should miscarry in their Undertaking by the Discouragements from *England* before-mentioned, which exposes our Ships to be taken and treated as Pirates by any Nation that pleases, the infallible consequence of it will be, that the Ruin and utter Impoverishment of *Scotland*, which must necessarily follow such a Miscarriage, will immediatly affect *England* both in her Trade and Strength: The City of *London* and the Northern Road will soon feel the effects of it, when the Money spent by our Gentry and Merchants continually for Cloaths, Provisions, and Goods, ceases to circulate there: *England* must unavoidably become an easier Prey to any foreign Enemy; since it will not be only the Loss of a Tribe, but of an entire Sister-Nation. Or supposing that *Scotland* should be able to bear up under the Loss, it will lay the foundation of an irreconcilable Feud, and perhaps issue in a War betwixt the two Nations; which did never yet terminate at long-run to the advantage of *England*, and is as unlikely to do so now as ever: for in such a Case they would find us unanimous as one Man against them; whereas we are sure that all those who wish well to the Protestant Interest, and their present Constitution, would never join in any such War against us; and therefore those who are Enemies to the Peace of the Nations, being aware of this, labour to effect their Design by another Method,

and endeavour as much as they can to dash the Government and us against one another. But they are mistaken in the People of *Scotland*: we are so sensible of our Obligations to K. *William*, and know so well what is due to our Deliverer, that it surpasses all their Art to create in us the least ill thought of him; it is not in the temper of our Nation. The World knows that however frequent and successful we have been in reducing our bad Kings to reason, yet there never was any People under the Sun more loyal and affectionate to good Princes than we have been; and if, when we have been forc'd to oppose our Monarchs, private persons have sometimes carried their Resentments too high, yet the publick Justice of the Nation was always govern'd with Temper. We could multiply Instances to prove this, but need go no higher than the three last Kings, who tho' all of them Enemies to our Constitution, as appear'd by their Principles and Practices, yet it's very well known what we both did and suffer'd for them, and particularly for K. *Charles I.* tho' the Malice of a Faction in our neighbouring Nation fix'd a scandalous Reproach upon us, as if we had sold him; from which Reflection we are sufficiently vindicated by the Lord *Hollis's* Memoirs before-mentioned; wherein that excellent Person makes it evident, that tho' our War against that Prince was just, yet we had all possible respect for his Person, made the best Conditions we could for his Safety and Honour, and

and to avoid greater Mischiefs, and the playing of our Enemies Game to the ruin of our selves and his Majesty, we were necessitated to leave him in *England*. *Memoirs* p. 68.

Then since we carried it so to a Prince that had been no way kind to us, it will be impossible to create a Breach betwixt us and a Prince, to whom, under God, we owe all that we enjoy as Men and Christians: But at the same time our Neighbours, who think to drive that Nail as far as it will go, would do well to consider that we never believ'd that Doctrine in *Scotland*, that it is unlawful to resist a King, or any that have a Commission under him, upon any pretence whatsoever: we left that Doctrine in *Scythia*, from whence some Authors derive our Origin, and think it only fit to be sent back to *Turkey*, from whence it came. We know very well how to distinguish betwixt a lawful Power, and the abuse of it; and our Ancestors rightly understood how to obey the lawful Commands of their Princes, when Masters of themselves, and how to govern by their Authority, and in their Name, when they were not; tho' they did not think themselves obliged to obey their personal Commands, when the Fortune of War, or other Accidents had put them into the hands of our Enemies, Thus we refused Obedience to K. *James I.* when detain'd Prisoner in *England* contrary to the Law of Nations, and carried over into *France*, to command his Subjects there not to bear

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Arms against the *English* Army, where he was in Person. We told him we knew how to distinguish betwixt the Commands of a King and those of a Captive: and that most of the Kings of *Scots* have been such in relation to us since the Union, we could heartily wish were not too demonstrable.

To return to the point of what may probably be the Consequences if the *English* should proceed to any further degree of opposition; or if the *Scots* should miscarry in the Design. It's reasonable to believe that the *English* will be so wise as to forbear Hostilities, tho' we are very well satisfied there is a Party in that Nation who bear ours no good will; but they being such as are either disaffected to the present Constitution, or acted by a sordid Principle of private Interest, it's to be hop'd they will never be able so far to leaven the sound part of the *English* Nation, as to occasion a Rupture betwixt them and us: yet we must needs say that we look upon their way of treating us to be a very unaccountable thing, and that it was no small surprize to us, to find that an *English* Parliament should look on our taking Subscriptions in *England* in order to admit them Joint-Sharers with our selves, in the benefit of the Act to encourage our Trade, to be no less than a high Misdemeanour. We have reason likewise to complain of their constant practice of pressing our Seamen in time of War, as if they were their own Subjects, and that they should treat us in other respects

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respects as if we were Aliens: and sometimes confiscate Ships, by reckoning *Scots* Mariners as such: so that the *English* have not only depriv'd us of our Government and the warm Influences of our Court, the want of which is a considerable addition to the natural coldness of our Climate, but they likewise oppress us on all occasions, and do manifestly endeavour to prevent our Application to Trade. We know there's a Party in that Nation, who think we sustained no great loss by the removal of our Princes; but we would wish them to consider what a murmuring they themselves make when the King goes annually to the *Netherlands* (tho' the safety of *Europe* requires it) because of the damp it puts upon Trade, and the Money it carries out of the Kingdom. Let them consider then what our Nation has suffer'd in that respect now for almost 100 years, besides the lessening our esteem in the Eyes of the World, so that our Honour and Substance are both swallowed up by the Kingdom of *England*; and yet they will neither admit us to the privileges of Fellow-Subjects with themselves, nor suffer us to take such measures as may enable us to stand on our own bottom. Certainly this is not the way to establish the Peace, nor to increase the Wealth of the Island.

We know that it was a Maxim in some of the late Reigns, That it would never be well till all that part of *Scotland* on this side *Forth*, were reduc'd to a hunting field; but we were in

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hopes the bitterness of those days had been past: yet it seems that Party have still so far the ascendant amongst our Neighbours, as to procure a publick opposition to all our Endeavours for raising our Nation by Trade.

