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A
 DEFENCE
 OF THE
 SCOTS
 ABDICATING
 DARIEN:
 Including An
 ANSWER
 TO THE
 DEFENCE
 OF THE
 Scots SETTLEMENT there.

Authore BRITANNO *sed* Dunensi

*Vitaret calum Phaeton si viveret & quos,
 Optaret stulte Tangere nollet equos.
 Ovid. de Trist.*

Printed in the Year, 1700.

To the Right Worshipful,
 THE
 COURT of DIRECTORS
 OF THE
 Scots *African* and *Indian* Company ;
 The DEFENCE of the
 Scots Abdicating of *DARIEN*,
 IS
 Humbly DEDICATED.

Right Worshipful GENTLEMEN,
 THE immense Priviledges and Immunities, wherewith your present Sovereign, and indulgent Father, WILLIAM the Second, hath invested your Company, by that Octroy of the Year, 1695, argues his good Inclinations towards you so far, that whilst he was in the warmest Trenches of Namure, (and not sure but that Act might be his last Legacy) authoriz'd you and your Successors to Plant, and maintain Colonies in whatever Part

The Epistle Dedicatory.

or Parts of Asia, Affrica, and America you pleas'd, provided these Places or Territories were not the Propriety of such European Princes or States, as were in Alliance or Amity with His Majesty; and freed you for the Space of Twenty One Years, from all Duties on the Product of such Plantations, &c. You were not only impower'd to defend your Colonies and Trade by Force of Arms, but likewise had His Majesty's Promise to interpose the Regal Authority, to do you Right, in case you were disturb'd in such Legal Possession, or Trade, and that at the publick Charge (to be presum'd) of his Ancient Kingdom.

His Majesty having thus granted you so large and glorious a Patent, not to be parallel'd by that of any Company or Society in the Universe; much less by any of his Royal Ancestors, your Native or Unforeign Kings; both the present and after Ages will expect that the same should be transmitted by you, the present Directors, to your Successors, without any Stain or Blemish that may incur the Hazard of a Forfeiture: And that by your Management, your Children may reap the Benefits of it, with the same, if not with more Advantages.

This

The Epistle Dedicatory.

This emboldens the Author (who was the first Person employ'd in your Service for your Foreign Expedition, and the first who left it) to lay the following Sheets at your Feet. And he takes upon him to put you in Mind, that if you had not misapply'd the Money intrusted to your Management (the Want whereof is so much felt at Home by the great Number of needy Persons, who expected their Dividends before now.) And if you had listen'd to the wholesome Advice of Mr. Douglass, an eminent and experienc'd Man in India, who offer'd himself for your Pilot, and his Substance for your Security, which was more than the Three best Shares in your Capital Stock; and had not been bewitch'd to the Golden Dreams of Paterfon the Pedlar, Tub-preacher, and at last Whimsical Projector; you might e'er now have been possess'd of a good Colony in India, where no Body could disturb you: And not have run on an Airy Project, which (altho' you should have met with no Opposition from the Spaniard) four times your Capital Stock could not have brought to any reasonable Pitch of Answering the End. And had you been Masters of so much Management and Temper, as to have sav'd that Fifty Thousand Pounds, which you squander'd away on those Six Hulks you built at Amsterdam and Hamburgh, purely to make a Noise there of your Proceedings, where-
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

by you thought to decoy the innocent Dutch Men, or at least their Gelt, into your Net; and had therewith bought a Couple of Second-hand Ships in the River of Thames, and dispatch'd them to India with a suitable Cargoe, (not of Scotch Cloth, Slippers, Periwigs and Bibles) you might have had such Returns e'er now, as would have buoy'd you up so far above Water, as you needed not proclaim to the smiling World so many publick Ropings of the Shares of your Capital Stock.

— Sed quos Deus or Jupiter perdere vult eos dementat.

If you were thus perswaded to run headlong on a blind Project, at which the Trading Part of the World stand amaz'd; the India Companies of England and Holland laugh at in their Sleeve, and the rest of Mankind admire, that People in their right Senses should be guilty of: And if the same should miscarry by your own ill Management (to say no worse on't) 'tis not fair you should snarle at your Neighbours, who have no other hand in your Misfortune, than that they would not be accessory to any Act, which the World might judge Felonious; and wherein they could not join without ingaging themselves in an unreasonable War,
and

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and in the End to assist you with Weapons, to break their own Heads.

WILLIAM the Second, who, as you say, in an untainted Line, is the 112th King that hath wore your Regal Diadem, has wrought and fought sufficiently for the Gift, your Nation prudently thought their Interest to make him. Or admit it should be true, that there was no private Interest consulted by those generous Donators, yet it is obvious to the World, that by being Subjects of the King of Great Britain, you are not only shaded from the Insults of all Nations, but by the Authority of your British Sovereign, you are freed from the daily Feuds, and bloody little Wars, which, before the Union, for a Tract of Time, not less than 1900 Years, were continually raging amongst yourselves; which unnatural Massacres your Native Princes were so unable to suppress, that when the contending Clans or Parties were glutted with one anothers Blood, and desir'd the Benefit of the Princely Mediation; these were pleas'd to accept of the Office of Umpires, in Patching up the Feuds, till such time as the young Fry came of Age, to fight it out. These Barbarities have been quite turn'd out of Doors since the Union, and they are now, either almost or altogether forgot; neither are they to be reviv'd, unless it be by
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

this so-much-wish'd-for Separation of Three or Four Months Date. Your People now enjoy the Blessings of Heaven, and Product of the Earth, and Ocean without any interruption; and whereas formerly they liv'd on the Mountains, and under the Shelter of some strong Rocks or Castles, they are now come down to the Plains, and can sleep sound in Beds, without the least Apprehension of Blood and Rapine. And to Crown your Felicity, you have now a free Enjoyment of the Gospel, in the Fulness and Parity thereof, which has ever been reckon'd the chief Care and Blessing of all Political Bodies. You are at Liberty to say your Prayers, either in Form, or out of Form, which you please, without any Dread of Sophistical Impositions by Romish or Malignant Priests. And now you praise your Maker in stately Churches, whereas, formerly these gallant Men, your Ancestors, were oblig'd to offer on such Altars as Jacob made, and to whisper their Prayers or Carols through the Cliffs of the Mountains, or the Chimney of some House, whose Wall was some Twelve or Fourteen Foot thick. All these Blessings you owe to Heaven, and the British Monarchy, whatever some vitiated and deprav'd Palates perswade you to the Contrary.

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

The mask'd Champion of your Company, whose Tongue is much too big for his Mouth, is in Pain because he cannot spurt out all his Venom at one Blast. However reasonable it be, that the Gentleman's Zeal should atone for his want of Power, yet I must acquaint you, that his Quarrel with the English Nation is as unjust and groundless, as your Settling a Colony in another Man's Dominions; unless by Virtue of your Presbyterian Tenent, viz. of Dominions being founded in Grace, you who are the Presumptive Elect pretend a Divine Right to the Goods of the Wicked, and so take upon you to cloath the Seven Councillors of your Colony with such another Commission, as God gave the Hebrews when they departed out of Egypt.

I have no Inclination to offer any Thing in Opposition to the Gallantry of your Ancestors, who took so much Care to keep themselves independent of another Nation. And altho' I pretend to know the Thread of the Scottish and British Story full as well as the Author of the Defence, yet out of Respect to the Country where I drew my first Breath (tho' I owe it nothing else) I will offer nothing to the Prejudice of it's Ancient Fame: But if I point at some Errata's of this Author, I do it purely to reconcile Mistakes, and to make a Distinction betwixt the Scotch Company, and Scots

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

Nation; I being so much the Latter's Friend, as to wish them not to embrak in so rotten a Bottom as this of your Company, until you are on an honest Footing than you appear to be at present, that the Honour of the Ancient Kingdom mayn't be sully'd with so notorious a Mistake, I shall only say in Answer to this Paragraph, that altho' your Ancestors were never sparing of their Blood in defending their Country, nay, oftimes in making Reprizal when they could conveniently; yet I must put you in mind, that they were far better pleas'd with enjoying themselves in their old Caledonian Mountains, than you are now with both Hills and Plains: And I dare say, they had such a Value for their Native Blood, that they would not have been guilty of sending so many innocent and worthy Gentlemen (like Sheep to the Slaughter, or Spanish Mines) so far from Home on such an April Errand.

'Tis both hard and unaccountable that this Gentleman, who sets up for your Champion, should use the English Nation so familiarly, and take such Liberty, not only of frightening them into an Ague, but to Bully a great General, who was never hitherto known to be daunted by more formidable Giants, than the Quixots of your Company. He, honest Gentleman, mean'd no Harm at the Granting of the Oatroy; for, 'tis to be believed, that he could

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

scarce hear what was whisper'd to him for the Noise of the Namure Guns. And as for this Project of yours to Darien, I dare be positive, that he knew nothing of the Matter till it was Five or Six Months done; and then he had it from other Hands.

If your Colony has left Darien for Reasons not as yet publick to the World, 'tis your Fault, Right Worshipful Gentlemen, in undertaking to manage a Project you so little understood, and not of the English Nation, whose Interest it is to advance and preserve their own Colonies, and to keep them from being render'd desolate by the Clandestine Artifices of yours, who industriously and tacitely spread their Declarations over all the English Islands and Plantations, making use of the King of Great Britain's Name, to give the more Authority to the Thing: And by these indirect Manifesto's, such Profits, or rather Plunders were insinuated; that if the Government of England had not taken early Measures to prevent the ill Consequences, 'tis to be question'd, whether the greatest Part of the English West-Indies had not e'er now quitted their Settlements, and been decoy'd into your Colony, under a Cover'd Notion, that you had a Patent from the King, to pick a Quarrel with the Spaniard; and to divide the Spoil of Mexico and Peru amongst the Servants and Adventures of the Company.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

This Project and Settlement, you know, was so secretly carried on, that it was not known to England, till the same Wind that brought the News likewise, inform'd the Nation, that the Scots were march'd over to Pañama (the chief City on the Isthmus of Darien, and the Treasury-Chamber of all the Spanish Riches on the South-Sea) and had planted Eighty Guns against it. These Proceedings were enough to startle this Nation, who had heard of no War with Spain, and who had no great Reason to suffer their own Subjects to desert their Plantations, to advance the Scotch Colony in their own Wrong. As for this Nation's entring into a War with the Spaniard, on the Score of your Company, who besides their Loss of Trade, must throw away more English Pounds (thrice over) than there's Scotch, in your Capital Stock: I'll leave it to any Man of Half an Ounce of Politicks, to find out the Jest on't, save this Hot-headed Author of your Colony's Defence.

As for these ridiculous and bugbear Stories, which both you and your Champion insinuate, viz. that if the Scots should lose, or be expell'd out of Darien, the French will certainly possess themselves of it. This Story is so far vain, that the French have another Game to play at present with Spain; and if they had any such Inclination that Way, they know that Coast far better than the Scots,
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

and might have secur'd Carthage, when they had it in their Power, and a Legal Title to it by their Arms in the Time of a declar'd War: Which Fortification is as far before your Fort St. Andrew, or any Thing that can be made of it; as Dunkirk is before Deale-Castle. But still, if France or Holland had any such Design (as you would make the World believe) why mayn't they still go sit down within a League of either Side of your Colony with as good a Title as yours, since you will coop the Spaniard up within his Wall'd Towns and Garrisons. But to leave this unnecessary Dispute. —

And proceed to the oblique Threatnings wherewith he frightens King William, to wit, the Fate of those Mean-spirited Princes, who blemish'd, and were unworthy to wear the Imperial Crown of your Nation; I'll espouse His Majesty's Cause no further than to be confirm'd, that he has been ill serv'd by some Persons; and I am of Opinion, that he does not merit one Half of this ill Language at their Hands. Further, I dare say so much in his Behalf, by what has past already, that the Scots Crown will receive no Blemish or Disreputation by his wearing of it; altho' he does not think it either fit or just to Courtenance an indirect Action of any of his Subjects.

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

By the Beacons which your Author sets up to scare him, to wit, of the Two Baliols of James the First, and William the First; any Man without the Help of Spectacles may plainly perceive that he sticks at nothing to advance his Cause, either by wresting or perverting the Truth of the History; by reason there can be no Parity in the Example, between the several Cases of these dead Kings, whom he now brings on the Stage, and King William; nor is there any Colour of Allusion to introduce them here for Scare-crows. For the Truth of the Story runs thus: After the Death of Alexander the Third, Ten or a Dozen far-fetched Relations of the Royal Family standing Competitors for the Scots Crown, it was agreed on by the different Parties (to prevent the Effusion of Blood) that the Trial of their several Claims should be refer'd to Edward the First of England. Edward accepting the Office came to Berwick, then a Scots Town, where, after a long time spent in canvassing the several Titles, he found Bruce, Baliol, and Cummin stand fairest for it. To make a long Tale short, he now found it in his Power to accomplish that which his Predecessors struggl'd for, for some Hundred Years before, to wit, a Submission of the Scots Crown to that of England. He felt Bruce's Pulse, but it did not beat to his Mind; then he sounded Baliol, who had more English Blood in him by half than Scotch, who easily

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

condescended to his Terms. Edward declares John Baliol, King of the Scots; and the Scots Nobility having sworn Allegiance to him in his Presence, proceeded to his Coronation. That being over, the new Scots King, with his Nobility, came to King Edward, to thank him for his Civility at Newcastle; where having been splendidly regaled for some time, and the English King being to set out for London, John Baliol, with his Train of Nobles, came in a full Body to kiss his Royal Fist; where on a suddain, King Baliol claps down on his Knee, and swore Fealty to Edward as his Sovereign Lord, and to hold the Scots Crown for ever, of him and his Successors, Kings of England. Baliol having ended this Ceremony, pointed to his Subjects to follow his Example; which being needless to dispute on that Ground, no Body stumbl'd at it, save a peevish Old Gentleman, by Name Douglass, who was Caged up for the Remainder of his Life, for want of good Manners. Baliol and his Nobility march'd home to Scotland, as chearfully as Half a Dozen Citizens Wives return to their Husbands, after they have been decoy'd into a Ramble, and kiss'd by strange Fellows; and they being all alike Scabby, made no Words on't for some Years, and, perhaps, had not then, if a rash Sentence had not been pass'd by Baliol in his own Court, in Prejudice of a certain Thane or Earl; who thinking himself

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

injur'd, appeal'd to Edward as Sovereign Lord: King Edward being willing to show his Grandeur, summon'd Baliol up to London, and being seated on a Throne in his Court of Judicature, his Fellow King had the Honour to set by him, till such time as the Tryal came on, and then he was oblig'd to step down to the Common-Bar, and Plead for himself. The Gentleman had got so much Scotch Blood in him, by his Three Years Government of that Kingdom, that he stomach'd the Disgrace, and could not tell how to digest it, till he went Home and consulted his Nobility, who were all alike tardy with himself: It was soon agreed on, to bid Edward Defiance, declaring, That their King and they were only trick'd into their Submission by his foul Artifice. Both Nations Arm'd, but Edward got the Better on't; for having overrun Scotland, and made them once or twice swear heartily anew; and having caught John Baliol by the Neck, would never afterwards trust him with such an Office; but kept him Prisoner at London for many Years, till at the Intercession of the Pope and French King, his Imprisonment was enlarg'd to France, where he died a Quondam King.

