



CHART OF CALEDONIA BAY  
 (From Earl of Leven's Darien MSS.)



X

PAPERS RELATING TO THE SHIPS  
AND VOYAGES OF THE COMPANY  
OF SCOTLAND TRADING TO  
AFRICA AND THE INDIES

1696-1707

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## PREFACE

THIS volume is a selection from the large amount of fresh manuscript material to which I have had access during my study of the activities of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, commonly known as the Darien Company. Some of the papers, such as the correspondence of Sir Paul Rycout, reveal in clear detail episodes known hitherto only in vague outline; other documents, such as those dealing with the voyage of the *Speedwell* to the China Seas, throw light on enterprises not previously dealt with by historians of the Darien Company.

In collecting this material I have received invaluable aid from several friends. Mr. J. J. Spencer has placed at my disposal his collection of Darien books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. Mr. Hugh Pillans of Edinburgh has given me the transcripts he had made of the Darien papers in the Archives of the Royal Bank. Mr. William Angus, Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, and the staff of the Advocates' Library have in every possible way facilitated my work among the manuscripts of which they have charge. To the Directors of the Royal Bank and to the Council of the Royal Society I am indebted for permission to use the Darien papers in their Archives.

THE TRAINING CENTRE, JORDANHILL,  
GLASGOW, June 1924.

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VI

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PAPERS RELATING TO THE SHIPS  
AND VOYAGES OF THE COMPANY OF  
SCOTLAND TRADING TO AFRICA  
AND THE INDIES  
1696-1707





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## INTRODUCTION

ONE of the noteworthy features of Scottish colonial projects is that the results they achieved invariably differed widely from those originally aimed at : Sir William Alexander's efforts to found a New Scotland beyond the Atlantic led to the capture, by a fleet of Anglo-Scottish privateers, of Champlain's fortress of Quebec ; the deputation of Westland Covenanters who went up to London to negotiate with the Lords Proprietors of Carolina concerning the site of a Scottish colony of refuge, became involved in the great Whig Insurrectionary Plot ; and the Company of Scotland, whose chief title to remembrance has been the tragic failure of its efforts to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, was founded for the purpose of trafficking in the Indian and China seas.

The credit—or the notoriety—of being the founder of the Company of Scotland is generally ascribed to William Paterson. This assumption, however, is hardly borne out by an examination of the early history of the Company. Moreover, Paterson, though not backward in emphasising the importance of the part he had played in establishing the Bank of England, at no time laid claim to be the projector of the Company of Scotland : on one important occasion, indeed, he was at some pains publicly to deny the imputation. The ' Act for a Company Tradeing to Affrica and the Indies,' which on 26th June 1695 was finally read, voted, and approved in the Scottish Parliament, and thereafter touched with the sceptre by His Majesty's Commissioner, was the outcome of a prolonged and persistent campaign

carried on by a group of influential London merchants comprising both Englishmen and Scotsmen—a campaign which had for its objective the turning of the flank of the strongly entrenched monopoly of the English East India Company.

## I

The Eastern aspirations of the founders of the Company of Scotland are revealed significantly in the arms of the Company. They are revealed even more significantly in the history of the early activities of the Company. Immediately after the successful inauguration of the Company in London, in the late autumn of 1695, the London Directors discussed the question of fitting out, with all haste, a vessel from Scotland for the East India trade. The London life of the Company was brief and troubled: under the bitter and determined attacks of the all-powerful English East India Company the Anglo-Scottish venture soon collapsed. When some months later it was established in Edinburgh as a purely Scottish concern—almost, indeed, a Scottish national concern—the Scottish Directors sent two commissioners abroad ‘to inform themselves of the best and most expeditious way of purchasing or building five or six ships of about 600 tons each, well and sufficiently built, and such as are fit for voyages to the East Indies.’ It was, moreover, ‘to consider what place might be fitted for the ships belonging to the Indian Company’ that Paterson, in June 1696, came through to Glasgow and, along with the Lord Provost, rode down the riverside to Dumbarton.

This investigation of the shipping facilities of Clydeside, however, is symptomatic of a coming change in the policy of the Company, a change effected solely through the influence of Paterson. A month after his Glasgow visit, Paterson laid before the Court of Directors ‘certain Manuscripts, Books, Journals, Reckonings, and illuminated









ARMS OF THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND





Mapps and others papers of discovery'; among these was a manuscript copy of Lionel Wafer's Journal of his travels across the Isthmus of Darien. The Directors proceeded with admirable caution. They made no public announcement of their policy. They resolved 'that some particular discoveries of the greatest moment to the designs of the Company should be committed to writing, sealed, and kept in safe custody'; Paterson was encouraged 'freely to bestow all his pains and time henceforward in prosecuting the undertaking.' A few weeks later an Edinburgh physician and four assistants were preparing medical stores for an expedition of fifteen hundred men for two years. Arrangements were also made on a large scale for collecting provisions and trade goods. Already in his dreams Paterson could see the realisation of his project of establishing on the Isthmus of Darien a great world emporium—that project for which ten years before, on his return from the West Indies, he had vainly tried throughout Europe to find a sponsor.