It will upon due examination be found as bad Policy as it is Christianity, to urge, as some of our Neighbours do, that it is the Interest of *England* to keep the *Scots* low, because they are an independent and free Nation, and were our antient Enemies; and therefore may be dangerous Neighbours if they grow rich and potent. Nothing but Rancor and inveterate Malice can suggest such four thoughts as these. It were fit that sort of Men should be purg'd of their Choler. The *Scots* to obviate all dangers from that Head, have, tho they be much the antienter Nation, condescended so far as several times to propose a Union, which the Gentlemen of that *Kidney* have hitherto prevented; and therefore we would wish them to look back into their Histories, and upon casting up their Accounts, make a true Estimate of whatever they gain'd by a War with *Scotland*. They will find that their Ancestors, as well as the *Romans*, have been sensible, as *Tacitus* expresses it, *Quos sibi Viros Caledonia seposuerit*; and that as it was true what our Historian says of the unjust and treacherous War made upon us by *Edward I.* that *Scotorum Nomen pene delevit*; it was also true what he says on the other hand, that *Angliam vehementer concussit*: So that those Gentle-

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lemen take the direct way by opposing and oppressing us to run into those dangers they would avoid; for they may assure themselves that if the *English* Opposition to our *American* Settlement should once break out into Hostilities, the *Scots* will find some Allies, antient or new, that will be glad of the opportunity to join with them. Or if, which is most probable, tho highly ungrateful and impolitick, the *English* should so far neglect the *Scots*, as to suffer them to be overpower'd by the *French*, they may be sure that the *Scots*, when put to their last shift, can always make an honourable Capitulation with *France*: It's not to be doubted, but that Crown would be very willing to renew their antient Alliance with us; and besides allowing us a Share at least in the Trade of *Darien*, would on condition of giving them the Possession of *New Caledonia*, restore us likewise to all our antient Priveleges in *France*. They would think it a very good purchase if they could secure themselves of that Colony by doing so, granting us what security we could reasonably desire for the uninterrupted Injoyment of the Protestant Religion, and a Freedom of Trade to all places of the World where it did not actually interfere with their own Settlements and Colonies. So that if this should be the case, we leave it to our Neighbours to judg what would become of their *East* and *West-India* Trade and Plantations, and of their own Liberty, and whether they would be able to stand out against *France* and us, now that

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that they have no footing on the Continent, since formerly, when they had so many Provinces of that Kingdom in their possession, they found it a hard matter to do it, and at last lost every foot of their *French* Dominions: whereas had they been in Union with us, they might certainly have retained them, and by consequence have prevented the great Calamities that *Europe* hath since groan'd under by the prodigious Increase of the *French* Monarchy.

This we think sufficient to convince those angry Gentlemen in our neighbouring Nation, that are so very much disgusted with our *American* Settlement, that it is the Interest of *England* to join with us and support it, and that it may be of dangerous consequence to them either to oppose or neglect us: Whereas by joining cordially in this matter, they may unite us inseparably to themselves for ever, enrich their own Nation, secure and advance the Protestant Interest, keep the Ballance of *Europe* in their hands, and prevent the returns of its danger, their own expence of Blood and Treasure to save its being threatned with Salvery any more, either by the House of *Bourbon* or *Austria*. Therefore we cannot believe after all, but our wise and politick Neighbours will at last see it their Interest to protect and encourage us in this matter, that we may mutually strengthen and support one another against the *French*, who are loudest in their Clamours against our Settlement, because if encouraged and improved it will

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will defeat all their ambitious and Antichristian Designs; and thereby we shall also be in a condition to assist the *English* Plantations in the *West-Indies*, who as we find by the proceedings of the Earl of *Bellomont* and the Assemblies of *New-England* and *New York*, are sufficiently sensible of their danger, from the incroaching temper of the *French*, which increases every day; and it is evident that their new design'd Colony in *Mississipi* River looks with a dangerous Aspect upon all the *English* Plantations in *America*, and may be more justly esteemed an Incroachment upon *Spain*, as being in the Bay of *Mexico*, than our Plantation in *Darien*: which argues the treacherous Humour of that Nation, to make such an Outcry against the *Scots* who have invaded no Mans Property, when they themselves are so notoriously guilty of it; and therefore it would seem to be the Interest of *England* rather to strengthen themselves by our Friendship, and to look after the *French*, than to provoke us to look out for other Allies by their opposition and neglect.

We shall conclude this matter with one or two more Arguments to prove, That it is the Interest of *England* to join with us in this Affair; by which also it will appear that there is nothing advanc'd in these Sheets out of any ill Design against the *English* Nation, or to persuade to a disuniting of the Crowns; but on the contrary, that a stricter Union is absolutely necessary, that both Nations may have but one Interest,

Interest, which will render us less liable to Convulsions and intestine Commotions at home, and put us out of danger of being attacked by Enemies from abroad.

The first Argument is this; That by encouraging our Settlement at *Darien*, English Ships that have occasion to pass by those Coasts will there be certain of a place of Retreat, in case of attack either by Enemy or Tempest, without danger of being confiscated by the *Spaniards*, and having their Men condemn'd to be perpetual Slaves in the Mines.

2. If we be encouraged in our *American* Colony, it will contribute much to heighten the Consumption of the *English* Product; since what we have not of our own, and wherein we are wanting either as to quality or quantity, we shall supply our selves, for the use of our Plantations, in *England*; which may be of great benefit to the Northern Counties especially, whence we may conveniently furnish our selves with Beeves for victualling our Ships, our own Cattel being for the most part too small for that use; besides many other things that we shall have occasion to export from *England* for the use of the Plantation, and to maintain a Commerce with the Natives.

3. By joining with us in this Colony, and securing a Post on the South-Sea, which the Princes of *Darien* will no doubt very readily agree to, they may shorten their Voyages to the *East-Indies*, and by that means be able to outdo
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all their Rivals in that Trade; but if they will be so far wanting to themselves, as to suffer those advantages to fall into the hands of others who are Enemies to our Religion and common Country, they cannot blame the *Scots*, who have made them such fair Offers; and if our Nation should miscarry in the Attempt, they themselves cannot expect to stand long, but must be buried in the common Ruins, and fall unpitied.

4. If after all the *English* should continue obstinate in their Opposition to us, as their late Proclamations in *America*, and other Passages would seem to imply they have a mind to, the World cannot blame the *Scots* to provide for themselves by such other Alliances as they shall think meet; since the *English* are so unkind, and have been constantly growing upon us, especially since the Restoration of King *Charles II.* to which we did so much contribute, that without our concurrence it could never have been effected. This will appear to be incontrovertibly true, if we consider that in the time of K. *James I.* we were under no Restrictions as to matters of Trade more than they, except as to the exportation of Wool, and a few other things of *English* Product; and so we continu'd till the Restoration, when K. *Charles II.* and the *English* did very ungratefully lay such Preclusions and Restrictions upon us contrary to the Laws relating to the *Postnati*, by the 12th of *Car. 2.* for the encouraging and increasing Shipping and Navigation, and the 15.
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Car. 2. for the encouragement of Trade; by which we are put in the same Circumstances as to Traffick with *France* and *Holland*, and in a worse condition than *Ireland* that is a Conquest; which is so much the more unreasonable, since we are always involv'd and engag'd in the Wars betwixt *England* and other Countries: and those with whom they have most frequent Wars, being *Holland* and *France*, the only two Nations with whom the *Scots* have almost any Commerce, our Trade must of necessity sink during such Wars, whereas *England* hath still a great Trade to other parts of the World; and by this means we are forc'd to be sharers in their Troubles, tho they will not allow us to partake of their Profits, nor suffer us to take any measures to procure such as we may call our own.