Now, whether this Fate of John Baliol has any Relation to what your Author designs (since 'tis plain, that Edward both made and unmade him, and not the Scots) I refer it back to himself,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

self to reconcile. As for the other Baliol, by Name Edward, and Son to this John, he finding that Robert Bruce was the Second time dead, came from France to England; and, there having Edward the Third's Leave to raise what Men he could, to seat himself on his Father's Old Throne, found Volunteers enough (who were the Relations of those who were foil'd at Bannocksburn) and with these, and a few of King Edward's Ships, he lands in the Heart of Scotland, and set young David Bruce's Crown on his own Head, without asking the Scots Leave; and kept it till David, with the Assistance of his Father-in-Law the French King, took it from him again. Neither can I see the Paralel in this with King William's Case; for Edward Baliol took the Crown at his own Hand nolens volens, whereas King William had it press'd upon his Head by the unanimous Consent of the Scots Nation. As for the other Two Examples of James, and William the First, what they did while it was their Misfortune to be Prisoners in England, could not stand in Law; neither did I ever hear, that after their Freedom, and Restauration to their Dignities, their Scots Subjects did ever reckon it to them for Sin.

But as there's no great Advantage or Credit to be purchased, by ripping up such old Sores, so I am willing to leave tracing this Gentle-

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

man's Evidences, and rather take Things on his own Authority, than foul Paper about it. Mean while, I'll be as impertinent as he is with his Earl of Strafford, and some others, and acquaint you with something that may be nearer the Case. It has been observ'd in Scotland, in the Course of several Ages, that it hath been ever fatal to Families when they became so powerful as to swell beyond their Proportion: Witness that of the Cummins, in Robert Bruce's Reign, the greatest that ever has been in Scotland: Witness that of the Gouries, of a latter Date: And if I should add that of a latter Family, within the Reach of our Memory, which might have reasonably been reckon'd in the same Class, had it not been for the happy Accident of the Revolution, I cannot be far mistaken. I say, most of these Gentlemen being too great for Subjects, lost themselves with Icarus in their Flight: Some got red-hot Iron Crowns, and others Halters; but that which was more Tragical, their whole Families and Dependants were hung up like Haddocks to dry in the Sun, that they might never afterwards rise in Judgment. I heartily wish there may no such Examples happen in our Age; and that no suspected Persons sit so close to the Machine of your Colony, nor wind up its Spring further than it will go, lest it should snap, and the Engineers get o're the Fingers Ends.

Being

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Being sensible that I have trespass'd in the Epidemical Crime of my Fellow-Scribblers, by swelling my Dedication beyond its Proportion, and, perhaps, said more than some Persons care to hear; I'll proceed to the Reasons, why the Gentlemen of the Colony have dropt off by degrees; praying, that the same may serve, if it be true, that the whole Body has follow'd their Example; as likewise, that you mayn't hang those Two poor innocent Gentlemen, Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Jollie, late Councillors of your Colony, whom you have been pleas'd to find Guilty of a Design, to desert Caledonia, and run away with one of your Frigats. And, altho' I cannot profess my self a Friend to your Project, nor to your Way of Managing of it; yet I declare, that the Prosperity of the Ancient Kingdom, as likewise, that a true Sense of your Mismanagement of that great O'troy, be deeply ingrafted in every Scots Man's Heart, is the hearty Wish, and Prayer of,

Right Worshipful,

P H I L. S C O T.

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of the procedure of the Company and
the manner in which they have made use of it

other persons who have been employed by
the Company in their service and

how they have performed their duty and
to what success and the manner in which

DEFENCE

OF THE

SCOTS

ABDICATING

DARIEN, &c.

of the Company and the manner in which they have made use of it

PREJUDICE being apt to byass a
Man's Pen, the Pur-blind Pillars of

the Scotch Company will not stick
to taint me with it. That I mayn't de-

ceive you, I don't profess my self their
Friend, having the same Reason, or per-

haps more, as those Skeltons who have
narrowly escap'd the Kingdom of Heaven,

and are starv'd to Death. Nevertheless, I
declare, that I will curb my Sentiments so

far, as to keep my self close to the Mat-

ter of Fact, giving an impartial Account
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of the Procedure of that Company, and of the indirect Artifices they made use of, to decoy a great many honest Gentlemen, and other brave Fellows into their Service, and how they left them in the Lurch, expos'd to Famine, and the *Spanish* Mines: And if I deviate in any particular Passage from the Truth, I lay my self fairly open to the fiercest Steel'd Pen of the Company, who, no doubt, will endeavour to vindicate them, and stifle my Credit. All the Favour I ask, is, that they give me fair Play, stick close to the Subject, and bring better Authority for what they write, than what the Author of the Colony's Defence hath offer'd, to disprove the *Spaniards* Title to the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, and to advance that of the *Scotch* Company.

William Paterson, the Author of this Project, and Penman (as it is shrewdly guess'd) of the *Ottroy*, came from *Scotland* in his younger Years, with a Pack on his Back, whereof the Print may be seen, if he be alive; having travell'd this Country some Years, he seated himself under the Wing of a warm Widow, near *Oxford*, where finding that Preaching was an easier Trade than his own, soon found himself gifted with an *Anadab's* Spirit. Prophets being generally despis'd at Home, he went on the *Propoganda fide* Account to the *West-Indies*,

[3]

Indies, and was one of those who settled the Island of *Providence* a Second time: But meeting some Hardships, and ill Luck there, to wit, a Governour being impos'd on them by the King of *England*, which his Conscience could not admit of, the Property of their Constitutions was alter'd, and they could no longer a Free Port, or Sanctuary for Buccaneers, Pyrates, and such Vermin, who had most need of being reclaim'd into the Church: This Disappointment oblig'd *Pradicant Paterson* to shake the Dust from off his Shooes, and leave that Island under his *Anathema*. He return'd to *Europe* some Twelve Years ago, with his Head full of Projects, having all the Achievements of *Sir Henry Morgan*, *Batt. Sharp*, and the Buccaneers in his Budget: He endeavour'd to make a Market of his Ware in *Holland* and *Hamburgh*, but without any Success: He went afterwards to *Berlin*, open'd his Pack there, and had almost caught the Elector of *Brandenburgh* in his Noose; but that miscarry'd too: He likewise imparted the same Project to Mr. Secretary *Blathwait*, but still with the same Success.

Meeting thus with so many Discouragements in these several Countries, he let his Project sleep for some Years, and pitch'd his Tent at *London*, where Matter is never wanting to exercise plodding Heads. His former
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[4]

Wife being at rest as well as his Project, he wanted a Help that was meet for him, and not being very nice, went no further than the Red-fac'd Coffee-woman, a Widow in *Burchin-Lane*, whom he afterwards carry'd to the *Isthmus of Darien*; and at her first landing thrust her about Seven Foot under Ground, to make the Possession *de facto* of *New Caledonia* more authentick. While he sojourn'd in *London*, he found Employment for his Head; and like a true Quack, bogg'd at nothing that offer'd it self to his Thought. He was concern'd in the *Hampstead-Water*; and had an original Hand in the Project of the Bank of *England*; but being oblig'd (as he says himself) to communicate his Thoughts to some Eminent Men, who were more able to carry it on, they bubb'd him out of the *Premium*, and the Glöry of the Project. The Man thinking himself illbus'd by the Managers of the Bank of *England*, study'd how to be up with them; and in Opposition to it, he applies himself to the Project of the Orphans Bank, where he was afterwards sometime a Director; but that missing of the Wish'd-for-Aim, by reason of the clipp'd Money, &c. and he meeting with some Disgrace there too, was resolv'd at once to be even with the Body of the Nation. Thus discontented, and uneasie in his Mind, he rous'd up his *Darien* Genius, and having

[5]

having vamp't it up with some new Light he had purchas'd by conversing with *Dampier*, he marches Bag and Baggage to the Ancient Kingdom, where it met with such Encouragement at first sight, that *Johnston's*, or if you will *Treddale's* Act was *vis & modis*, conceiv'd and born in a Trice. At this time, and for some Months afterwards, *Paterfon* had more Respect paid him, than His Majesty's High Commissioner; and happy was he or she that had the Favour of a Quarter of an Hours Conversation with this blessed Man. When he appear'd in Publick, he look'd with a Head so full of Business and Care, as if he had *Atlas* his Burthen on his Back; and if a Man had a Fancy to be reputed Wise, the first Step he was to make, was to mimick *Paterfon's* Fizz: Nay, some Persons had such a Conceit of the Miracles he could perform, that they began to talk of an Engine, to give the Island a half Turn-round, and to set the *Orkneys* where the Islands of *Scilly* stand.

But to proceed to the Cream of the Story, you are to understand, that Esquire *Paterfon* (for at his Arrival in *Scotland*, he acquir'd or assum'd an *English* Title) brought a Couple of Tutors, or Nurses along with him, who pass'd for Partners in the Project, tho' in Effect a Couple of subtle Youths, whose Office was to put *Paterfon's* creud and indigested Notions into Form. One of these was a *Walloon* by Birth, whose native Name was *Le*

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Serrurier, and his *English* one *James Smith*. He was Master of most of the *European* Languages, and particularly of the *English*. He formerly acted as Secretary to the fam'd *Italian* Prince, who put so many Tricks on the *Hollanders*, with his Philosophers Stone; but at this Juncture he pass'd for a considerable *London* Merchant. The others Name was *Daniel Lodge*, born of *Yorkshire* Parents in *Leith*, in *Scotland*, per Accident, bred a Merchant in *Holland*, but crack'd, and turn'd to his Shifts in *England*. This was a pleasant, facetious Fellow, knew the World exactly, and acted his Part in this Tragi-Comedy to a Miracle.

So much I have offer'd by way of Preliminary, that you may have a Glimpse of these dark Pillars, by which the *Scotch* Company was to be lighted down into the *Spanish* or *Darien* Mines, and over that *Isthmus* to the *Phillipin* Islands, *California*, *China*, and to *Japan*, if they could turn *Dutch* Men.

The Companies Act being now touch'd with the Royal Scepter, and for the more Dispatch, pass'd thro' the Seals *per Saltum*, they were empower'd by Virtue of a necessary Clause thereof, to take in Foreign Subscriptions to a lesser half of the Capital Stock; so that the main Stress of the Project lay in fingering this Money. The Three Projectors frankly engag'd to use their Interest with their Correspondents and Friends in *England*,
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[7]

Holland, and in the *Hans* Towns, for 300000*l.* at least; in Consideration of which, and of the Acquisition, and in Token of their Gratitude for the Project, the Company was to give the *Triumvirate* 20000*l.* So to work all Hands went.

There being three different Parties in *England* jarring at that Time, about the *India* Trade, and the Old Company having got the Better on't, it was easie to draw a great many of the Male-Contents into the *Scotch* Companies Net; nay, the Subscriptions came in so quick that he was the happiest Man that could get his Name first down in their Books: For *Paterfson* preach'd up only an *India* Trade here in *England*, taking no Notice of *Darien*, but to some Select Heads that were able to bear it; when once the Money was in *Scotl.* they knew how to dispose of it. To be short, they had now more Money in their View than they knew what to do withal, if the House of Commons had not baulk'd them, and reprimanded the Subjects of *England* for their Foolery. The Companies Books were carry'd Home with abundance of Secrecy and Care, tho' they had as good left them behind, there having been never a Groat of the *English* Money paid in as yet. The Projectors follow'd them as the Sons of *Levi* did the Ark in old Times; and when they came to *Scotland*, their chief Business was to preach up the vast Advantages which the House of Commons fore-
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saw to acree to the *Scotch* Company and Nation. by this *Octroy* and Trade, and to back their Sermons with the greater Authority, the Commons Address to the King was printed and reprinted at *Edinburgh* (but not a Syllable of the King's Answer mention'd), which confirm'd the whole Country of the Riches they were like to be surfeited with by this Act and Trade. To be short, they came in Shoals from all Corners of the Kingdom to *Edinburgh*, Rich, Poor, Blind and Lame, to lodge their Subscriptions in the Company's House, and to have a Glimpse of the Man *Paterson*; who satisfy'd them as fast as they came, that altho' they sign'd such a Sum for Fashion's sake, to give the Company more Reputation Abroad, yet the Quarter Part would only be demanded, there being no occasion for any more; and that they could not lie out of the Use of their Money above 18 Months, or 2 Years at most, which by that time, and the Old Cant, of God's Blessing, would fetch good Returns, and large Dividends.

The Companies Books had not been long open'd in *Edinburgh*, before 400000*l.* was sign'd (when it will be all paid in, the Lord of Hosts knows) and it now being high time to shut the Books there, and go where the Money lay, to wit, the 300000*l.* in *Holland*, and the *Hans* Towns, the Projectors were consulted about it. The Result of which was, that

[9]

that they might not act precipitately in this Affair, it was necessary they should make some real Show of their Resolution and Forwardness, by sending a Couple of fit Persons over to *Amsterdam* and *Hamburgh*, to build half a Dozen of stout Ships of 50 Guns apiece; that by laying out their Money in the *Dutch* Country, the *Dutchmen* might be prepossess'd with a kind Opinion of the Company, and thereby make it appear, how willing they were to extend the warm Rays of their *Octroy*, to People who deserv'd it better than their ungreatful Neighbours.