In the stir and excitement of these new and fascinating plans the Eastern designs of the Company were jostled into the background. But these Eastern designs survived both the hectic dreams and the dismal realities of the American expeditions. And when the rank growth of the tropical jungle had finally obliterated the clearing that had been New Edinburgh, when the name of Darien lived on the lips of Scotsmen merely as the slogan of a bitter party warfare—the Eastern trading plans were quietly revived.

Two voyages were made by the Company's ships to the Eastern seas. One voyage, that of a ship called the *Speedwell*, can be traced in realistic detail. Our knowledge of the *Speedwell* and its adventures is derived from four

documents : the charter-party ; a precise and lengthy set of instructions issued to the supercargo ; and two long letters sent from Malacca by the supercargo. The first of these documents, dated London, 30th September 1700, is the record, written on stout parchment in a fair clerkly hand, of the Articles made and agreed upon 'Between Mr. Robert Blackwood, Junior, Merchant of Edinburgh and Co., Proprietors of the Ship *Speedwell* and Cargo, Captain John Campbell, Commander, and Robert Innes, First Supracargoe, for a Voyage intended, with God's permission, for China and the East Indies.' 'The Company'—so runs the first article—'are to fitt out the said Ship, Being of Burthen 250 Tunns or thereabout with all Necessaries and Accommodations proper for so great an Undertaking, and [it] is to depart from this for Scotland with all convenient speed, wind and weather permitting, where the said supra cargoe is to receive a New Commission from the Company trading to those parts.'

This new commission, dated from Edinburgh, 12th December 1700, gives a vivid glimpse of the working conditions of Eastern trade. 'Tho' we have given commission and instructions of the date of these presents to Captain John Campbell as Commander for navigating the said ship and for doing everything thereunto relating, yet in every other respect he is to take his orders and directions from you. . . .

' . . . Our design is to make the voyage as short as possible, and if the men stand well in health we hope you will not need to touch anywhere for refreshment before you are past the Straits of Sunda and Bencha, to the northward of the last of which are the Islands Pollo Aur and Pollo Timon, both which afford very good refreshments, but in case you see it inconvenient you may touch in at Batavia upon Java. . . .

'In your passage to China you have the liberty to call

at any port you think convenient to take in pepper (providing you can do it without losing your monsoons), which is to be disposed of in China or brought home, as you shall find most advantageous for us.

‘ You are to make the best of your way to Macow, where when it pleases God you arrive, dispatch your boat with some persons that can speak Spanish or Portuguese to the City of Canton to invite some merchants down in order to treat with the Mandarin to obtain trade. . . .

‘ You are to order the Captain to keep good order on board, that no sailor or any under him give any affront or abuse to the Chineses, they being a people that love respect, and therefore must be dealt with accordingly. . . .

‘ Be very cautious in your Contracts, and trust neither Plate nor Goods without good security, as is usual in that country.

‘ . . . You are to open all the pieces of wrought silk from end to end to see there be no remnants, as also to see all the raw silk examined and weighted, that you may be satisfied all things answer the samples by which you make your agreement.

‘ You are to take extraordinary care in the choice of the silks, tea, and china wares ; the difference of those goods being chosen well or ill is beyond expression.

‘ Observe in packing your raw silk that you put dry paper first and oyled paper next, and then your cotton and mats, which is to avoid damaging or discolouring, which will be done if the oyled paper be next the silk. . . .

‘ Pack up all your sugar in chests and your china likewise. . . . Let there be a place between decks on purpose to stow the Tea in, that no other goods may be mixed with it, unless it be Canes, and as secure from the Pepper as possible.

‘ In making your first presents, remember you may have occasion to repeat them ; for upon every application made

by you, you must not come before the Mandarin empty-handed, which requires your consideration. . . .’

## III

Thus the Company of Scotland in the rôle of Polonius. For putting into practice the sage precepts lavished upon the supercargo there was all too little opportunity. In the closing days of July 1701 the *Speedwell* cleared from Batavia. A month later she was off the north-west end of the Island of Hai-nan, and some distance to the west of Maçao. A typhoon swept down on her and carried her far to the west of her intended port. She crept back along the coast to within ten leagues of Maçao. Then a second typhoon smote her. ‘To our great astonishment,’ wrote the supercargo, ‘that night and the day following proved the most dismall time ever any of us beheld; for such a tempest on the new moon rose so suddenly on us that we wer forced to cut off our Long Boat, leave two Anchors and Cables behind us, and so drive to sea. We could not gett our unrully Shipp right befor the wind, so that, her broad side lying exposed to the tempest, . . . we were forced to cut our main mast and mizain by the board. At the same time we had six foot and eight inches of water in the hould, and had almost given all over for lost. But . . . our Shipp that lay before us a wreck, the raging seas having advanced as far as the coamings of the hatches, presently righted, and our pumps began to gain on the water in the hould, and at seven at night we gott her before the wind, and next day got into a deep bay near the Shoals of Aynam, where we fitted and rigged two spare Topmasts into Jury masts.’