It is plain from the Instance of *Darien*, and the Proclamations in the *English American Colonies* against their Subjects entertaining any Commerce with our Settlement there; that by the Union of the Crowns upon the present footing, we are in a worse condition than ever; for when any thing happens wherein the Interest of *England* seems to be contrary to ours, it is certainly carried against us, and we are left without remedy: so that in this respect we are in a worse condition than any Foreigners, with relation to *England*; for if a foreign People discover any thing that may be of advantage to them, they are at liberty to pursue it by themselves,

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selves, or to take in the Assistance of others; and if they find themselves aggriev'd by *England*, they have their respective Governments to make application to for redress: but we are the most unhappy People in the world; for if *England* oppose us, we have no King to appeal to, but one that is either an Alien and Enemy to us, as being King of a greater People who are such, or if he be inclinable to protect and do us Justice as King of *Scots*, he is a Prisoner in *England*, and cannot do it: If they question him in the Parliament of *England* for any thing relating to his Government of *Scotland*, as in the case of our late Act for an *East-India* and *African* Trade, his Interest as King of *England* obliges him to submit himself as King of *Scotland*; by which means our Crown, which we defended so gallantly for so many ages, and which the *English* could never make subject to theirs by force, is now intirely subjected by a false step of our own, in suffering our King to take their Crown upon him without making better terms for ourselves: So that instead of having a King to fight our Battels, we have made a surrender of our Prince to the Enemy, who arm him against us; and which is worst of all, we have falsified our own Proverb as to our selves, *That Scots-men are wise behind hand*: for tho we sufficiently smarted for it in the four last Reigns, yet we had not so much foresight or care of our selves as to prevent the Consequences of it in this Reign, when it was in our power to have
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done it. Then if we make application to our antient Allies, or any other foreign Power for Assistance, when we groan under Oppression, we are treated as Rebels: Thus our whole Nation was proclaim'd such for but offering to make application to the King of *France*, as our antient Friend and Ally, when a certain Party in *England* had arm'd our natural Sovereign K. *Charles I.* against us. And that which is still worse, tho' our Crown from the time of the Union has been for the most part on the Head of an Alien or Enemy, yet it has influence enough to divide us amongst our selves against the Interest of the Nation; as in the Reign of K. *Charles II.* those that comply'd with the Court of *England* were brib'd with all the chief places in our Administration, whilst those who were true Patriots to their Country (as for Honour sake to instance only in the late Great Duke of *Hamilton*, and our present Lord High Chancellor) were expos'd to all manner of Dangers and Vexations. This we think sufficient to convince our Neighbours that we have no reason to be fond of having the Union of the Crowns continu'd, except the Interest of the Nations be more closely united than ever they have hitherto been. And to let them see that it is their interest as well as ours it should be so; we shall only desire them to consider how fatal it may be to them, if by any Emergency we should be forc'd to break off the Union of the Crowns, and enter again in-

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to a *French* Alliance. It's in vain for them to object that in such a case we should betray our Religion; for we see the persecuted *Hungarians* were protected in that by the *Turks*, tho' sworn Enemies to it: nor is it impossible but there may be a change as to that matter in *France*; L. XIV. is not immortal: and even *Julian* the Apostate himself found it his Interest for some time to protect the Orthodox Christians, whom he mortally hated. But supposing (as indeed there's no great likelihood of it) that no such Alliance as this should ever happen; yet however, if these two Nations be not more closely united, it may be of ill consequence to *England* if any of their Kings at any time should be so far disgusted with their Proceedings, as to leave them, and betake themselves to us. What a Field of Blood and Slaughter must *England* have become, had we carried off K. *Charles I.* when he came to our Army, or if we had join'd him against the Parliament of *England*? What great Efforts did a Party of our Nation make to iathrone K. *Charles II.* when *England* was against him? and how did our Concurrence afterwards with General *Monk* effect it? How soon did our espousing the D. of *York's* Interest turn the Tables upon those that opposed him in *England*? And if our Nation had likewise espous'd his Cause before the Revolution, the Viscount of *Dundee* gave a sufficient proof what we could have done for him. There's a strong Party in *England* at present against al-

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lowing the King a Standing Force, for fear, as they pretend, of losing their Liberties; but all their Opposition in that respect would signify little, (if in case of a Rupture) our Nation should take part with the Court, and bring in 22000 Men, with 6 Weeks Provisions and Pay, as we are oblig'd to do by Act of Parliament, for his Assistance. This makes it evident that it is not the Interest of *England* to slight and an Union with us so much as they have done: For so long as we remain divided, any King that is so minded, may make use of us to inflave one another; and any envious Neighbour, whose Interest it is to keep this Island low, will be sure to blow the Coals. If they'd but turn the Tables, and make our Case their own, they would quickly be satisfied of the truth of what we advance. Supposing that the Government of *Scotland* should traverse the Actings of the Government of *England*, in relation to their Trade, &c. as they have done ours; and supposing that a Parliament of *Scotland*, when the King were there, should question him for the Navigation Act, and that for the Encouragement of Trade in *England* by K. Charles II. which lays us under such hard Circumstances and Restrictions, the *English* would certainly very much resent it, and speedily tell us we meddled with what did not belong to us: Then why should they deny us the like liberty in reference to their Proceedings against us, seeing we are a free Nation as well as they?

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They cannot think that the Kingdom of *Scotland* will look upon the *English* Proclamations in the *West-Indies*, against having any Commerce with our Colony at *Darien*, to be the Act and Deed of a King of *Scotland*, since it is not only contrary to his own Act of Parliament there, and his Patent under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, but contrary to the Interest of that Nation: but being the Act of a Person who is really King of *Scots*, we can look upon it to be no other than the effect of a Force put upon him by a Nation which in this Matter thinks it their Interest he should do so. Now suppose, which God forbid, our Colony should be starv'd by virtue of those Proclamations, or that our Ships going and coming from *Darien*, should by reason thereof be attack'd, and treated as Pirates by the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Nation, who may take the opportunity to do it, and say our King has declar'd against us; to whom should we make application for redress in this Matter? The King of *England*, he is our Enemy and emitted those Proclamations; the King of *Scots* is detain'd in *England*, and not Master of himself, but is forc'd to act thus contrary to the Interest of his own antient Crown and Kingdom; as a former K. *William*, *John Baliol*, and *James I.* were forc'd to do, when in the Power of the *English*. In such a case, if our infant Colony should by this means be destroyed, our Neighbours must needs think that we should look for

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a Compensation somewhere, resume the Government into our own hands, and strengthen our selves by new Alliances; which perhaps might be little to their advantage. This is not suggested as a thing that is ever likely to be practis'd or to which the Kingdom of *Scotland* is any way inclin'd: Our whole Conduct since the Union is a continu'd evidence of the uprightness of our Intentions towards *England*; and the Offers we did make, and do still continue to make, of admitting 'em as Partners and Sharers in our new Settlement are enough to stop the mouth of Calumny it self. But if in return of our kindness we meet with Neglect and Contempt, have our Sovereignty trampled under foot, our Settlement in *America* by an Act of Parliament in *Scotland* reflected upon as unjust by Proclamations from *England*, the World cannot blame us to complain of the Violence done to our Independency and Honour; which is not to be salv'd by any politick considerations whatever, that our Neighbours can pretend for this Treatment.