Some warm Debates happen'd on this Occasion, what Two Persons should be entrust-ed with this mighty Affair, for by reason the Kirk and Church-money was equally in the Stock, both Parties endeavour'd to imploy their own Instruments. There were several Meetings on this Affair, and it was at long-run amicably concluded, that *Alexander Stevenson*, late Kirk-Treasurer, or Kirk-Warden of *Edinburgh*, a Zealous and Long-grace Sayer, and Capt. *James Gibson*, Merchant and Malignant of *Glasco*, should be the Delegates.

The next material Thing that came in Course was to lodge a Stock of Cash in *London* to answer their Delegates necessary Occasions abroad. The Sum agreed on was either 18 or 200000*l.* but what Man to entrust with this Sum that was fed on *English* Beef and Puddin, was another Hesitation. The Oracle

[10]

Oracle *Paterſon* being conſulted herein ſage-ly reſponded, that his Brother *Smith's* Buſineſs requiring him to go and remain for ſome time at *London*, he expecting ſome Ships home from *Carolina* and *New-England*, wherein he had large Effects; he was of Opinion, that they could not lodge it ſafer than in his Hands. *Smith* returns to *London*, and having got the Gelt in his Sack, never broke his Reſt afterwards about the Project. The Company at the ſame Time had ſubſtituted Two other Caſhiers abroad, to wit, Mr. *Francis Stratford*, Merchant, at *Hamburgh*, (now Governour of that Company) and *Alexander Henderson*, alias *Archbiſhop*, at *Amſterdam*, who were to draw from *Smith's* Bank, as the Delegates had Occaſion.

This *Walloon* Banker, and *Italian* Secretary anſwer'd the Bills punctually till a better half of the Money was extracted; about which Time finding the Company baulk'd of the *Hollands*, as well as *Engliſh* Subſcriptions, he thought it neceſſary to hold his hand, and was paſſive in ſuffering a Bill of 200 l. of *Stratford's* drawn on him to be proteſted at *London*. I ſhall leave him here for ſome time, that I may bring the reſt along with me, and only tell you, that *Smith* now finding himſelf Maſter but of 8500 l. of the Companies Caſh, and not ſure that he ſhould ever ſee ſo much of it again, and looking on this as little more than his *Quota* for the Project

[11]

ject and Subſcriptions (altho' the Latter happen'd to fail, not through any Fault or Neglect of him, but by the Frowns of the Houſe of Commons in *England*, and *Holland* by ſome ſurly *Dutch* Men Proprietors in the *East* and *West-India* Companies, and Lords of *Amſterdam*) he thought the *Premium* wrought for ſufficiently, and that it was but juſt he ſhould pay himſelf, ſince his Intention was as honeſt as if it had ſucceeded; and if he had any thing over his neat Share, it was convenient to hold it faſt to enable him to go to Law the eaſier with the Company.

The Company bit their Lips, but endeavour'd to keep it huſh for ſome time, that the World might not perceive how they were deſervedly bubb'd. *Smith* knowing their Circumſtances never went out of the Way for 15 or 16 Months afterwards; and then being ſenſible that if once the Compan. Ships were fail'd, there would be no great Occaſion to pay him any more Civilities to keep the Project ſecret, and conſequently he muſt expect the Company would be on his Back. On theſe Conſiderations he was on the Wing for his own Country, and was got ſo far on his Journey as *Graveſend*, when as Luck would had it, he was nabbd with a *Capio te* at the Companies Inſtance. Some of his own and Wife's Relations were in the Coach with him, to ſee him to *Dover*; when this Accident happen'd: But he on this Occaſion compos'd himſelf with more Sedatenefs of Mind, than *M. Bouffliers* did at *Namure*; and being unwilling to part with the Money ſo dearly earn'd, beſpoke

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Lodgings in the *Marshalsea*, till on the late Revolution of that Sanctuary, the Marshal and he went off together on a new Project to *Carolina*.

Daniel Lodge was at *Edinburgh*, when the first Bill was protested, and had his Papers seiz'd and carry'd to the Companies Office, and a Couple of Centries set over himself, but he being *Yorkshire Blood*, *Scotch* born, and *Dutch* bred, it was not easie to fasten any Thing on him.

Paterfon was at *Hamburgh* on the Embassie when he heard of the Misfortune of *Stratford's* Bill; but all the Mends he could make, was to sigh and look dull. Nevertheless it was observable, that altho' *Paterfon* rail'd at *Smith* behind his Back, there was never an ill Word between them when they met: For you are to understand, that *Smith* was one of the Companies Commissioners in *Holland* and *Hamburgh* about the Time he suffer'd the Bill to be protested in *London*.

But to return to the setting out of this Embassie; *Stevenson* and *Gibson* being for some time gone over the Water to build Ships, and beat the Way for Subscriptions; the next Step was to chuse fit Persons to follow and manage this Point. Five such were appointed by Name of the Committee of Foreign Trade, who were cloath'd with an ample Commission from the Company, to take Subscriptions Abroad; to appoint Factors, to controul the foresaid Two Legates, to provide Officers and Seamen; and, in a Word, to do what they thought necessary for the Company's Service. *Paterfon* and *Smith* were the first Two, — a *Scotch* Merchant of *London* the Third. The Laird of *Gleneagles* for the Church, and Colonel *John Erskin*, Governour of *Sterling-Castle*, and Darling of the Kirk, made up the *Quorum*, the last Two being both Men of Honour and Worth, but altogether Strangers to Trade.

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[13]

Two of these were order'd to *Holland* directly from *Scotland*, and *Gleneagles* was to pass by *London*, where he was to do some business, and take *Smith*, and the other in his way. *Gleneagles* having arriv'd at *London*, and joyn'd with the other two, articed with me at *Moncreifs* Coffee-house, in *November*, 1696. By the Articles of our Contract, I was to go in the Company's Service from *London* to *Amsterdam*, or *Hamburgh*; from thence to *Scotland*, and from thence on a Trading Voyage to either of the *Indies*, as the Company should appoint; and thence back to *Scotland*. I was at the same time made tacitly to believe that I was to go to the *East Indies*, and that the Ships would sail next *March* at farthest. The Encouragement (if I had been candidly dealt with, and honestly paid) seem'd to be fair enough in Merchants Service: So having order'd my Affairs in *England* to go to *India*, I went in Company of these Gentlemen to *Amsterdam*, where we arriv'd about *Christmas* following.

Here the whole Committee or Embassie met; where having view'd their Ships in that Port, to wit, one of 46 Guns ready built, and another of 60 on the Stocks, they apply'd themselves to the business of Subscriptions. The Scheme laid down to

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them was this; *Henderfon* formerly mention'd, a *Scotch Man*, *Cassart* a *French Man*, — an *English Man*, and — a *Dutch Man*, all Merchants of *Amsterdam*, were to subscribe 8500 *l.* amongst them (*Smith's Summ*) and were to draw in their Friends and Correspondents for as much as they could: In consideration whereof, these four were to be the Company's Factors in *Holland*, and to have 2 per Cent. for what they bought and sold. This was easily agreed to; and for their further Encouragement, they were invested likewise with the 2 per Cent. Commission of all the Money already laid out by *Capt. Gibson* on the two Ships, Canvas, Sails, Cables, Anchors, Powder, Guns, &c. in all above 1000 *l.* which properly was *Gibson's* right by his Commission from the Company. This was the first honest step they made by Vertue of their controuling Power.

These new *Dutch* Factors ply'd their Friends all over *Holland*, who generally for some time before were mightily taken with the *Scotch East India* Trade, their Exemption from Duties for 21 years, and tickled with the Conceit that they should be Sharers in it. But through an ugly accident which happen'd in *Camphire*, at *Paterfon's* and the *Collonel's* landing, the whole

[15]

whole Mess of the Companies Pottage was in danger of being miscook'd. The Story runs thus; These Gentlemen had a rough and tedious Passage from *Scotland*, and it seems the Skipper had not laid in Provisions for his Passengers over plentifully, which was the occasion that *Paterfon* at his landing in *Camphire* (and being welcom'd and entertain'd by one *Panton*, a Merchant there) tasted more freely of the Creature than he us'd to do; (for he always set up for a Water-biber) which *Panton* perceiving, ply'd him warmly, and took the Liberty of pumping him. *Paterfon's* Tongue running glib with the *Hollands* Cannal Water on the *Elogium's* of the *Octroy*, happen'd to bable out a Secret of the Company, viz. That their Act empower'd them to give Commissions to any kind of People (without asking their Nation) to Trade to the Indies under Scots Colours; and that such People might dispose of their India Goods where they pleas'd, providing they made a sham Entry in *Scotland*. And if the Company should agree to take 3 per Cent. for the Goods, such Ships as Traded with their Commission were able to undersel the *English* and *Dutch* full 17 per Cent. *Panton* was glad of the News, and improv'd the Story amongst his Friends, who design'd to sign in the Companies

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Books;

Books; and these run now on this Commission for the 3 per Cent. finding it a safer way of Trading, then by putting their Money in the Companies bottom; neither would they of *Zealand* ever afterwards enter on any other Terms.

We were no sooner come to *Amsterdam*, then we met with this Story fresh in the Coffee-houses there. It was too late for *Paterfon* to eat in his words; so that all the *Salvo* we could make to dash the Story, was by saying, that this was the Companies sho'el Anchor, if every thing else should fail them; but that they had no occasion to make use of that Power at present; nor that Mr. *Paterfon* meant so when he spoke it. But that which gave us the dead stroke in *Holland*, just as the Companies Books were open'd, the *East* and *West India* Companies run open mouth'd to the Lords of *Amsterdam*, shewing what was hatching by the *Scotch* Commissioners in their City, to ruine the Trade of the United Provinces. The Lords gave them satisfaction in the matter, and made no noise of it; for we were made to understand in a day or two afterwards, that our Subscriptions were dash'd, and none to be expected there. On this occasion it was resolv'd in the Committee, that *Paterfon*, and the Colonel

lonel should forthwith proceed to *Hamburgh*, to see what could be done there, the rest being to remain in *Holland* for some time, to give the less Umbrage to the *Hamburgh* Project.

The *Hamburghers* swallow'd the bait to a wish; for the more opposition the *English* and *Dutch* offer'd to the Project, confirm'd them the more that it was their Interest to embrace it. The River *Elve*, on which *Hamburgh* stands, is Navigable for flat bottom Barges of 70 or 80 Tuns, for some 200 Miles up into the Country of *Germany*, which gives them an opportunity of serving all the *North* parts of that *Empire* with Goods more conveniently then the *Hollanders* can: And as they have no *East India* Goods but what they have at second hand from *England* and *Holland*, or a few from *Denmark*, by joyning now with the *Scotch* Company, they have a prospect of worming the *Hollander* out of a good part of the *German* Trade.

In *Parenthesi* I must own that this part of the Project was reasonable on both the *Scotch* and *Hamburgher* side, if it had been meant as it was told; but the Devil on't was; the *Hamburghers* knew nothing of *Darien*, but builded altogether on Ships laden with *India* Goods, whereof their
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[18]

City and Port was to be the Receptacle and Mart; while *Paterfon* wanted only their Money to raise Forces to over-run *Mexico* and *Peru*.

The way being thus prepared by these two Fore-runners, the body of the Committee receiv'd advice to repair thither at fight, all things being ready for Signing and Sealing. And I receiving orders to accompany them, set out from *Amsterdam* after we had spent three Months there in vain; and arrived at *Hamburgh* on *Lady-day*, 1697. Our Affair was so generally favour'd by the Burghers of this City, that at our arrival we printed *Placaarts*, and fix'd them on the Exchange, and other publick Places there, intimating that the Companies Books were to be open'd in the *Commercie Kamber* the week following for Subscriptions; but they were to take notice (the best Jest on't) *That by the Constitutions of the Company, no Man could sign above 3000 l. sterling for himself; as likewise, that their Books could not admit above 200000 l. in all.*

These *Placaarts* were no sooner pasted up on the Posts, than Pamphlets were crying up and down the Streets, full of ill Nature, and a great many sad Truths; advising the *Hamburghers* to enquire further into the Project, before they parted with

[19]

with their Money, lest they should never see it again. These Pamphlets contain'd 3 or 4 Sheets, and were printed in *French*, *High* and *Low Dutch*, under the Title of, *A Letter from a Friend in Amsterdam, to his Friend in Hamburgh.* But the *Hamburghers* having such a Confidence in *Paterfon's* Phiz, and smooth Tongue, and by the forward appearance the Company made with their new Ships of 50 Guns all in a row, they believ'd all this stuff to be hatch'd in *Samarita*, from whence no good can be expected.

But that the Scriptures might be fulfill'd, *by the Elects meeting with Disappointments and Crosses while they sojourn here; or on the other hand, that of Honesty's being the best Policy, either you please; the Companies Book was likewise shut up here, without getting a Groat of the Hamburghers Money, although that City got near 30000 l. of the Company's.* The human reason of this Disappointment, if I am not mistaken, was as follows; in the *Octroy* there was a certain unnecessary Paragraph, which occasion'd a great many *English* and *Hollands* Speculations, *viz. That in case the Company should be interrupted in their Trade, &c. the King had engag'd to interpose the Regal Authority to do them Right, and that at the publick Charge.* *Paterfon,*

terfon, and the other Agents of the Company, to magnifie their Charter, did insinuate in all Companies, That the King was to assist and defend them with his Ships of War, or otherwise, if there was occasion, and that out of his own Pocket, which they did not question to be English Coin; when at the same time, the words of the Act cannot bear it; much less, That a Scots Act of Parliament should dispose of English Ships and Money. But since the Scotch Company would force this gloss on the Text for their Advantage, the English Traders to India made as profitable a use of it the other way; for say they, Was it not enough that the King of Great Britain should pass an Act in favour of his Scots Subjects to Trade to India, and exempt them from Duties for 21 years, which is an evitable Prejudice to the English Trade, since it's impossible to hinder them from sending their India Goods by stealth over the Border, and underselling our Markets by 25, or 30 per Cent. but that they should be empower'd to take in Forreigners to be Sharers with them in this Trade; and not only thereby suck the Blood and Marrow out of England for 21 years, but that our English Ships of War (for the maintenance of which great Taxes and Imposts are laid on our Trade and Goods)

Goods) should defend this Scotch Companies Trade, and therefore these Forreigners who run away with the whole.

These weak Proceedings of Paterfon and the other Agents, with the Sentiments the English had of it, made the Government of England, send to the Senate of Harburgh a Caution by Sir Paul Ricaut, Resident there, to take care how they suffer'd their Burghers to Embark with Private Men of the Kings Subjects, under the hopes of the English Protection, which being to the Prejudice of their own Subjects, could not be Reasonably expected. This was the Substance of the Memorial given in to that Senate, who had never hitherto countenanc'd the Committee, altho' the Private Burghers were so Resolute to Joyn.

Adverse Fortune still attending our Embassy, they thought fit to steer homewards, and make the best of a bad Market, being now fully satisfy'd that there's no other Body's Money to be Trusted to but their own: And having left me with Legate Stevenson to tend the Ships till further orders, they set out from Harburgh in April.

The Report of this Mournfull story being made to the board in Scotland, they found that they had been hatching Rotten Eggs

[22]

Eggs for a Twelve Month by-gone: But that which was still worse, 50000 *l.* was sunk into *Dutchland* on Ships that were neither fit for Merchants Service nor War, 8500, Sunk in *Smiths* Pocket, a Cargoe of all sorts of Goods and Materials for a Plantation ready bought, *viz.* *Scotch* Cloath 8000 peices white, *ditto* Brown 4 or 5000. *ditto* dyed and strypt 2000. Sterling Searges 8000 Ells, Mens and Womens Shoes 5 or 6000 pair, Slippers about 1500 pair, Mens Course Stockins 4000 pair, Womens *ditto* 2000 pair, *Scotch* Hats a great quantity, *English* Bibles 1500, Perewigs 4000. some Long, some short, Campaigns, *Spanish* Bobs and Natural ones; and truly they were all Natural, for being made of *Highlanders* Hair, which is Blanch'd, with the Rain and Sun, when they came to be open'd in the *West-Indies*, they lookt like so many of *Samsons* Fireships that he sent amongst the *Philippines*, and could be of no use to the Collony, if it were not to mix with their Lyme when they Plaster'd the Walls of their Houses. This was all the Merchandable Cargoe, save about 500 *l.* worth of *Hamburgh* Linnen and *Holland*, and to the same value of little Trincums bought in *Holland* for a *Guinea* or *Indian* Trade, and about 2 or 3 Hoggsheds of Beezwax. The rest was in Materials

[23]

the Collony, *viz.* Hoes, Axes, Matcheet, Knives, &c. And for the main design 1500 Square Buccaneer peices, some hundreds of Barrels of Powder, shot Proportionable and about 80 or 90 Drums. This Cargoe of Merchandize and Materials for the Collony, amounted to about 19000 *l.* including 25 *per Cent.* advance, which the company charg'd on every Article. So that there was about 74000 of the 100000 *l.* Sunk. The remainder was towards Provisions, payment of Sailors and other Servants of the Company, and discharge of the Companies Civil List: But of this odd Money above 10000 *l.* was deficient in the Payments, to wit, some great Men could not be forc'd to pay, they Natively thinking their Countenance to the thing to be enough for their share; others were Sick and a great many Stark Dead of the Project, but most of them not able to raise their Quota.

The Companies affairs looking now so pale fac'd, they were for some time staggering in their Resolutions: And on this occasion it was propos'd to the board by the Laird of *Drummellier*, a Topping and Leading Man of the Company, and backt by *Robert Watson*, a Leading Man amongst the Merchant Directors, that they should send order to their Agents in *Holland* and

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[24]

Hamburgh to sell off the Ships, and that their Committee of homeward Improvements should dispose of the foresaid Cargoe to the best Advantage, and the Company to make a Dividend of the Product, amongst the Proprietors of the stock. This Proposal was Rejected as Inglorious, and they being now *in utrumque Parati*, were Resolv'd *Seu varfare dolos*, and that their Servants, but not themselves, should be the Victims to the *Certæ occumbere Morti*.

From this Minute they fixt their Resolutions, that since their Ships were built, the Provisions, Cargoe and other Necessaries already provided, they should not look back, but equip for Sea with all Expedition; if they Perish there, or the Project Miscarry, they could show the World that they drove the Nail so far as it would go, and at last shift the Miscarriage from off themselves. And to satisfy the World that their despair was evident; at the signing of the Companies last Instructions to the Collony, This *Drummellier* would have it added in the Postscript as a Benediction, That they should get Money Honestly if they could, but be sure to get it, and if they came home without it, then the Devil get them all.

By the sequel of the story the Reader may

[25]

may Judge whether they did not put this Resolution into Practice. After the Embassy or Committee of foreign Trade left *Hamburgh*, nothing Remarkable past there; Save that after Mr. *Stratford* had given them a Splendid Entertainment for their foy, they went off without bidding him kiss there—and Believing that all these dishes were a Pig of their own Sow, left Instructions behind them, that he should not act any longer as the Companies Casheir. Whether this was the True Reason of his being laid aside, or that of his Original Sin, I cannot resolve you; but this I know that he gave them Credit at their first appearance in *Hamburgh*, indented with the builder of the 4 ships, with the Ropemakers, Blacksmiths and other Artificers to furnish the Company, and bound himself for performance of the several Contracts; and at last he was oblig'd to arrest the same ships (as they were fitting out) for 800*l.* Flemish, that being the Ballance of his accompts; and they lay in *Limbo* a fortnight or 3 weeks before this Money could be paid.

We sail'd with two of these Ships, *viz.* the *Caledonia* and *St. Andrew* from the River of *Hamburgh* the 10 of November 1697. (having left the other two behind us, ready Lanch't and lying to Rot in the Ouse,) and

[26]

and arriv'd in *Leith* Road on the 20th, to the no small joy of the Proprietors of the Stock, two thirds of whom firmly believ'd for six Months by-gone that all was cheat, and that there was no such Ships in *Rerum Natura*.

About the same time the Rising Sun of 60 Guns, and the Unicorn of 46, were fallen down from *Amsterdam* to the *Texel*, in order to joyn us, that we might make our Parade the more Splendid in *Leith* Road. These Ships, you must know, had their Compliment of Men bore on them for several Months before, as if they had been ready to sail; but *Archbishop Henderson*, their trusty Friend and Agent, having about 3000 *l.* due to him and Partners, did not think it discreet to let both Ships go till he had the Money in his Pocket, several kind Epistles and Civil words past between the Company and him on this occasion, but to no Material purpose; for he was apprehensive that if once they got the Ships in *Scotland*, his Money might be like butter in the Black Dogs Hauce, or that they might detain so much of it as came to the Quota of his and Partners Subscriptions, which he and they had no Inclination to. On these considerations the *Archbishop* sent home the Unicorn, and brought the Companies Rising Sun back to the Meridian of *Am-*

[27]

Amsterdam, where she being Frozen up, for that Season, was oblig'd to lie till she thaw'd, and for Some Months afterwards, till he had his *Dutch* gilt again. And indeed I think the accident was very lucky, for besides the Honour which the Company purchas'd by entertaining the Czar of *Moscovy* aboard while she lay at the pales of *Amsterdam*, if she had gone to the *West-Indies*, she might have set there and never risen again; and so *Drummellier* would have been disappointed of his dividend.

The *Hamburger* Ships and the *Unicorn* being arriv'd at *Leith*, it was resolv'd to carry them up the *Fryth* till the hardest of the Winter was over; but the Seamen (a great part of whom had been 11 or 12 Months in the Service, and as void of Faith as Money) would not move an Inch till they were paid, altho' several of the directors came aboard to Interpose their Authority. This oblig'd a certain Committee to be appointed for their Payment, who brought down the Money to *Leith*, and endeavouring to show themselves Good Husbands for the Company, pinch't may be 5, 6 or 7 shillings out of each Mans Wages, (not for Dammages for there was no Goods) which oblig'd the Sailors to give them a hearty curse to their Faces, so soon as they had got the Money in their Hats. All that was

was fav'd in the *Caledonia* by this Management was within 40*l*; And when I told Little *Blackwood* my sentiments of it at the Pay-Table, he reply'd that it was no matter, every little makes a Mickle, and the Company had need to save all they can. The Consequence of this was, that when the Company had occasion to fit out their Ships in the Spring, none of these Sailors that were Worth the hanging would list themselves, and we were oblig'd to take Tag, Rag and Bobtail, and such as no Skipper in the *Fryth* would entertain. The Company indeed depended on their Country Men who were discharg'd of the English Service on the Peace, but they were disappointed, for none of them would leave Old *England*. So that when we came to Sea we were so feebly mann'd, (altho' we had Eater's enough) that if it had not been for the Land Officers and their Men, I am satisfy'd that our ships had run away with us.

In *July* following the Ships being ready to Sail, the Sea Men were paid off, and for their further Incouragement receiv'd two Months pay Advance; as for the rest, these who are alive must catch it if they can, tho' it may be guess'd what they have to trust to by the defences which the Company makes at this time in *Doctors Commons*, in an
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Action of Sea Wages they are sued for. To wit, that the Company Transfer'd their Ships, Men and Cargo, over to the Collonie; that they are now two distinct Societies; that what Wages were due by the Company, were paid before the Ships went from *Scotland*; and altho' the Company advanc'd the foresaid two Months Pay, yet it was not on their own account, but lent to the Collonie. This is a pretty honest Evasion of the Company to cheat so many poor Men out of their Wages: I don't know what success such Defences will meet with in their own Courts, but they are now rejected in *Doctors Commons*, and the Money order'd to be brought into the Court.

But before I go any further, I'll give you a clearer View of this Transfer. The Company having laid out a round Summ of Money on this Expedition, thought the most probable way of seeing it again, was to charge the Collonie with it, to let them improve it the best way they could, and pay the Company certain Parcels of it at such and such Terms. They valu'd these three Ships and Cargo, with the two Tenders, (including the Provisions and Mens Wages they had already paid) at 70000*l*. for which they took the Councils Bond to be paid as aforesaid. They
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[30]

were likewise to have certain shares in the Mines, Minerals, &c. and to be free of Duties in the *Collonies* Ports; whereas Strangers were to pay 2 per Cent. (which was to be apply'd to the maintenance of the *Collonies* Forts, and other necessary Uses.) These Gentlemen, who gave their joynt Bond for this 70000*l.* were not worth so many *English* Pence; and the Transfer was so clandestinely carried on, that if it had been known to the Sea-men, or those who expected Wages, there had not one Soul of them gone in the Service. And I dare be positive, that when we arriv'd in *Darien*, this Transfer was such a secret, that it was not known to ten Men besides the Councillors.

The Seamen being thus paid by the Company what was due to them, with the two Months advance, were made believe that when once these Landmen were set ashore, they were to proceed on a Trading Voyage, and return to *Scotland* to be paid, where-with they were well enough satisfy'd. The Landmen were still in worse Circumstances, for they had no Pay, nor none to trust to; only the hopes they were fatten'd with of picking the Gold off the Leaves of the Trees, which few of them doubted of, that went on that foot. For the more formality of the thing, and to make it of a greater value, there

[31]

there was a kind of Indenture or Contract between the Company and these Landmen. The Soldiers were not to go under that Denomination, but that of Planters. The 60 Officers (12 of them had been Captains in *Flanders*, and the other 48 subalterns) were term'd Overseers, Sub-Overseers and Assistants. The true Mystery of these cramp Names lay here, if I am not mistaken; The *Ostroy* empower'd the Company to list and entertain Souldiers for the service of their *Collonies*, and to exercise Martial Discipline; but at the same time, what Souldiers they listed in *Scotland*, must be with the Privy Councils leave first obtain'd. At the listing and enrolling of these Landmen, the Company thought it in vain to ask the Council that favour, for some weighty Reasons, which I shall not offer here; so took their own way of Christ'ning them, designing at the same time to make them answer the same ends, when once they got them between the *Tropicks*; and in the mean time, it was not necessary that these Land Officers, or Planting Soldiers should know the secret of their Infirmity. I must tell you, that *Pennycook*, and some more of the Council were so ignorant of it, that if it had not been for one who was none of their Number, they had hang'd up some of the Landmen at Sea, to try their hand.

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And after we had been a while in the Colony, and the poor Men so starv'd, that they were oblig'd to desert to any body that could fill their Bellies, some 9 or 10 of these were brought back by a party; and since they found they could not hang them, without running the Hazard of being hang'd themselves for it, afterwards, they chain'd great Weights of Iron to their Leggs, and condemn'd them for a certain number of years to Slavery. These Actings were as unlegal as the other; for if by the Constitutions of the Colony their Port be free, and if these Men be Planters by the Indenture or Contract made with the Company, they are Freemen, and not lyable to the lash of Martial Discipline.

The Terms of these Indentures run thus, *That the Planters should be maintain'd by the Company three Years; and what Ground they clear'd in that time, should be dispos'd of by the Colony, as they should think fit; allowing 50 Acres to each Planter, with a House in the Capital City of 50 foot square; 100 Acres to each Officer, with a House proportionable.* And to set the greater value on that rich Land, the Councillors themselves, by the Constitutions, could not have above three Portions, to wit, 150 Acres. These poor deluded Fellows had better sold themselves for the time in some of the English

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or French Plantations, and have got 18 or 20*l.* by the bargain, without either running the hazard of starving, or of the Spanish Mines. And altho' there had been no danger of either, yet what could a naked man make of this 50 Acres of Ground, or of 500, at the three years end, if it were not to sow Potatoes, Maez, and Plantains, and live as *Adam* did.

This is all the Encouragement these Gentlemen and Planters had to trust to; and altho' most, or all the Officers had been list'd 4 or 5 Months before they were ship'd aboard, yet they had not a farthing allow'd them for their subsistence, but what the 12 Captains or Overseers could pinch out of their Companies; neither could that be much, for the Planters were allow'd but 3*d* a day for their subsistence, from the date of their listing, to their going on board; indeed about a Month before we sail'd, upon a certain occasion of the Land Officers grumbling, the Directors, out of their Benevolence, or rather to stop their Mouths, order'd 10*l.* for each Captain, with a Subscription of 100*l.* in the Capital Stock (which was only 25*l.* Gift,) and for the Subalterns in Proportion; which generous Gratuity made all things easie.