Nor can any thing less than joining with us, and protecting that Settlement against all opposition in case of Attacks by the *French*, or others, sufficiently atone for what is already don, or heal the Wound those Proclamations have giv'n to the common Interest and Honor of the Island.

We come in the next place to give a Description of the *Isthmus* of *Darien*. It lies betwixt

twixt the 8th and 10th Degrees of Northern Latitude, and in the narrowest place is betwixt 60 and 80 *Italian* Miles over. We shall not trouble our selves with the Description of any more of it than is in the possession of the Natives, which is in length from E. to W. on the North side from the mouth of the River *Darien* to Port *Scrivan*, above 140 *Italian* Miles; from *Caret* Bay to the River of *Cheapo* on the South-side, it is about 160 in length. It is supposed to take its Name from the great River of *Darien*, that bounds its Northern Coast to the Eastward. It is bounded on the North and South with the vast Oceans that carry the names of the North and South Seas. Its Situation is very pleasant and agreeable, and very commodious for a speedy and short Communication of Trade betwixt the North and South Seas, and preventing that vast Compass that must otherwise be fetch'd round either of the Extremes of North and South-*America*. By this means also it lies convenient for a speedier Communication of Trade betwixt *Europe* and the *East-Indies* than any that hath hitherto been found out. Mr. *Dampier* says, that from *Cheapo*, or *Santa Maria* River, a man may pass from Sea to Sea in three days, and that the *Indians* do it in a day and a half. There are abundance of valuable Islands on both sides the *Isthmus*, which prevent the breaking in of the Ocean upon it at once; and besides the Conveniences of Wood, Fish, Fowl, and Water, afford good and safe

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Riding in all Weathers, to any number of Ships, especially those call'd the *Sambaloes*, that lie along the Northern Coast. The Continent is agreeably intermix'd with Hills and Valleys of great variety, for height, depth, and extent. The Valleys are watered with Rivers, Brooks and Springs, which take their rise from a great Ridg of Hills that run along the *Isthmus*, but nearest to the Northern Shore, from which it is seldom above 15 Miles distant, and from whence the *Sambaloes* Islands, and the various Makings of the Shore, and the continued Forest all along the Country gratify the Eye with a very fine prospect. The Rivers on the Northern Coast are generally small, because their Course from the abovementioned Ridg of Hills is but short; yet the River of *Darien* is very large, but the depth of its entrance not answerable to its width, yet further in it is deep enough, and hath a good Harbour in *Caret Bay* which is some Leagues up the River, hath two Islands of pretty high Land, cloath'd with variety of Trees lying before it, and two or three Streams of fresh Water falling into it. From this Bay to the Promontory near *Golden Island*, the Shore is indifferently fruitful, and the Soil on the Northern Coast is generally good, but swampy here and there to the Sea.

To the Westward of the Promontory, at the entrance of the River, is a fine sandy Bay with three Islands, one of them *Golden Island* lying before it, which make it an extraordinary good Harbour.

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Harbour. *Golden Island* is rocky and steep all round, except at the Landing Place on the South side, so that it is naturally fortify'd. The Land of the *Isthmus* over against it to the S. E. is an excellent fruitful Soil. West of this Island lies the largest of the three, being swampy and covered with Maingroves. To the North of these lies the Island of *Pines*, cover'd with tall Trees fit for any use. From the Point against these Islands for three Leagues Westward, the Shore is guarded by Rocks, so that a Boat cannot land; but at the N. W. end of the Rocks there's a very good Harbour, and good Riding as has been said, in all Winds, by some or other of those Islands, which with the adjacent Shore make a lovely Landskip off at Sea. The Channel betwixt them and the *Isthmus* is two, three, and four Miles broad, and navigable from end to end; and the Ground opposite to them within Land an excellent Soil, and a continued Forest of stately Timber-trees.

On the South-side there's the River *Sambo* that falls into the Sea by point *Garachina*. This is a large River. Then there's the Gulph of *St. Michael*, made by the Outlet of several considerable Rivers, as those of *Santa Maria* and *Congo*, and the *Gold-River*, so call'd because of the great plenty of Gold Dust it affords to the *Spaniards*. The River *Congo* may be entred at high water, and affords a good Harbour. The Gulph has several Islands in it, and affords good Riding in many places. The Country on

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this side as on the other is one continued Forest; and forms a Bay call'd the Bay of *Panama*, abounding with fine Islands, and affording good Riding for Ships. The Soil of the Inland Country is for the most part a black fruitful Mold.

The Weather is much the same as in other places of the Torrid Zone in this Latitude, but inclining to the wet extreme, for two thirds of the year, the Rains beginning in *April*.

The most remarkable of their Trees are the *Cotton Tree*, which bears a Cod as big as a Nutmeg full of short Wool or Down, and affords Timber for Canoes and Periagoes; they abound with stately *Cedars* and *Macaw Trees*, which bear a Fruit as big as a small Pear, of a tart but not unpleasant Taste: *Bibby Tree*, the Wood hard and black as Ink, and being tapp'd, affords a Liquor call'd *Bibby*, of a pleasant tart taste, which the *Indians* drink. They have abundance of *Plantains* set in Walks, which make very delightful Groves, and yield an excellent Fruit, and being green and sappy, are cut down with one stroak of an Ax. They have also plenty of *Bonanoes* another sort of Plantain, which eats best raw as the Plantain does boil'd. They have great Store of that excellent Fruit call'd *Pine-apples*, which tastes like a Mixture of all delicious Fruits, and ripens at all times of the year. They have also *Prickle-pear*, which is a very good Fruit; and *Sugar-Canes*, of which they make no other use but to suck out the Juice. The *Maho Tree*, of which they
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make Ropes, Cables for Ships, and Nets for fishing. The *Calabash* whose Shells serve for Cups and other occasions, is curiously painted; the sweet sort of 'em is eatable, and the bitter sort Medicinal. They have also *Gourds* of the like nature. There's a Plant they call *Silk Grass* which resembles our Flaggs; this they beat into strings like fine Flax, much stronger than our Flax or Hemp; of these they make Ropes, Cordage of all sorts, Nets for small Fish; and the *Spaniards* and others use it for Shoemakers Thread, Stockins, and a sort of Lace. they have a Tree call'd *Lightwood*, as large as an Elm, but so light, that a Man may carry a great quantity of it on his back. It is in substance like Cork, and made use of by the *Indians* for rafters to go to Sea, or pass Rivers. They have a Tree call'd *Whitewood* of a finer Grain, and whiter than any European Wood, and fit for inlaying. They have *Tamarind*, *Locust Tree*, *Bastard Cinnamon*, *Bamboes*, and *Maingrove Trees* in plenty. They have Shrubs that bear store of Pepper of two sorts, call'd bell Pepper, and bird Pepper.