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The Contract or Charter Party between the Company and Council, was penn'd before the Councillors were created; but that signify'd little, for these Candidates would scarce have stuck at the Terms, tho' they had been harder. But to tell you the truth, they were to seek for Persons fit for that purpose, and were glad to take such as they could get. By the Constitutions agreed on by *Rozy Mackenzie*, and the Company, seven Councillors were to be created before the Ships sail'd from *Scotland*, and these were to be invested with a Power to assume to the number of six more, as they should see occasion. I have reason to believe that the design of leaving these six Chairs vacant, was for the Encouragement of such *English* or *French* Men of Substance, as should come in and joyn them from the *West India* Plantations.

To give you the Characters at large of these 7 Councillors, would be tedious; wherefore I desire you may accept of this in short. 1. *James Cunningham* led the *Van*, he had been a Major in the Scots Forces, and disbanded on the Peace; a Pillar of the Kirk, and never out of Scotland before. 2. *Donald Macay*, a Scrivener's or Writer's Clerk, newly come out of his Apprenticeship, but a Youth of good Parts. 3. — *Veach*, a
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[35]

Man of no Trade, but advanc'd to this Post on the account his Father was a godly Minister, and a Glorifier of God, I think in the *Grass-market*. 4. *Robert Jollie*, a jolly Scotch over-grown Hamburger, who was formerly a Skipper, and us'd the *Shetland Trade*, but had for some dozen years been set up at *Hamburgh*, in quality of Merchant; and after that a Broker, and now a Councillor. 5. *Robert Pennycook*, formerly a Surgeon in the *English Navy*, then a Lieutenant, and afterwards Commander of a Bomb; this Gentleman having gain'd Experience by being 21 years from *Scotland* in several Trades or Occupations, he was by a Stratagem of an Acquaintance of mine, call'd home to take this Post upon him, about 6 or 7 Weeks before we sail'd, and was advanc'd by the Interest of the Kirk Party, the better to ballance that of the Church, and to keep out *Dr. M* — a reputed Atheist, who would certainly have debauch'd both. *Mr. Pennycook* was not only Councillor, but likewise Captain, Commandore, and the very Orford of our Navy. 6. *James Montgomrie*, whose Designation I cannot well tell, but you may know him by the Story of the bloody Fight he had with the Spaniard, where so many hundred were kill'd and taken Prisoners, tho' at the same time there was never a Spaniard hurt. This Gentleman was formerly an Ensign in the Scots Guards,

[36]

Guards, but not liking that Office, left it, and carry'd a brown Musket in another Regiment. The Reasons of his Preferment to this Post, was his Grand-fathers being Earl of Eglington; and his own Father, by the Mothers side, being Major General Montgomrie. 7. Robert Pincarton, a good down right, rough spun Tar, never known before by any Designation or State Office, save that of Boatswain to Sir William Phipps, when he was on the Wreck; and now, poor fellow, a Diver in the Spanish Mines at Carthage.

These were the seven wise Men, who were to divide Mexico and Peru amongst them. Veach being sick of the Voyage, stay'd at home; and on this occasion William Paterson, whom I hinted at before, having come from Scotland with us in quality of Voluntier (for he was in Disgrace some Months before we came off; and his projecting Head growing too big to get out of the Ports of Edinburgh without an Engine, he was at his liberty either to go into the Tolbooth, or on board in this Station, which he pleas'd) was assum'd into the Senate in Veach's Place, after we had got so far as the Madera's on our Voyage.

I had almost forgot to tell you of our Clergy, with whom I ought, in good Manners,

[37]

Manners, to have begun. Two Ministers with a Journey Man to take up the Psalm, were Commission'd by the General Assembly with full Instructions, I suppose, to dispose of the Bibles amongst the Indians. One of these was an Extraordinary Good Man, but he ow'd his Education to the Army in Flanders where the Kirk Rust was rnb'd off him. The other was Young Headstrong, as infallible as his Holiness, Sawcy and as Impertinent as the Moderator himself. They thought to have Establish'd the Scotch Kirk Discipline in America, but having past the Tropick of Cancer, they could find such a sensible Alteration in our Men, nay in the Major himself, by the Influence of that Zone, that they began to despair of it, and their heart-strings being quite broke at the sight of that Dear Land of Promise, they just lookt upon it and so were gather'd to their Fathers. They were not much miss't indeed; for the only time we had occasion for the Priestly Office, was the Marriage of Patersons Wifes Maid, after her belly had been a third up, and then her Master happening to be *Prases*, or high Priest for the week, Celebrated it in as much form or perhaps more than if it had been done in a Scotch Kirk.

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But before I leave *Europe* altogether ; I must tell you one passage more, which was a Secret to a great part of the Court of Directors when we left *Scotland*, it being manag'd only by the Private Committee, and 2 or 3 more. The story runs thus, The Company's, or rather Private Committees, Agents at *London*, had been for some time in Terms with *Lionel Wafer* to bring him into the Service, they had no positive Instructions to agree with him at first, but only to sound him as to the particulars of the Country of *Darien*. *Wafer*, it seems, was in Terms with some Private Merchants of *London*, about sending a Vessel thither for *Nicaragua* Wood, to which he was to *Pilot* them ; and about the same time he was putting his Journalls into the press. *Pennycook*, before he left *London*, went with Mr. *Fletcher* a *Scotts* Gentleman and some others, designedly to discourse this *Wafer*, and having treated him at *Pontacks*, satisfy'd themselves of his capacitie to serve the Company, they advis'd him not to be hasty in Publishing his Book, or at least till he heard further from *Scotland*. There was a collection of some *Guineas* amongst these Gentlemen for *Wafer*, the better to back their advice. When *Pennycook* arriv'd in *Scotland* he acquainted the Pri-

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vate Committee with his Sentiments of *Wafer*, on which they wrote to Mr. *Fletcher* by the next post to secure him for the Companies Service, and to make the easiest bargain he could.

Mr. *Wafer* had stood for some Months by-gone at 1000 *l.* but now Mr. *Fletcher* being in earnest with him he agreed on the following Terms.

1. He was to serve the Company for the space of 2 Years in their Expedition, for which the Company was to pay him 750 *l.* whereof 50 *l.* ready down.
2. He was forthwith to proceed to *Edinburgh*, and there to Answer to such Questions as the Private Committee or Committee of Trade should ask him.
3. In Consideration of 20 *Guineas* more, which he then received in hand, he was to put a stop to the Publishing his Book for the space of a Month ; and when he came to *Edinburgh*, if the Company and he could not come to Terms for the suppressing it altogether, then he was either at Liberty to go in their Service for the foresaid 700 *l.* or to return to *England*, which he pleas'd.

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4. You may easily perceive something Myſtical in the wording of theſe Articles, whereby the Company might ſhake their Neck out of their Nooſe, but that Mr. *Fletcher* mean't it ſo, I will not ſay, but am rather willing to believe he was ſincere and Ignorant of the Companies deſign on him.

Mr. *Wafer*, Purſuant to the Contract, (having order'd his Affairs in *England* for his Voyage to *Darien*,) took Poſt for *Scotland*, and on the Road paſt by the Name of *Brown*, by the Committees Directions. He was ſtopt at *Huddinton*, 12 Miles ſhort of *Edinbrugh* by Mr. *Pennycook* who was order'd to Lodge him at Mr. *Fletcher's* Houſe, about 2 Miles Wide of that Road, and there he was to ſtay till the Committee ſhould come to him, leaſt by his going into *Edinbrugh* he ſhould be ſeen by *Paterſon* or *Lodge*, (who at this time were kept in the Dark as to the Companies Reſolutions,) or by any other Perſon that might know him. The Private Committee came to him next day, and having enter'd on buſineſs, aſkt him firſt, if he had order'd his Affairs ſo in *England* that he needed not return.—He Answered that he had, and

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[41]

was ready to go aboard at 48 hours warning: to this they reply'd that it was very well, tho' by the Sequel of the ſtory you'l find it none of their meaning.

During the firſt 2 or 3 days Conferences the Subject of the diſcourſe was *Darien*, of which he unbosſom'd himſelf freely. And for their further incouragement, he ingaged to lead them to a Treasure of *Nicaragua* Wood, whereof 300 Men could cut down ſo much in fix Months, as ſhould defray the whole Charge of the Expedition, which if he did not perform he ſhould forfeit his Title to the 700*l.* Premium agreed on. The Gentlemen were curious in Informing themſelves whereabouts this Treasure was, whether it was near the Sea or any River whence it could be eaſily Shipt Aboard. *Wafer*, not ſuſpecting any deſign upon him by Perſons of ſo noted Characters, reſolv'd them in every particular, and pointed out the very ſpot of Ground, where it grows, with the bearings and diſtance of it from *Golden Iſland*. They now thinking themſelves Cok-ſure of the Treasure, and ſufficiently Inſtructed as to the Country, had no more occaſion for *Wafer*, and believ'd that the 700*l.* Pilotage might be ſay'd, to help to Fetch up *Smiths Summ*.

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[42]

Next Night he was brought into *Edinburgh* under Pretence of a nearer Communication, and was Lodg'd in a private Cell near the Companies Office Three Pair of Stairs high, where he could scarce distinguish between Sun Light and Moon Light; And here he was oblig'd to keep close lest by being seen abroad the Project should take Air. *Waser* was well enough pleas'd with his confinement, having still the 700*l.* in View; but as there's no certainty in Sublunary things, so the *Pilot* mist of his mark; for in a day or 2 afterwards some Gentlemen of the Committee came to him, and with abundance of concern made him understand that the Project had taken Wind in *England*, that Admiral *Bembo* was Lying with a Squadron at *Spithead* to wait their motion, and that it was resolv'd that very Morning in the Secret Committee to alter their *Darien* Project. *Waser* being somewhat daunted at the news, had but little to say to the matter: And these Gentlemen to blind him the more, askt him several Questions about the Rivers of *Platte* and *Amazones*, (both 1000 Leagues Wide of *Darien*,) and whether he could be serviceable to them that way; to which he Answered no. Thus

[43]

Thus they parted from him, shewing a great concern for their own Disappointment, as well as his; telling him withal, That since they could not go in his *Darien* Project, they would think of a gratuity fit for him, which he might expect that evening.

This Gratuity was the Summ of 20 *Guineas*, which he receiv'd by the hand of Mr. *Pennycook*: And I suppose he was now at Liberty to Print his Book, for I think he was never so much as Commun'd with about it. I was order'd to see him out of Town, which gave me an Opportunity of having the Mournful story Recapitulated, whereof neither he nor I at that time knew the Draught. It was not Necessary to enjoin *Waser* to Conceal his *Scotch* Journey from the *English*, his own interest obliging him to keep it hush, since the greatest remedy he could expect was to be Laught at. However, I dare say he hath acquired so little Knowledge of *Edinburgh* (except what he Learn'd of the Company,) that if he were to return

[44]

turn to that City he could no more find the way to his Lodging, than the Company could to the *Nicaragua* Wood, Notwithstanding they thought themselves so sure of it by Directions.

I was afterwards one of those who went for several Miles along the Coast in Search of this Treasure, but were oblig'd to give it o'er: And in Lieu of this, our Men were order'd to fell several kinds of strange Trees which Naturally grow in the Collonies Garden.

These were squared and cut in Ten Foot Peices for the easier stowage, and were to be sent home by the first Ship, to see if the Cornies Virtuoso's could find any *Lel* amongst them.

When they come I dare say they will Puzzle the General Assembly to find Names for them all, for I can scarce think that Old Nunkle trotted so far *West* to Christen them.

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(45)

But that I may now take leave of the Company (whom I am unwilling to part with as yet if it were not for fouling too much Paper) and hale my Topfail-sheets home for my Voyage to *Darien*: I must acquaint you that about 7 or 8 months before we sail'd, a Committee was order'd for the dispatch of business, *viz.* for the victualling and fitting out of the Fleet. I was ordered to assist at two or three meetings of this Committee with my advice in the Victualling part (that for some time before lying within my Province) and they having told me that 900 men was the Compliment they design'd for this Expedition, and that they must regulate the daily expence according to the store they had, so as to make it hold out 9 months; this was soon done, and if we had been ready to sail then, the Provisions might have held out according to the calculation: but our Masters being no Witches at their craft a third of their Provisions were expended before we could be ready to sail. There was none to be had in *Scotland*, and if there had there was no Money to go to Market; the 100000 *l.* being sunk, and the Companies credit not worth two pence, notwithstanding the glorious show our Ships made from the Castle-hill of *Edinburgh*. And I have reason to believe, that we had stuck there as well as the *Rising Sun* did in the *Pom-passe*, if it had not been for some few Pillars of the Company who mortgag'd their Estates

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for 4 or 5000 *l.* for which the Company made over the two new Ships at *Hamburgh* and the *Rising Sun* at *Amsterdam* for their security. It was not convenient to let our men know the ill state of our Provisions; but on the other hand, there was such a noise made of our plenty, and of our having a twelve months store of all kinds for 1000 men, that it was like to have set us all by the ears together before we were long at Sea. This management was principally due to Mr. *Robert Blackwood* one of that Committee, a little busy-body, who took this part of it upon him, and is now in disgrace for the same. Whether he deserves it altogether himself I will not say; but however, the Company thinks it necessary he should be the Sacrifice, altho one half of their Collars is not enough to atone for what so many brave Fellows has suffered.

Having sail'd from *Leith* about three days I acquainted Mr. *Pennycook* with my doubts as to the Provisions, and how necessary it was the Council should be satisfied of our store before it were too late. Next day he made the Signal for the Counsellors to repair on board, and the Purfers of the several Ships were ordered to lay an account before them of what Provisions they stood charged with. This done, I was ordered to calculate the whole and make a Report how long the store would hold out at the usual allowance for 1050 men, our Compliment being thereabouts. I could

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(47)

not make above 5 months and a half of any specie except Stock-fish, of which we had full 11 months, and that at 4 daies of the week, but had not above 4 months Butter and Oyl to it. The Council design'd to put into the *Orkney's* to send an Express to the Company and give them an account of the state of Provisions, but meeting with thick and bad weather in the passing of them, we were obliged to go on; and having calculated that store to hold out 9 months, our men were forthwith put to that sharp allowance. This occasion'd ill blood enough, and I was like to have got my throat cut for being the author of it. As for our Drink, we had not above ten tun of Beer in our Navy when we left *Leith*; but in lieu thereof we were assur'd by the Company, that we should take in Wine at *Madera's*, for which they had sent us credit on Mr. *Miles*, who had Effects in his hands of one *William Arbuckles* a Director; but being come thither, we found this to be a mistake, to say no worse on't. Our men now being at such short allowance, and no other Drink to trust to but stinking Water, did not know how to brook it well.

The Officers and Gentlemen Voluntiers, who had brought but little money with them (being in hopes that there was enough before them) were obliged to sell their moveables to *Jack Portugueese*, such as Scarlet Coats, Cloaks and Swords, wherewith they purchas'd

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chas'd a little Wine for themselves. The Senate was in the same case, for they had no Cash in their Bank, and being under such another necessity as *David* was when he eat the Shew-bread, made bold with the several Ships stock-purses, wherein was only 100 *l.* for each Ship, and 10 *l.* for each Tender, in case they should meet with any disaster at Sea and be oblig'd to be put into a Foreign Port. With this Money, and a few Pipe-staves, they purchas'd 27 Pipes of Wine, and a small recruit of fresh Provisions. But this would not have gone far, for if it had been serv'd out but at a quarter of a pint a day to each man it would not have held out above six weeks.

That you may tast a little of our Provisions as well as I, you must know that our Stock-fish was the best, if there had been a proportion of Butter or Oyl to it. Our Beef was 3 fourths *Irish*, and the rest *Scotch*, both alike fit for a long Voyage. There was about a fifth part of the *Irish* stall-fed, the rest grass Beef, and the whole about 18 months in salt. As for our Bread, 27000 *l.* weight of it was made up of damnified Wheat which was bought cheap, and the money of it is now in the pocket of a Director, whose Christian Name is *Drummellier*. This Bread was not fit for dogs to eat, but it was a mercy we had a good many *Highlanders* in our Legion, who were not used to feed on much of God's Creatures that's hallowed. The Pork was indiffe-

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(49)

rent good, but there being no great store of it aboard we reserv'd it always for our *Sundays* dinner. As for Cheese, we had none, by reason, I suppose, that only serves for concoction, or to create an appetite.

Thus we march'd as the *Scots* Armies did in former days with their 40 days Provisions on their backs against their Enemies; whom if they did not meet before that term was expir'd they dispers'd and went home again. But their case and ours differ'd in some essentials, these were never far from home, knew what to trust to, and if they happen'd to be disappointed of the Enemies Plunder, they could make bold with their Neighbours Chickens while they were on the Road, and that never reckon'd Stealing: But we were sent to the back of Gods elbow, where we could see nothing but Death, starving and the *Spanish* Mines before our Eyes, and although our inclinations were never so strong to borrow any of our Neighbours goods, yet our power was always deficient.

But now to proceed on our Voyage, and give you the remarkable Occurrences of it and of our *Darien* entertainment; you are to know that we left the *Edinburgh Fyrth* on *July* the 17th. 1698, and having fetch'd a turn round the *Orkney's* we arriv'd at *Madera's* about the last of *August*, and staid there 5 or 6 days, till we purchas'd the foresaid 27 Pipes of Wine. Here the Council open'd their In-

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(50)

structions, by which they were ordered to Steer to *Crabb-Island*, and take possession of it in the name of the Company and Nation of *Scotland*, and leave a small detachment there. This Island lies to Leeward of *St. a Cruz*, about 9 Leagues, to windward of *Porto-Rico*, about 5 Miles and 18 Leagues from *St. Thomas* a *Danish* Island. Having made the Island of *St. a Cruz*, our Senate order'd the *Unicorn* and one of the Tenders into *St. Thomas*, to get some Pilates for the Main, and to return to us at *Crabb Island*. While the Council sat on this occasion, we drove to the *Northwardmost* end of *St. a Cruz*, and not being in too much hast to come to an Anchor at *Crabb Island*, we fetch'd a trip to Windward round *St. a Cruz*, which occasion'd the disappointment of our settlement; for our Missioners to *St. Thomas* having innocently scatter'd some words there of our *Crabb* design, the Governour forthwith dispatch'd a Sloop with ten Men and an Officer to take possession of it in the name of *Denmark*; so that at our arrival in the Bay, or Road of *Crabb Island*, we could see a large Tent a shore with the King of *Denmark's* Colours flying. Our Senate sent ashore to know the meaning of it, and were made sensible that they came too late. Next day the *Unicorn* and Tender arriv'd, having brought with them one *Allison*, who Commanded a Sloop in that Squadron of *Privateers*, who had landed at *Golden Island*, and

(51)

and march'd over the *Isthmus*, about 18 Years ago. We were glad of such a Pilot, for there was no Man in our Fleet that had ever been on the *Spanish Coast*. We left *Crabb Island* the second of *October*, and having met with *Southerly* and *Westerly* winds for 3 Weeks or a Month together, it was the second of *November* before we came to an Anchor on the *Darien Coast*. We lay becalm'd a Week between *Cartagena* and *Cape Tiburoon* (which is the *Westermost* point of the Gulph of *Darien*) where for want of any Air, but what was *Sulphurous*, our Men fell down and died like rotten Sheep.

We came to an Anchor about 7 Leagues to the *Northwest* of *Cape Tiburoon*, and altho' we were close by *Golden Island*, yet neither our Pilate, nor any person else knew the Land, till the *Indians* inform'd us. The *Unicorn* being the first Ship that came to an Anchor sent her Boat ashore; where having left an hostage with some *Indians*, who had a Plantation there, two Canous with a few *Indians* came on board the Ships. The Canou which came to the *St. Andrew* where I was had Captain *Andreas* on board, who was afterwards the Companies and Collonies Landlord: They were some hours aboard before we could make them understand us, altho a *Jew* (who was our Linguist) endeavour'd it with his *Spanish, Portuguese, French* and *Dutch*; till once they were got drunk with our Punch and

(52)

and *Madera* Wine, and then Captain *Andreas* with his Lieutenant spoke it as fast and much better than our *Jew*. Having got their load they were not able to go ashore that night; and next day we weigh'd and came into the Bay within *Golden Island*, which is about 4 or 5 Miles wide and deep. And having sound-ed with our Boats along the shore, we found a Lagoon on the *South-East* side of this Bay, which runs up within the Land about two Miles and a half; this appearing to be a good Harbour for us, we went into it and Christ-ened it, by the name of *Caledonia* Harbour. The mouth or entry of this Harbour is a large Mile over, and so steep too on both sides that a Ship may go so near as to throw a Bisket-cake ashore. One side of the Harbour to-wards the Sea is a vast Mountain and Penin-sula, being joyn'd to the Main at the bottom of the Harbour, by a neck of low Land, a-bout 3 or 400 Paces over. The extream point of this Peninsula, which makes one side of the Harbours mouth, is a low and flat piece of Sandy ground, containing about 30 Acres, and divided from the Peninsula by another neck of 180 Paces over from Sea to Sea. This was pitch'd upon as the strongest Sanctuary in case of attacks, as likewise for the convenience of a battery towards the Harbours mouth: We Christen'd this piece of ground by the name *New Edinburgh*, and the Platform of 16 Guns which we made there

(53)

there was call'd *Fort St. Andrew*. The neck of Land was cut through to let the Sea en-compass the New City and Fort, and part it from the Peninsula, and within the Trench a breast-work with a Parapet was rais'd, and a half bastion at each end. On the other side of the Trench the Trees were fell'd, and the ground clear'd for a Musquet-shot round, to give us a fair prospect of the *Spaniard*, in case of an attack. This piece of ground was the *Scotch Collony*; as for the Peninsula it self, it might have been fortify'd with some labour and pains, but not thinking it conven-ient to part so few men to defend these two Posts, it was resolv'd by the Council to stick close by this and fortify it to the best ad-vantage. As for the opposite point on the Main, which makes the other side of the entry into the Harbour, it is a high ridge of a Moun-tain which with a sharp or edg'd end butts into the Sea, and so crossly contriv'd that it would puzzle all the Ingeniers in *Europe* to plant a Gun on it that could do any Service. So that at best, this Harbour is only a shelter from bad weather, the Platform call'd *Fort St. Andrew* being of little use to defend it; the Ships, in-deed by bringing a Spring on their Cables, and their Broad-sides to bear towards the mouth of the Harbour, might serve for so advantagious a Battery, as one Ship within the Harbour might be as good as two that came in to attack them, the nature of which strength may easily be comprehended by any Seafaring men.

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(54)

But to return to our Landlord and the other *Indians*; Captain *Andreas's* Plantation was amongst the Mountains, about 4 miles from our Harbour; the extent of his Government was from *Carrit-bay* about 8 or 9 miles on one side of us, and *Golden Island* about 5 miles on the other side, such a portion of Land being the Lairdship or Kingdom of these Captains whom the *Buccaneers*, *Privateers* and *Scotch Company* would have to be Kings and Sovereign Princes. At our first Landing, Captain *Andreas* came down and lookt on us, and seem'd to be well enough satisfy'd with his new Tenants (he thinking it in vain to appear otherwise, for if he had muster'd his whole Clan to oppose us, 6 of our men with fire-arms were enough to conquer him) but what his sentiment was will appear by the sequel. After that Visit he did not come near us for 3 or 4 weeks; and during this time the mighty noise of our Force spreading all along that Shore, and the hopes we gave them of restoring them to their ancient Liberty and Greatness, there came *Canoes* with *Indians* from all the neighbouring parts to view us: it was our interest to make them welcome, so that they came daily to us without any dread, and having staid till we were weary of them, went home again with some little presents of Beads, Looking-glasses, or Knives. About the same time Captain *Ambrosio* came from the Westward to us, with a *Periaga* full of *Indians*, to the number of 30, including Men, Women and Children, (for when they

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(55)

travel they carry their whole Families with them) and having come within half a mile of our Ships they set up a Flag of Truce, and lay on their Oars till our Pinnaces went out and assur'd them that they should be safe. This *Ambrosio* is one of their greatest Captains, and at present an Outlaw, or if you will, at war with the *Spaniard*, having murder'd 10 of them at the Isle of *Pines* sometime agoe: his Plantation and Government is about 50 miles to Leeward of the Collony, and about half way between and the *Samballa's* Islands. He was made very welcom, staid 2 or 3 days, and told us that we were not safe in Captain *Andreas's* Ground by reason he was a *Spanish Captain* and a very *Spaniard* in his heart, and although he seem'd to be well enough satisfy'd with our landing in his Ground, yet he was not to be trusted but came purely with a design to spy us. Captain *Andreas* absenting himself so long from the Collony added to the same suspicion, and our Senatours being resolv'd to know more of it, 3 of their number went on a Visit to his Plantation, and having enter'd his *Wigwam* (or Cage-like house) he sat still on his Seat without saying one word to them, or seeming to know that he ever had seen them before, although he was made heartily drunk at both the times he was on board. Mr. *Pennycook* and the others having met with this cold Entertainment from Captain *Andreas* (for they were not offer'd so much as a Plantain or Callabash of Drink, which is the usual

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(56)

Entertainment the *Indians* give to their Friends at their first entry) came home again confirm'd of what *Ambrosio* and the other *Indians* had hitherto said. The next time Capt. *Ambrosio* came he insisted on the same story, and would needs persuade us to remove from that place and come nearer to him, where we needed not apprehend any betraying design from him by reason his killing of these 10 *Spaniards* at the Isle of *Pines*, and taking that *Periaga* with a brass *Pitterara* could never be forgiven by them. Our Council met on this occasion, where it was order'd that *Pennycook*, *Montgomery*, *Macay* and *Pinparton* Counsellors, with *Robert Drummond* Commander of the *Caledonia* should go to *Ambrosio's*, with the Long-boats and Pinnaces mann'd with 70 Fire-arms, and on their way to sound all the Harbours along the Coast. I was desir'd by these Gentlemen to go with them, and having stopt the first Night at the Isle of *Pines*, 6 Leagues to Leeward of the Collony, where Captain *Long* was riding in His Majesty's Ship the *Rupert Prize*, we lodg'd that Night on Board with him. The next day we proceeded on our Expedition sounding the Coast, where we found some good Harbours that were able to contain all the Navy of *England*, but they could not be fortify'd so as to hinder the Enemy from coming in. When we arriv'd at *Ambrosio's* little River or Brook we landed, and were Piloted by his Son Captain *Pedro* to the Plantation, which is about a league

(57)

league from the Sea, and is so cunning and obscure, that without a Guide it is impossible for any man to find the way to it. We crost one River eleven times, wading always up to the middle, and I believe we could have gone a nearer way if they would, but they do this designedly, that the Path or Road may not be found out by the *Spaniard*. Being arriv'd at the Plantation, Captain *Ambrosio* came out of his Wigwam about 30 Paces and welcom'd us, he had a white Cotton Frock on fring'd at the bottom, and his Court or Clann behind him (who were all muster'd on this occasion) to the number of thirty men besides Women and Children; they were in such Frocks as *Ambrosio's*, and had short Lances in their hands: He carry'd us into his Wigwam, and his Wives gave every one of us a Plantain and Callabash of their drink (which is made of *Indian* Corn, and like unboil'd Flummary) this being all the Food we got till the next day at noon we came down to our Boats, except a dish of minc'd Meat of Wild Hogg, wherein was about two pound of Meat, which serv'd to give us a tast of their finest Cheer. We hung in Hammocks that Night in *Ambrosio's* Wigwam amongst his and his Son *Pedro's* Wives, and our men lay without round a large Fire that was made for them. Next morning *Ambrosio* went out betimes with 3 or 4 of his men to hunt for us, but there being no appearance of his return at noon, and our Bellies crying Cupboard, we did not stay to bid him farewell; and his Son Captain *Pedro* having re-conducted us to the Sea side, desir'd the Linguist to tell Captain *Pennycook*, that his Father and he expected some Present for that Entertainment. We had brought nothing with us at that time, so told him, that the next time his Father came to the Collony the Council would thank him, and give him something, which afterwards was two pieces of *Scotch* Cloth,

(58)

Cloth, two Fire-locks, and some Powder, with a few Shot, wherewith he was mightily pleas'd.