Mr. *Waser*, to whom we owe this Description, takes notice of a *Redwood*, whereof there grow great quantities on the Northern Coast; the *Indians* make use of it for dying, and mix a kind of Earth they have with it. It makes a bright glossy lively Red, which no washing can fetch out again. This we suppose to be the *Nicaragua Wood*. Their Roots are Potatoes,

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roes, Kams, and Cassava; of the last of which they make Bread. They have likewise Tobacco, but don't understand the planting and manuring of it; it is not so strong as that of Virginia.

Their Beasts are the Peccary, and Waree a kind of wild Hogs, which are very good Meat. They have considerable store of Deer and Rabbits, and great droves of Monkys, which are extraordinary fat and good to eat. They have an Insect call'd a Soldier, somewhat resembling a Crab, which feeds upon what falls from the Tree, is a delicious Meat, and yields an Oil that is an excellent Salve. They have no European Cattle.

Their Birds are the Chicaly-Chicaly, which makes a noise somewhat like a Cuckoo, is a large Bird, has Feathers of divers Colours very beautiful and lively, whereof the Natives sometimes make Aprons. This Bird keeps mostly on the Trees, feeds on fruit, and is pretty good Meat. The Quam feeds in the same manner, his Wings are dun, his Tail dark, short, and upright. He is much preferable to the other for Meat. There's a Russet-colour'd Bird, resembling a Partridg, runs most on the ground, and is excellent Meat. The Corosou is a large Fowl as big as a Turkey, and of a black colour. The Cock has a fine Crown of yellow Feathers on his Head, and Gills like a Turkey. They live on Trees, and eat Fruit. They sing very delightfully, and are so well imitated by the Indians,

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Indians, that they discover their haunts by it. They are very good Meat, but their Bones make the Dogs run mad, and are therefore hid from them by the Indians. They have abundance of Parrots, for size and shape much like those of Jamaica, they are very good Meat. Their Parakites are most of them green, and go in large flights by themselves. They have Macaw Birds which are as big again as Parrots, and resemble them in shape. They have a Bill like a Hawk, and a bushy Tail with two or three long stragling Feathers, either red or blue; but those of the Body are of a lovely blue, green and red. The Indians tame those Birds, and teach them to speak; and then letting them go into the Woods amongst the wild ones, they will return of their own accord to the Houses. They exactly imitate the Voices and singing of the Indians, and call the Chicaly in its own Note. It is one of the pleasantest Birds in the World, and its flesh sweet and well tasted. They have also Woodpeckers which are pied like our Magpies, and have long Claws that they climb up Trees with; they are not pleasant to eat. They have plenty of Dunghil-foul resembling those of Europe, and their Flesh and Eggs as well tasted as ours. About the Sambaloes they have great store of Sea-foul, and particularly Pelicans which are large Birds, having Legs and Feet like a Goose, and a Neck like a Swan, the Feathers are grey. It has a Bag under its Throat, which when fill'd is as large as a man's two fists; and when dry, will

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will hold a pound of Tobacco; they feed upon Fish, and the young ones are good meat. They have also *Cormorants* resembling Ducks for size and shape, are of a black Colour, have a white spot on the Breast, and pitch sometimes on Trees and Shrubs by the water side. They are too rank to be eaten. They have abundance of Sea-gulls and Pyes, which are pretty good meat, but eat fishy, which is cur'd by burying 'em eight or ten hours in the Sand with their Feathers on. They have flying Insects too, and among others Bees, which form their Hives on Trees; and it's observ'd, That they never sting any body: The Natives mix the Honey with Water, and so drink it, but know not the use of the Wax. They have shining Flies, which in the night time resemble Glow-worms.

Their Fish are the *Tarpom*, which eats like Salmon; some of 'em weigh 50 or 60 pound; They afford good Oil. They have *Sharks*, and another fish that resembles a *Shark*, but much better Meat. The *Cavally* is much of the size of a Maccarel, and very good Meat. They have a Fish call'd *Old Wives*, which is also very good to eat. Their *Paracoods* are as large as a well-grown Pike, and very good Meat; but in some particular places poisonous, which are distinguished by the Liver. Their *Gar-fish* is good Meat, they have a long Bone on their Snout, with which they will sometimes pierce the side of a Canoe. They have also *Sculpins*,
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a prickly Fish, which when strip'd, is very good Meat. They have likewise *String-rays*, *Parrot-fish*, *Snooks*, *Conger Eels*, *Conchs*, *Periwinkles*, *Limpits*, *Sea Crabs*, and *Craw-fish*, and other sorts whose names we know not, that eat very well.

The Inhabitants are most numerous on the North of the *Isthmus*; the Men usually 5 or 6 foot high, streight, clean lim'd, big-bon'd, handsomely shap'd, nimble, active, and run well. The Women are short and thick, and not so lively as the Men; the young Women plump, well-shap'd, and have a brisk Eye: both Sexes have a round Visage, short bottle Noses, large and grey Eyes, high Forehead, white even Teeth, thin Lips, pretty large Mouths, well proportion'd Cheeks and Chins, and in general handsome; but the Men exceed the Women. Both Sexes have streight long lank black Hair, which they generally wear down to the middle of their Back. All other Hair but that of their Eye-brows and Eye-lids they pull up by the Roots, cut off the hair of their Heads, and paint themselves black by way of triumph, when they kill a *Spaniard*. Their natural complexion is a copper Colour, and their Eye-brows black as jet. There are some among them of both Sexes, which bear the proportion of two or three to a hundred, who are milk white, and have all their Bodies cover'd over with a milk white Down; their Hair is of the same Colour, and very fine, about 6 or 8 Inches long,