Having return'd to the Collony, and a Report of the Expedition being made in Council, and the Port where we were reckon'd the most secure, it was resolv'd to remain there, dispatch the Fortification with all expedition, and make the best Bargain with *Andreas* we could. On the last of *November*, being *St. Andrew's* day, it was manag'd so (but how I cannot resolve you) that Captain *Andreas* came aboard the *St. Andrew*, where was a Festival on the account of the Day, and he being ask'd by the Linguist, why he was so uncivil to the Councillours when they came to visit him in his Plantation, he answer'd, That he meant no harm, and that they must impute it to his Ignorance of the *European* Customs (altho' this Tale could not come well from one that was bred among the *Spaniards*) and not to his want of good-will. He was desir'd to sit down and share with them, the Linguist telling him the occasion of that Feast.

After Dinner, the great Bowl of Punch being set on the Table (the sight of which was pleasant enough to *Andreas*) the Council was resolv'd to push the thing home, and told him what *Ambrosio* and the other *Indians* said of him; to which he reply'd almost *verbatim*, as follows, That he could not deny but that he was a *Spanish* Captain, and had been so a long time; that the reason of his shewing the

Collony so little Countenance was, by reason some * 16 or 17 years past, the *English* and *French* landed in that very Ground, being 12 or 13 hundred in number, and made them believe they were come to free them from the *Spanish* Yoke, and restore them to their own Country; his Friends and Relations join'd and assisted them at the taking of *Santa Maria* and other Towns on the *South Sea*, and likewise serv'd on board

(59)

board their Ships with them in their *South Sea* Expeditions, till at two years end they found, that all their design was on the *Spanish* Plunder, and having got that, left them expos'd to the Cruelty of the *Spaniard*, who have cut off most of the *Indians* thereabouts, and that for several Years they were oblig'd to live obscurely in the Mountains; as for himself and Friends, they were oblig'd to accept of the *Spaniard's* Terms; but at the same time, if he thought that the Collony were sincere, and that their Nation could protect him and his Kindred, he was ready to break with the *Spaniard* and join with them. Few words more were made of it, the Council accepted of his profer, and promis'd great things enough for the Nation, and the Secretary was order'd immediately to make out a Commission for *Andreas*. It was made on Parchment with the Colonies Seal and a fine Ribband affixt to it, the tenor whereof run thus. Captain *Andreas* having desir'd Protection from the Collony for himself and the other *Indians* under him, the Council does hereby take him and them into their Protection, and appoints the foresaid *Andreas* to be one of their *Scots* Colonies Captains, to command all the *Indians* that's already in his Ground, and to fight against and destroy the Enemies of the Collony of what Nation soever. This Commission was wrote in *English* and read to him by the *Few* in *Spanish*; and for the more solemnity of the thing, the Coucil gave him one of the Long-Boats Jacks to wear in his *Canou*, a Fuzee, and a pair of Pistols, and a Basket-hilted Sword, and fir'd 21 Guns at his Inauguration. In the Evening Captain *Andreas* went ashore with his Flag flying and the other ensigns of his Honour, except the Commission, which I found the day following cram'd into a Locker of the Round-house where empty Bottles lay. What the meaning of leaving his Commission behind him was I could not apprehend

(60)

hend, but the next time he came aboard it was given him.

The Collony's Affair continu'd thus till *Christmas*, during which time the Neighbouring *Indian* Captains came to visit us, to wit, Captain *Poffigo*, young *Diego*, another *Pedro Antonio*, and *Nicola*, who generally used to rail at one another behind their Backs, but all agreed that *Andreas* was not to be trusted notwithstanding his new Commission. *Ambrosio* was with us during the *Christmas* Holy-days, and having met with Captain *Andreas* on Board the *St. Andrew* (whom he always look'd on as his mortal Enemy) reproach'd him with his Villany, by telling him, that he was still a *Spaniard* altho' he took the Collony's Commission: This occasion'd some blows between them, and both Parties were going to fall on, if they had not been parted by our Seamen. They were kept asunder till the Evening, and then Mr. *Pennycook* persuading *Ambrosio* to be reconcil'd to him (or at least, to appear so) a Bowl was made and the Friendship made up, they seem'd then to be good Friends all that Night, till about the time that they were to go to sleep, poor Captain *Andreas* either fell or was tumbld down the main Hatch-way into the Hold, where lighting on a spare Anchor that lay there, he was so bruiz'd that he gave up the ghost soon afterwards. No body could tell how this accident happen'd, only two things were remarkable in it: That the Hatches of the Hold were always lock'd down at Nights by reason the sharpness of our Diet made some Men watch all opportunities of getting into the Hold where the Oatmeal and Beef lay, but they were fairly open this Night. The other is, that there was no care taken while he was aboard to bleed him, or give him any thing inwardly to keep the Blood fluid and from settling on the bruiz'd parts, but laid him up till next Day his Wife and Relations carry'd him a-shore double.

Captain

(145)

Captain or King *Andreas* having made his *Exit* thus, his Brother-in-Law Captain *Pedro*, with the interest or advice of the Senate, was Seated on his Throne, and he prov'd so friendly to the Collony that about 12 days after his Advancement a Party of *Spaniards* to the number of 26, being sent to view the *Scots*, came streight to Captain *Pedro's* or *Andreas* his Government, desiring some of his Men to Pilot them to some convenient place where they might view the *Scots* Fortification and Ships, these *Indians* ingaged it, but advis'd them to lie clost for a day or two, untill they view'd whether or no the Coast was clear and no *Scots* Parties abroad, So having posted them on the side of a small River, left them and inform'd the Collony of what they had done: On which Captain *Montgomery* Detach'd a Party of a 100 Men, and went round in their Boats, carrying these *Indians* along with them: as they were rowing up this narrow River, the *Indians* of a sudden gave the Hollow, that the *Scots* might know they were upon them, but before they could see any body by reason of the thickness of the Woods, the *Spaniards* pour'd in a Volley of small Shot amongst them, kill'd one Ensign *Suinton*, with two more, and wounded 14, and then run as

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(146)

fast as they could, our Men Landed and persu'd them, but caught none of them, save this *Domingo de la Rada*, and two more Common Soldiers, of whom the Proprietors of the *Flying-Post* have made such a noise these five or six Months past.

This is the ground of the Companies title to the Isthmus of *Darien*, and that was the Bloody Fight wherein so many hundreds of *Spaniards* were kill'd and taken Prisoners. Our Men being reduc'd to the foremention'd short Allowance, and wrought every day from Sun to Sun in felling of Trees, and Fortifying themselves, and seeing but little appearance of the Riches they were told of, began to be very faint-hearted. Several deserted from the Shore, and some of our best Men from the Ships, nobody knew whether; and eight or nine of those who were caught and brought back again confess'd that they were going in to the *Spaniards*, where they might expect more *Vi-ctuals* and less *Slavery* than what they had there.

Notwithstanding these general murmurings, the Council could not augment the Allowance, without runing the hazard of starving a Month or two sooner, for there's no kind of Food to be had in that Mountainous & Woody Country, save *Plantains*, *Bonnano's*
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(147)

Potato's and Indian Corn, which are so scarce by reason of the few Natives, that our Men sold their New Shirts to the Indians for 20 or 24 *Plantains* a piece, which would not serve a Man above three or four days, and our Council were oblig'd to give strict Orders that no Man should sell his Cloaths, else I verily believe our Men had been naked in two months after our Landing. They were oblig'd to a certain Animal call'd a *Sojour*, which is a small Land Crab, that is hous'd in a shell like that of a *Wilk*; These *Sojourns* were very plentiful at our first Landing, but they soon fail'd; and then our Men eat the inner rind of the bark of great Tree, which was not unpleasant to the taste, but it being of no nourishment, and thought to be unwholesome, they were discharged to eat of it. I doubt not but there's plenty of Fish on that Coast, but our Company furnishing us only with a small Net made of *Packthread* for each Ship, they could catch no more in a day than what serv'd the Counsellors and Sea Captains; and these Nets soon fail'd too. We made a shift to make a couple of *Turtle Nets* out of the store of Lines or small Cord we had aboard, but then we had not a Vessel that was fit to go a *Turtling*, till after some
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(148)

time, two of the *Jamaico* Sloops who had brought and sold their Cargo of Provisions to the Collony were hir'd by them to Turtle for them: These Sloops staid about a month in their Service, till they had got so many Turtle for them as by contract came to a 100 and odd Pounds, and finding that there was neither Money nor Money's worth to be had in the Collony, they broke off with them, and with much a do could get so much Money as to satisfy them for their Service. They had some dependance on the wreck of a French Ship which was cast away coming out of the Harbour the day before *Christmas*, she having near 40000 *l.* in Doubloons and Dollars on board, which she had got by trading on the Spanish Coast, but I am told by some persons who are come home since I came, that they could not recover any thing of it, by reason of the continual swell that beats on that shore. Here (in Parenthesi) I was Shipwreck'd, had my Servant drow'd, and lost the few Goods I had with Bag and Baggage, and if it had not been for the little Money which I saved I had not found the way home as yet: As for the Gold and Riches of that Country, I heard enough but saw little of it; I presume if there were such store, the *Spaniards* would not have left it so expos'd.

These

(149)

These Kings or Captains who came down to us might bring perhaps half an Ounce or an Ounce at a time with them and sell it for Powder and Shot, and at first for a speckled Shirt, but there came so little of this Commodity amongst us that it would be long time before a Man could load his Pocket with it, much less a Dutch built Ship. What Gold I purchas'd there it cost me 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per ounce, and I believe I brought as much of it away with me to *England* as most of those Counsellors who are come home since, notwithstanding the noise which they made of it.

I left the Collony the 27th of *December*, at the same allowance as we were reduc'd to in *July*, when we left *Scotland*; only there was an allowance of *Madera* Wine after our Landing, to wit, an English Quart to a Mess (being 5 Men) once a Week: Two Quarts to each Captain once a Week, of which these Gentlemen made only one want, and the Night they got their Allowance, they went as merry to Bed as if they had been in their Winter Quarters at *Ghent* or *Brussels*, altho they were oblig'd to drink fair Water for a Week afterwards: As for the Subalterns, when I came off, they were not allow'd one Spoonful.

Thus

(150)

Thus you see how a 1050 Men were sent by the *Scotch* Company on a blind Project, of getting Riches for them with five or six months Allowance at most, no Credit, and a ridiculous Cargo, neglected by them, and expos'd to Famine Death and the Spanish Mines. How the Company will shake this miscarriage from off themselves I cannot see: However, I will give you a sample of what they will be ready to offer in their own vindication.

First, Their being baulkt of their foreign Subscriptions made them lose Time and Money, whereby they could not send out such a number of Men and quantity of Provisions as the Project would have required. But who is to blame for this, why should they trust to another Man's Purse till such time they are sure of it? Why did they prodigally throw away 50000%. in *Holland* and *Hambrough* (purely to make a bluffer there) when they could have bought 3 Second-hand-Ships as fit for their Project, for the third of the Money? And since their design was to settle a Colony and Forts on the North and South Seas, why did not they apply themselves rightly to it? That which might have been honestly sav'd out of this 50000%. might have carried over above 2000 Men with 12 months Pro-

(151)

Provisions of every Specie at good allowance. I have made this appear in *Scotland* some time ago, and since to some of the greatest Men in the Company.

The second Reason they will be apt to offer is this, the Ships were Mann'd, the Sea-men and Land-men Lifest and on board, no Provisions to be had in *Scotland*, while more were providing abroad, these aboard still were expending; besides, there was no Money in the Cash-room, nor any more to be had from the Subscribers, till once the Ships were sail'd, many being so sick of the Project, that they doubted whether they should ever pass the Bafs. If this should be allow'd to pass for Current it may reasonably be ask'd whether five or six Months Provisions should have lasted to this time. If ever they expected to hear any more of their Ships, ought they not to have call'd in more Money on our departure, and provided Provisions instantly, and had Ships with us by *Christmas*, or *January* at farthest; whereas none sail'd from *Leith* till *May*, which was near two Months after they receiv'd the *Collonies* Packet. If they pretended to be ignorant of our necessity before this Packet came, they had no excuse afterwards, they knew our want, as likewise that they had not sent a Groats-worth of Credit

Credit with us to any part of the World, altho now when its too late, they have made a fashion of doing it in *New-England*.

The third Reason they will make great use of is this, that at the settling of *Barbadoes*, and several other *West-india* Islands, as likewise the *American* settlements on the Main, the People met with a great many hardships, and the like are to be expected at the beginning of all such Settlements. To this I answer, that at such Settlements the Undertakers and Planters know what they are going about, and what to trust to, which is no ways parallel with the Case of the Company, for those being on an honest design had no more in their view than the Blessings of Heaven, and the Product of the Earth, and what they reap'd thereby was for their own use. On the other hand the Gentlemen who went in the *Scotch* Companies Service, were not born to Work, nor did they design it when they went from their Fathers Houses, and this the Company knew full as well as they.

A fourth reason they will offer is this, that they sent a Cargo with us, which might have purchas'd Provisions had it not been for the *English* prohibition. To this I answer, that the Company having sent us

us on so dark an Errand, (where they must needs be assur'd, that not only *Spain*, but the other Trading Nations would be in our top) should not have trusted to that, unless they contriv'd it designedly to pick a quarrel with those Nations whose interest it was to refuse us Provisions or Necessaries to support our Collony. As for the Cargo it self, I refer my self to the particulars, and let any Merchant be Judge, whether it was fitted for sale, especially in the *West-Indies*. The 1500 Fuzes were the best of the Cargo, but they could not be parted with; the Linnen was the next, but I have been assur'd by Merchants on *Port-royal*, that 500 l. worth of *Scotch* cloath makes the Commodity a drug there at any time. Besides, altho' we had not been sent on a dark design, yet we cou'd not expect to Trade with *Jamaico*; our Cloath and other Goods are seizable there, either in our Bottoms, or in their Sloops. If the *Jamaico* Men should truck Provisions with us, they cannot carry our goods home with them, neither can they expect to Trade with the *Spaniard*, on the account of our Settlement. I know very well that the first Sloop which brought Provisions to us, sold them at what rate they pleas'd, and had our *Scotch* Cloath in truck at the prime cost, yet they durst

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(154)

not carry it to *Jamaico*, nor venture to Trade with the *Spaniard*, but were oblig'd to leave it behind with Captain *Allison*, the old Buccaneer, to whom the Sloop was consign'd. But still this reason of the prohibition will not hold Water, for if there had been Money or market Goods in the Collony. The *English* prohibition could not have kept Provisions from us. The *French* and *Dutch* Islands were not confin'd by this Prohibition; and I dare say there are so many good Christians at *Currassa*, that if *Redp.* and *B's* story of the Collonies bars of Silver had been true, they would soon have made Provisions a drug in *Caledonia*.