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long, and inclining to curl. They are less in Stature than the other *Indians*, and their Eye-Lids point downwards in form of a Crescent; they don't see well in the Sun, their Eyes being weak and running with Water, if the Sun shine upon them, therefore they are call'd Moon-ey'd. They are weak and sluggish in the day time, but in Moon-shiny nights all life and activity, and run as fast thro the Woods by night, as the other *Indians* do by day. They are not so much respected as the other *Indians*, but look'd upon as monstrous. The Natives go naked both Men and Women, only the Men have a thing like an Extinguisher of silver or gold Plate tied round their middle to cover their Yard, and the Women tie a piece of Cloth before them, which comes as low as their Knee; but they use none of those Precautions till they come to the years of Puberty; the Men that have not those Extinguishers, make use of a piece of a Plantain-leaf of a Conick Figure. They are in general a modest and cleanly People, and have a value for Cloths if they had them. The better sort have long Cotton Garments shap'd like Carmens Frocks, which they use on solemn occasions, as attending the King or Chief, &c. For an Ornament to the Face, besides their general painting and daubing, the Men wear a piece of Plate hanging over their Mouths, and the Chief of them have it of Gold. It is of an Oval Form, and gently pinching the Bridle of the Nose with its points, hangs dangling from thence as low
as

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as the under Lip; and instead of this the Women wear a Ring thro the Bridle of the Nose: they lay them aside at their Feasts. They likewise wear Chains of Teeth, Shells, Beads, or the like; the heavier they be, they reckon them the more ornamental. Their Houses lie mostly scattering, and always by a River-side, but in some places they are so many as to form a Town or Village. Their Walls are made up of Sticks, and daub'd over with Earth: The Fire is in the middle of the House, and the Smoke goes out at a Hole in the Roof: They are not divided into Stories or Rooms, but into Hovels; every one has a Hammock for a Bed in one of those Hovels. They have no Doors, Shelves, or Seats, other than Logs of Wood. Every Neighbourhood has a Warehouse of 130 foot long, the Sides and Ends full of Holes, whence they shoot their Arrows on the approach of the *Spaniards*. In their Plantations they set so much Plantain, Maiz, &c. as serves their occasions: They likewise make Drink of Maiz, which they ferment by Grains of the same chewed in their Mouths: They have also another sort of Drink, which they make of Plantains. Most of the Drudgery is perform'd by the Women with great cheerfulness, being very well condition'd, and dutiful to their Husbands, who are otherwise very indulgent to them, and their Children. The Women wash the Mother and Child in a River within an hour after Delivery. The Boys are bred

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bred to the Bow, Hunting, and Fishing, &c. at which they are mighty dexterous; and the Girls help the Women in dressing their Victuals, Weaving, making Cotton Cloth, Cordage, Nets, &c. and the Men make Baskets very neat, dyeing the Materials first with lively Colours. They allow Poligamy, but punish Adultery with Death of both Parties: They punish Theft also with Death; and Fornication with thrusting a Briar up the Man's Yard, whereof they commonly die. The Facts must be prov'd by Oath, which is a swearing by their Tooth. When they marry, the Father or nearest Kinsman keeps the Bride privately in his own Apartments the first 7 Nights, and then she is deliver'd to her Husband: All the Neighbours for some Miles round are invited to a great Feast, and bring Provisions with them: The Fathers of the young Couple bring them forth in their hands, and the Bridegroom's Father makes a Speech; then he dances about in antick Gestures till all on a sweat, when he kneels down, and gives his Son to the Bride, her Father also having danc'd himself into a Sweat, and presenting her to the Bridegroom in the same manner; then they take each other by the hand, and so the Ceremony concludes. After this all the Men take up their Axes, and run shouting to a Tract of Wood-land, to prepare a Plantation for the new Couple. That being done, they have their Feast, and afterwards drink hard, all their Arms being first
put

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put out of the way, to prevent Danger in case of quarrelling. They divert themselves sometimes by dancing, and piping on a small hollow Bamboe, but without distinction of Notes: The Men and Women never dance nor feast together, but apart. The Women accompany them likewise in their hunting Expeditions, which sometimes last 20 days. They tie their Hammocks betwixt two Trees, cover them with Plantain Leaves, and have Fires all night by their Hammocks: Such of their Prey as they take a Hunting, and design to keep for future use, they barbecue in the Woods; and what they make use of for present Sustainance, they mix with Roots, Plantain, Bonanoes, and Pepper, and stew it together till it be brought to a Pulp, which they take up with the two foremost Fingers of their right Hand bent hookwise, and put into their Mouths. They travel by direction of the Sun, or the bending of the Trees, according as the Wind is. None of the *English* Authors take notice of their Worship or Religion, but give an account that they pawaw, or consult the Devil to know Futurities: and it would seem they are as ignorant in matters of Physick and Chirurgery, since when they would let a Patient blood, they set him upon the Bank of a River, and with a little Bow, and small Arrow, gag'd that it may enter no further than our Lancets, they shoot as fast as they can at all parts of the Patient's Body; and if they chance to hit on a
F Vein,

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Vein, that the Blood spurts out a little, they testify their joy by antick Dances.

We come next to give an account of the Settlement of our men there; how they were receiv'd by the Natives; what *Indian* Princes there are in their Neighbourhood; in what state they found the Affairs of the Country; and of the Situation of our Colony.

On the 27th of *October* 1698. our Ships came to an Anchor in a fair sandy Bay, 3 Leagues W. off the Gulph of *Darien*; upon which two Canoes, with several *Indians*, came on board, were very free with our Men, told them they had been long expected, and were very welcome: Our Men gave them some old Hats, Looking-glasses and Knives, with which they were extremely well pleas'd, and went off. When our Ships stood further into the Bay, they saw about 20 *Indians* drawn upon the Shoar, being arm'd with Bows and Lances; upon which a Boat being sent ashoar, and making a signal of Peace, they unstrung their Bows, talk'd familiarly, and told our Men that two Great Captains would in a little time come on board our Ships. Accordingly on *November* 2d in the morning Capt. *Andreas*, one of their Princes, accompanied by 12 Men, came on board, and ask'd their business; he was answered, that we came to live among them, and trade with them, and would afford them *European* Commodities cheaper than any other People. He ask'd if we

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we were Friends or Enemies to the *Spaniards*; and was answered that we were at peace with all men, and would make war upon no man, except they injur'd us. He took us for *Buccaneers*, and told us he knew Capt. *Swan* and Capt. *Davis* in the South-Sea, and commended them as men of valour. We heard that part of his Discourse with very much coldness, and told him we came on no such design as those men did, but had Authority for what we undertook. We treated him civilly, gave him a Hat lac'd with Gold, and some Toys: and so he parted, promising in a little time to come again; which he accordingly did, and brought *Don Pedro*, another of their Princes or Captains, with him. Capt. *Andreas* was freer with us than at first, plainly own'd that he took us for *Buccaneers*, and complain'd that some *English-men* of that sort had after great pretences of Friendship, carried off some of their People; and therefore *Don Pedro* would not come aboard us till he had further assurance of us.