Besides, I can't think that the Prohibition had any influence on those four Sloops who went from *Jamaico* to the Collony laden with Provisions of all kinds, altho' two of them return'd without breaking bulk, I am rather apt to believe it was for want of those Silver bars and gold dust, which in the Autumn shakes off the Trees there.

As to the prohibition it self, whereon the Author of the defence stumbles so oft, and would gladly found the Basis of his quarrel. 'Tis believ'd that his Majesty knew nothing of the Collonies Settlement at *Darien*, but what he had at second hand from *R——th's* Prints, till the *Spanish* Ambassa-

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(155)

dor told him from his Master, that some of his Majesty's *Scotch* Subjects had invaded the *Spanish* Dominions, in his Province of *Darien*, which he look'd upon to be contrary to the Treaty of Peace. If his Majesty stopt the *Spaniards* mouth for the present, till he inquired into the matter, and forbid his *English* Subjects in the *West-Indies* to have any Communication with these People in *Darien*, till such time as the Title were concerted, he did no more than what was consonant with the Constitutions and Establishment of the *English* Islands, altho' there had been no *Spanish* Complaint. Neither could the King imagine that the Company should send out their Ships on so Foreign an Expedition, so unprovided as to depend wholly on the *English* Plantations. And if the King forbid these to supply the *Scotch* Collony, he did not prohibit the *Scotch* Company, nor *Scotch* Nation to send them what Provisions, or other necessaries they thought fit. If the *Scotch* Company took most care to send out Buccaneers Pieces, with great quantities of Powder and Shot, and trusted to what Men they could decoy from the *English* and *French* Islands, the design was neither fair, nor honest, and it may reasonably be believ'd, that both these Nations would have taken measures

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(156)

to bring them back again after they went. And if his Majesty takes care that his Plantations in the *West-Indies* shall not be reduc'd to Forrests, he can't be blam'd, considering the vast Riches they send home to *England* yearly, and the Customs which come into his Coffers, when on the other hand, all that the *Scotch* Company can make by such depopulations, will not put one Penny in his Pocket these seventeen years at soonest, worth the product of seventeen Hogsheds of Tobaccco.

Laying aside the *Spanish* Complaint and admit the *Scotch* Company to have a legal Title to their Settlement, was it not reasonable that the Government of *England*, having met with the clandestine Declarations, which the *Scotch* Collony had spread all over the *West-Indies*, inviting them over to *Darien*, &c. Should take suitable measures to prevent the ill consequences of the same, and retain their own Subjects. The Declarations are notorious, and must be penn'd by some Body belonging to the Company or Collony, and I presume the opposite Proclamation or Prohibition was penn'd by some *Englishman*, who had some Interest in the *English* Plantations. 'Tis very well known that when Captain *Pincarton* met with the misfortune of being oblig'd

(157)

lig'd to run his Vessel ashore under the Guns of *Carthagena*, his Chief Errand was to *Barbadoes*, and there to make use of the 48 hours (that's allow'd to foreigners to Wood and Water) in doing business for the Collony, and leaving Declarations to be spread over that Island; and so from thence to other *English* and *French* Islands, making use of the same Pretence of wanting Wood and Water. These sinister dealings are not suffered in the Collony of any Nation, and if the *English* and *French* Governments take care to prevent such designs, I cannot see how they can be blam'd: 'Tis very well known that those Declarations were so kindly entertain'd all over the *West-Indies*, that what with the Umbrary use that was made of King *William's* name, and the hopes of *Spanish* Spoil, most Men who were not indu'd with Real or Personal Estate, were making ready to go over to *Darien*: Nay the unthinking sort of People about the City of *London*, on the Coin'd Rhodomantado News, where with the non-authoriz'd Prints were daily stuff, were pleas'd and big with the Project, looking no farther into it than *Jacks Gold*, which they natively believe every body has a right to; when at the same time the

(158)

the knowing Part of the World is sensible that *Jack* is the common Drudge of *Europe*, and if the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico* were in any other bodies hands, we should not get such a good account of either of these Metals.

By what has been already said, it may easily appear whether or no these Gentlemen have staid long enough in *Darien*, and whether the Directors of the Company, or they deserve most to be there at this Minuet. As for my part I got my Belly full of the Project, and am now glad to see my self alive here, altho I left my Eldest Son (of the first Marriage) behind me in *Calidonia*.

Being afflicted with a *Mallady* *imaginaire* for some Months before I came off: I purchas'd my Liberty of the Collony with difficulty enough: About the same time the Counsel having resolv'd to send home one of their Tenders with a Packet to the Company, and a sample of the strange Woods that grow in the Collonies Garden, I thought to have got my Passage in her, but was disappointed by a State Reason, which was thus, Major *Cunningham* was the chief Instrument in contriving and forwarding the Express, and having brought his marks to bear,

(159)

so far as that the Vessel was Carreen'd, Tallow'd and fitted for the Voyage, he was suddenly afflicted with my Distemper, and it seiz'd him so violently that on the second day of his illness he call'd a Council (being Preses for the week) and satisfied them that he must leave them and go home to his native Country, for the recovery of his Health. *Pannycok* and *Macay* smelling a rat, us'd both fair and foul means to detain him, but all would not do. Mean while they contriv'd ways to detain the Vessel till the Majors Preseship was out, and the week following, it was Resolv'd in Council *Nemine Contradicente* (except the Major) to take some other way of sending home the Packet, and to convert the Tender into a Fireship: The Majors Tallent not lying in Sea Engagements, he could not offer much against the necessity of it. About the same time the *French* Ship mention'd before, happen'd to put into our Harbour, as likewise a *Hollands* Ship, that was trading on the *Spanish* Coast, and came hither for Sanctuary, the *Barlevanto* Fleet being on the *Carthegena* Coast: The *French* Ship was bound home to *St. Malo's*, and I design'd to take my Passage in her, but the Major being

(160)

being possess'd with some frightful Stories of the *French* Captain's making an Oblation of him to the Governour of *Carthagena*, would not venture in her. The Ship was cast away going out of the Harbour in fair weather, for want of Wind, and 24 of her Men drowned: I escaped narrowly in Mr. *Pennycook's* Boat, while he was forc'd to swim for his Life. A *Jamaico* Sloop having brought some Provisions to the Collony about the same time, and being bound home, the Mayor and I took our Passage in her.

We left the Collony the 27th. of *December*, arriv'd in *Jamaico* a fortnight afterward, and in *Bristol* the 18th of *March* last, where the Major and I parted, he going for *Scotland* and I for *London*: At our parting he would oblige me to write nothing to *Scotland* in prejudice of the *Darien* Project, and I promised him that he should have such liberty in telling his own Story there, that for the space of two Months I should not write concerning it, Directly or Indirectly, which promise I kept Religiously, although as it has happen'd my silence has not been of much service to the Company.

I was no sooner arriv'd in *London*, than at the request of some *Scots*, Persons of Great

(161)

Great Quality, I freely gave them a true account of affairs, and my Opinion of the Project: They had Journals at the same time from the Council of the Collony, but owned that they were better satisfi'd with my Account than the Journals which were design'dly dark in some Essential Points. My relation of *Darien* and *Caledonia*, in *England*, differing from that in *Scotland*, it was thought necessary for the repose of the Subscribers to stifle my Credit: Nay, one of these great Persons told me afterwards that he had receiv'd Letters from some Earls in *Scotland*, to disswade him from giving Credit to my relation, it being the pure effects of Prejudice, and that the Collony wanted for nothing. Two thirds of the *Scots* Nation here in Town were on my Top, and abus'd me to my Back, like any Beggar. This and some other harsh usage, which I receiv'd at the *Scotch* Companies hands, oblig'd me to take this way of righting myself: I have no other aim by it, then that their Actions may be laid bare-fac'd before the *Scotch* World, that some persons of that Nation may be unblinded, and see how far they have been led into a mistake.

As for the *Spanish* and *Scotch* Companies titles to the Isthmes of *Darien* (on which

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the Author has fould six or seven Sheets of Paper, and said so little to the purpose) I think it is an unnecessary dispute at present, altho such a Re-inforcement sail'd the 24th of September. I shall only rehearse to you here, what I told Sir J. S. who was sent for in May last from Scotland to Court, on the Companies Affair: At his arrival in London, he sent a Kindsman of his to my Lodging to let me know that he wanted to speak with me; I waited on him the same Evening, and having entr'd on the Subject of *Darien*, he pull'd out of his Pocket a Copy of the Collonies Journal; we soon run over the immaterial Passages of it, and came to that which was like to be the Subject of Debate, to wit, the true Title to that Country. He argued in favour of the Company, in some Law Terms, wherein I pretend to no Judgment, farther than my Reason will fathom; and urg'd that by the Civil-Law no Title to any Country, can be vallid unless it be *de Facto* as well as *Jure*, and those he distinguish'd thus, all the *de-jure* right which the *Spaniard* had to *Darien* was the Pope's Donation, which is never regarded amongst Protestant Prince; That the *Spaniard* had no possession *de facto* of that Country

try unless he liv'd on the Spot, or had his Cattle running there. To the first I answer'd, that if the *Scots* had been in *Darien* as soon as the *Spaniards*, and taken possession of it, the Companies Donation might have been as valid as the Pope's, but as these have been masters of that Country by a proscription of years, and their Title there-to never hitherto contraverted by any Prince or State till now by the Company. I could not see how at that rate any Collony or Plantation in the Universe can be safe. The *Spaniards* must either be confin'd within their wall'd Towns, and the reach of their Guns, or they must be allowed the usual extent round them, as all other Collonies in *America* have. The Company might with the same Justice Land on the North-side of *Jamaico*, where, for 20 Leagues running there's neither *English* Man nor Beast to be seen, altho' there are as many, if not more, Wild Negroes in the Mountains of *Jamaico*, who have deserted their Masters than *Indians*, on thrice so much ground of the Isthmes of *Darien*. By the same Title the Company might have seated themselves on the Island of *Tobaga* (where there's never a

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(164)

Man) without asking the Duke Courland's leave. On the other hand, the Company has settled their Collony in the very Bosom and Centre of the three chief Cities of the *Spanish-Indies*, to wit, *Cartagena*, *Portobello*, and *Panama*, the first being about 45 Leagues, and the other two not above 30 distant from the Collony, besides several smaller Towns and Garrisons which are much nearer, viz, *Sancta Maria*, *Tubacanti*, &c. Nay the Spaniards are at work in their Mines within 12 Leagues of Fort St. Andrew.

As for the *de facto* right, 'tis evident that these Captains who are over the Indian Clanns, have *Spanish* names to distinguish them from the Vulgar, speak *Spanish* generally, their Wives go valed and cover'd after the same fashion, the *Spanish* Women go, altho their Men go naked: Besides, one Paragraph of the Collonies Journal makes this very Spot of Ground where they are settled, to be the Propriety of the Spaniard, by their acknowledging Captain *Andreas* to have been a Spanish Captain. As for the defences which *Batt. Sharp* adduced on his Tryal of the Indian Emperor (there having been no such person on the Isthmes of *Darien* these hundred years) and *King Golden Cap*, and the

(165)

the forg'd Commission he produc'd from that Emperor, it was all trick: Neither was there much pains taken to hang him, or disprove the Forgery. The Privateers indeed gave the title of King Golden Cap to the Indian Captains Son, who commanded these Indians near *Golden Island*, and he was this *Andreas* his first Cousin, but kill'd by the Spaniards after the Privateers left the Isthms, as those may now be who entertain the Scots so friendly. The Irish admitting some French Troops into their Country does not take away the King of *Englands* Title and Right to that Kingdom.

The *Spanish* Title is likewise confirmed by the Concession of all Princes, and Treaties of Peace, whereby the Spaniard does not only cut off the People of all Nations whom he finds cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campechy* (a great many Leagues distant from any *Spanish* Town) but keeps the *Barlevento* Fleet, and an *Armadilla* always ranging along that Coast, and makes prize of all Foreigners he finds trading on his Coast, without his Commission; If they have so much as a stick of Logwood, or three pieces of Eight aboard: Which if he did not act Legally, to be sure the Sovereign heads
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of these Subjects, would long e're now have demanded satisfaction or made reprisal.

This was the Substance of what I offer'd to Sir J. S. and what use he made of it, I never inquir'd after, as for that part of the Champions defence describing the Isthmes of *Darien*, I must tell you that it is calculated in all the material passages of it for a *Scotch* Meridian, as the *Darien* News were for six Months by the Companies Agents here in Town, who knew that what was Printed here and sent to *Scotland* was far better believ'd than the *Apocrypha*. The *Edenburgh* News-monger was never wanting on his part, for he still had something new from *St. Germain*s to frighten us with the Cabals there, and preivate meetings between the late King *James* and *Louis*, but however necessary such hob-goblin stories might be in an enchanted Country, yet they never went down within the sound of *Bow-bel*.

As for the Champions endeavouring to prove the *Scots* Interest by a separation, I will excuse my self from meddling with part of the Subject, knowing at the same time that the Wisemen of that Country know the benefit of that Union bet-

better than this Author, or some more, who make use of the Machin of the Colony to set the two Nations together by the ears, the better to advance their own private Ends. As for his other fiery Ejaculations, I have no inclination to meddle with them, their being little to be got on either side, by ripping up of such Sores, and it not belonging to me to say any thing on that Head, I'll take my leave of the Company and their Champion at present, and only say that if he is resolv'd to separate, I would have him pick some quarrel that's honestier than this, and the next time he enters the Lists, to advance juster reasons for it, than what he now does for *Caledonia Novissima*.

F I N I S.

(88)

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