Capt. *Andreas* is a person of a small stature; he affects the *Spanish* Gravity, as having been often among them at the Mines of *Santa Maria*, *Panama*, &c. and formerly had a Commission under them as a Captain, upon which he values himself above others: The *French* hate him mortally, because of something he did against some of their Nation formerly. When he came on board us, he had a sort of a Coat of red loose Stuff, an old Hat, a pair of Drawers, but

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but no Stockings nor Shoes; and the rest that came with him were all naked, excepting their *Penis*, which was covered by Extinguishers, as formerly mention'd.

Upon further communing, Capt. *Andreas* was very well pleas'd with us, offer'd us what part of the Country we would chuse, and accepted a Commission from us; and at the same time we gave him a Basket-hilted Sword, and a pair of Pistols: upon which he promised to defend us to the last of his Blood.

Some of the Princes on this side the *Isthmus* had been in peace with the *Spaniards* for several years, and suffered a few of them to reside amongst them, to give notice to *Panama* of what Ships came upon these Coasts; but upon some fresh disgust, about two months before we arriv'd, Capt. *Ambrosio*, who is the most noted Prince amongst 'em, had oblig'd them to enter into a common Alliance against *Spain*, and cut off ten *Spaniards*, who liv'd upon *Golden Island*.

The Place where we are settled is 4 Miles East of *Golden Island*, within a great Bay. We have an excellent Harbor, surrounded with high Mountains, capable of holding a thousand Sail land-lock'd, and safe from all Winds and Tempests. The Mouth of the Harbor is about random Cannon-shot over, form'd by a *Peninsula* on the one side, and a point of Land on the other. In the middle of the Entrance there is a Rock three foot above water, upon which the Sea breaks most terribly when the Wind blows hard;

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hard; and within the Points there is a small Rock that lies a little under water. On both sides these Rocks there's a very good wide Channel for Ships to come in: that on the South-side is three Cables long, and seven Fathom deep; and that on the North two Cables long. From the two outermost points the Harbour runs away East a Mile and an half; and near the middle, on the right hand, a point of Land shoots out into the Bay: so that by raising Forts on the said Point, on the Rock in the middle of the Entrance, and the two outermost Points, it will be the strongest Harbor, both by Art and Nature, that's in the known World. The Bay within is for the most part 6 Fathom Water, and till you come within a Cable's length of the Shoar, three Fathom and an half: So that a Key may be built, to which great Ships may lay their Sides, and unload. The *Peninsula* lies on the left hand, is a mile and an half in length, very steep, and high towards the Sea: so that it would be very difficult for any body to land, till you come to the *Isthmus*, where there's a small sandy Bay that little Ships may put into, but is easy to be secured by a Ditch and a Fort. There are several little Rivers of very good Water that fall into the Bay; and it abounds so with excellent fish, that we can with ease take more than it's possible for us to destroy, having sometimes caught 140 at a draught: amongst others there be Tortoises, which are excellent Meat, and some of them above 600 weight. F 3 The

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The *Peninsula* was never inhabited, and is cover'd all over with Trees of various sorts, as stately Cedars, Brasil-wood, *Lignum Vitæ*, Box-wood, Fustick-wood, Yellow Sanders, Manshinel, &c. and the like sorts, besides others whose names we know not, grow on the Continent; and we doubt not of finding out the *Nicaragua* Wood: we have found Cabbage Trees, the Fruit of which eats like Collyflowers. The Natives have no Plantation within two Miles of us.

We have a Watch-Tower upon an high Hill adjoining to our Plantation, about a mile South of the Bay; from whence we can see the Ships in the Bay, the Fort we have rais'd on the Mouth of the Bay, and as far as the Mouth of the River *Darien*: We can see above thirty Miles Southward, and have a fine Prospect of *Golden Island*, and the *Isle of Pines*, Westward towards *Portobello*, and Northward towards *Jamaica*. The Hill is about a Mile in height; so that we can see any Ships before they come within some Leagues of the Harbor. We compute our selves to be about 50 Leagues North of *Carthagenæ*, and as much South of *Portobello*. The 4 *Indian* Kings or Captains on this Coast visit us frequently in their Canoes; and the Natives are very kind to us, and sell us Plantains, Fowls, &c. for Toys or old Shifts. A *French-man* who hath married one of the Natives, informs us that the *Spaniards* have Silver and Gold Mines on the *Isthmus*, which we might

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might make our selves Masters of with a 100 Men; so that if they commit Hostilities upon us, as we hear they threaten to do, it's not unlikely that we may visit them. We found some *French* Refugees in the Country, who are willing to settle under us; and having been several years in these Parts, and understanding the Language of the Natives, are very useful to us. We have seen some Sand in the Rivers, which looks as if it were mixt with Gold, and in some places the Earth seems to be very much mixt with it: so that it's concluded there's more Gold-dust here, than in any part of *Guinea*.

The *Indian* Princes or Captains on this Coast do somewhat resemble our Heads of Clans in *Scotland*; and by their Converse at times with the *Spaniards*, and other *European* Nations, affect Christian Names. The first of these Princes we shall name is Capt. *Diego*; he commands from the bottom of the Gulph of *Orba* on this side *Caret* Bay, and has 3000 men under him; he has been at war with the *Spaniards* several years, occasion'd by an Insult his People had receiv'd from them, when they came to demand their share in the Mines which they had discover'd to the *Spaniards* in their Country, on condition of being Partners with them: but when they came to demand it, the *Spaniards* treated them villanously, beat and abus'd them; upon which they attack'd the *Spaniards*, cut off 20 of their Men, and 3 Priests that belong'd to the Mines. F 4 The

The next is Capt. *Poufigo*. He is an *Indian* Clergy-man, and Brother-in-law to Capt. *Andreas*. The Peninsula that we possess, lies betwixt his Territory and that of Capt. *Andreas*, who together with his Brother, commands from *Golden Island* to the River *Pinas*. Their Command is greater than that of *Poufigo*, but not so great as that of *Diego*. These Princes are very useful to us, because of their Neighbourhood and Consanguinity to one another.

Capt. *Ambrosio* commands from the River *Pinas* to the *Sambaloes*: He is a man of about 60 years of age, but strong and vigorous, well limb'd. and of a stern Countenance: he is a mortal Enemy to the *Spaniards*, with whom he hath had a long War: he is esteem'd the bravest of all the *Indian* Captains. His Son-in-law *Don Pedro* having been taken by the *Spaniards*, and kept by them as a Slave at *Panama*, he can never forget nor forgive it them: This young man is a great Friend to the *French*, who they are made to believe design to come and settle among them. *Ambrosio* and his Son-in-law prest us much to come and settle in their Dominions, and join with them to make war on the *Spaniards*: We gave them fair Words, and promis'd to come and view their Coasts, which we accordingly did; and in our way thither, four Leagues Westward of our Settlement, we found an excellent Harbour, capable of 10000 Sail; but it can't be defended without many Forts: Here the Privateers us'd

to come and careen. Capt. *Ambrosio's* House lies about a League from the Water-side, on the Bank of a River, having 12 lesser Houses about it: When we drew near it, he advanced 50 Paces to meet us, being attended by 20 men in white loose Frocks with Fringes round the bottom, and arm'd with Lances: He saluted us kindly, and gave us a Calabash of Liquor almost like Lambs-wool, made of *Indian* Corn and Potatoes. His House is 90 foot long, 35 broad, and 30 in height, curiously thatch'd with Palmetto-Royal, and over that Cotton-leaves. The Floor is of firm Earth like Tarras, very smooth and clean. The sides are compos'd of large Canes, as thick as a Man's Leg. In this House live *Ambrosio* and his Son-in-law *Don Pedro*, with both their Families, consisting of about 40 Persons. We saw *Ambrosio's* Grandmother there, who is 120 years old, and yet was very active in getting things ready for our Intertainment. She has 6 Generations descended from her now in the House with her. The People live here to 150 and 160 years of age; but those that converse much with Europeans, and drink strong drink don't live so long.

From the *Sambaloes* to the River of *Conception*, the Country is commanded by one *Corbet*, who is altogether in the *French* Interest, he having contracted a Friendship with their Privateers 7 years ago, and done them many good Offices. They promised to reward him if he would

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would go to *Petit Guavus*, and in his way thither he was taken by an *English* Privateer and carried to *Jamaica*, whence the Governor of *Petit Guavus* got him releas'd. He was with *Ponti* at the taking of *Cartagena*, and has a Commission from the *French* to be General of all the *French* and *Indian* Forces on that Coast, and to take, sink, and destroy *Spaniards* or any other Enemies. Yet the *French* themselves, and the sensible part of the *Indians*, don't put any confidence in him; and *Ambrosio* who is the bravest of all those *Indian* Captains, keeps him in awe and within bounds.

Next to *Corbet*, there's another of their Captains call'd *Nicola*, who is said to be a wise, brave and good-natur'd Prince, insomuch that the *Indians* had a mind to have set him up instead of *Ambrosio*, who is of a rugged military temper. But *Ambrosio's* Authority and Power is so great, that they did not find it practicable. *Nicola* is a mortal Enemy to the *Spaniards*, and can never entertain a good thought of them, since the Governour of *Porto Bello* robb'd him of a curious Fufee that had been presented him by some of the *Buccaneers*; and being out of order, he sent it thither to be mended; upon which the Governour taking a liking to it, kept it to himself, and sent *Nicola* another sorry piece instead of it.

Since we came hither, there have been an *English*, a *Dutch*, and a *French* Ship in our Bay. The *English* Ship was Capt. *Long* in the *Rupert* Prize;

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Prize; he had been in the Gulf of *Orba*, but he himself and his Men own'd, that they had not then been ashore there. He hath some way or other disoblig'd the Captains *Ambrosio* and *Diego*. Tho' we treated him with all possible Civility, yet we are since inform'd that he hath been a days Journey into the Gulf, and endeavour'd to incense the *Indians* against us, telling them that we were Privateers, and that the King of *England* would not protect us. He left some Men in the Bay, who had since kill'd some *Spaniards*, and came to us for Arms and Ammunition, but we told them we could not grant them any, and that they had done what they could not justify. We gave them however what was necessary for fitting up a Boat; and as a Reward they intic'd away the Carpenter and Mate of one of our Ships call'd the *Unicorn*.

The *Dutch* Ship that came hither was afraid of the Spanish *Barlavento* Fleet, and put in here for protection, that Fleet having made Prize of another *Dutch* Ship of 32 Guns, and of two *English* Sloops for trading on those Coasts.

The *French* Ship that put in here, was that which was order'd to carry back the Church-plate, &c. to *Cartagena*, did afterwards bulge on a Rock, and was cast away in our Harbour. We sav'd all their lives, and Capt. *Pincarton* our Commodore endanger'd his own life to save that of the *French* Captain. He inform'd us that the *French* had four Men of War of 50 Guns each, who thinking we had a Design on the River

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River *Mississipi*, were gone to the Gulph of *Mexico* in quest of us. The *French* have been very industrious in cultivating their Interest, both with the Natives and *Spaniards* in this part of *America* and doubt not of having a good share in those Countries after the King of *Spain's* Death. They have got a great Interest with Capt *Ambrosio* by means of his Son-in-law *Don Pedro*, whom they care for extreamly, and design'd to have carried him to *Petit Guavus*, and from thence into *France*, to acquaint the *French* King with the favourable Sentiments the *Indians* have entertain'd of the *French*, and of their design to surrender themselves to his Majesty.

This has been projected by the *French* a long time, but the King of *Spain's* Indisposition, and their Pretensions to that Crown, made them refer it; and there's no doubt but our Settlement will quicken those Resolutions. Capt. *Andreas*, Capt. *Pedro* his Brother, Capt. *Diego*, and Capt. *Poufigo* our Neighbours, have no manner of correspondence with the *French*. The latter hath acquainted us that there are several Gold Mines within two Miles of our Settlement which he hath promis'd to shew us; and he hath actually let us see several Samples of fine Gold.

This being the Substance of several Journals that were sent from our Colony in *Darien* upon their first Settlement there, we hope it's sufficient of it self to satisfy our Neighbours in *England* of the Justice of our Cause, of the equity of our

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our Proceedings, of the true Reason why the *French* are so much our Enemies in this matter, of the greatness of the Providence that has put us in possession of that Post, and that it is *England's* Interest to join with and protect us, by which the Designs of the *French* against *Europe* in general, and *Great Britain* in particular, may be defeated, and the *English West India* Trade secur'd. But since by the Proclamations before-mentioned, which treat us as Rebels and Pirates in *America*, for what we have done according to Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, our Ships may be in danger of being attack'd by other Nations as Pirates, and our Colony discountenanc'd and oppos'd on that account by the Natives; there's no reason that our Neighbours should think strange if we complain of that unkind usage, and endeavour to lay before them what may probably be the Consequences of such Proceedings, without being construed either to threaten or to wish that any such things should happen: It being evident that by offering to admit the *English* as Joint-sharers in our Trade, we entertain no Sentiments but what are friendly towards that Nation, being satisfied that all those who wish well to the Protestant Religion and true Liberty, are Enemies to any thing that may occasion a breach of the Union and good understanding betwixt us. Yet it must be own'd that we have but too great reason to complain of the Hardships we suffer by the Union of the Crowns, which it is in the power of *England*

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land to remedy, by complying with the gracious Proposals of uniting the Nations, repeated in Parliament by his Majesty, who like a true Father of his Country, has expos'd himself to the greatest of dangers to procure the Welfare and Peace of his Subjects, by which he has made an absolute Conquest of the Hearts of all good men, who are unanimous to join in the like Prayer for him, that the Israelites of old put up for their Kings, viz. *That he may live for ever.*

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