Two more attempts—equally fruitless—were made to reach Maçao. Then the skipper of the *Speedwell* laid his course for Malacca, hoping soon to sail thence for Batavia. At Malacca the *Speedwell* was laid ashore on a convenient

island, 'to be satisfied of her condition,' wrote the supercargo, 'as well as to have her cleaned, . . . which was performed with all success, and the ship gott off again and in safety, moored in six fathom water. But to my great greiff the concerns of our Company and those concerned in itt seem to be so very unprosperous as if Fate had declared itself a Violent revengefull Enemy. Our cheiff Mate being ashoar by the Captain's order, our Ignorant, selfe-willed, and obstinat commander, to have the Glory of bringing the Ship again into the Road without the assistance of his Cheiff Mate . . ., gott the shipp under saile without the assistance of his inferior Officers, and, in an halfe hour's time, Runn her fairly on a Rock which every day was seen above water. This dismall sight obliged us to apply our silver again to the Government, who unanimously resolved to assist us in all things in their power for the preservation of our Goods and Recovery of the shipp, by which seasonable assistance we have saved our treasure and goods and all other things, except some piggs of lead that lay under the ballast.'

## IV

The *Speedwell* became a total wreck. To bring off the valuable cargo that had been salved and landed at Malacca, the Company of Scotland prepared to dispatch another ship, the *Annandale*. The *Annandale*, while lying in the Downs, was seized by the English revenue men, and both ship and cargo were adjudged forfeit by the Court of Exchequer, under the statutes in favour of the English East India Company. While Scottish indignation ran high over the seizure, an English trader, the *Worcester*, which had come from the Indian seas, put into the Firth of Forth, owing to the heavy weather encountered on the passage 'north about,' and anchored in Leith Road. In retaliation for the seizure of the *Annandale*, the *Worcester*

was neatly captured by some stout pretty fellows headed by Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, the doughty Secretary of the Company of Scotland. Falling under suspicion of having made a piratical attack on a Scottish trader in the Eastern seas, Captain Green of the *Worcester* and the leading members of his crew were placed under arrest. Tried before the Scottish Court of Admiralty, Green and his men were condemned to death on flimsy and unsatisfactory evidence. Despite strong efforts made by the English Government to save them, Green, his chief mate, and his gunner were hanged on the sands of Leith—victims of a peculiarly virulent outbreak of mob law. The trader which it was supposed Green had taken in the Indian seas was the Company of Scotland's ship, the *Speedy Return*, Captain Robert Drummond.

In the first Darien Expedition Captain Robert Drummond had commanded the Company's large ship, *Caledonia*. He had taken her from the Forth to Darien; from Darien to New York; and finally, in the closing days of 1699, had brought her into the Clyde. In the following spring he took command of the Company's small ship, the *Speedy Return*, which had come back to the Clyde after a voyage to Darien. At Port Glasgow, on the 19th May 1701, he signed on a crew for a voyage that was to have momentous consequences in Scottish, in English, and even in world history.

In dramatic contrast to the tantalising mystery which at a critical period enwrapped the career of the *Speedy Return* is the clear detail in which the voyage was seen by those about to take part in it. 'Know all men by these presents'—so runs the official contract—'that whereas we, the severall subscribing under officers, mates, and saillers have agreed with Captain Robert Drummond, Commander of the Indian and African Company's ship, the *Speedy Return*, to serve under him on board of the said

ship for a voyage intended, with God's permission, from hence to the Coast of Africa and back again, in the several capacities and at the monthly wages annexed to our respective names, to be paid us within fourteen days after the delivery of the Cargo, in the Company's warehouse, upon the said ship's return to the port of her delivery in Scotland.' Along with the *Speedy Return* there sailed from Port Glasgow the Company's brigantine *Content*, commanded by Captain Stewart.

In the mind's eye we can follow the two little vessels as with the ebb-tide they put out from the haven overshadowed by the steep escarpment of the Kilbarchan hills and steer down the Firth of Clyde; lifting to the long Atlantic swell as the Peaks of Arran dwindle and fade astern; slipping down the parallels to the surf-fringed jungle-smothered Guinea Coast; slowly reeling off the long leagues of the South Atlantic, and creeping up into the Indian Ocean, 'most strange, sequestered, and beautiful of seas'—so one traveller has described it—'with its flying fish like rainbows, its chains of coral islands plumed with palm, its trade winds carrying fleets of Arab dhows, like long-winged swallows in their seasonal migratory flight.'

## v

And so the *Speedy Return* and the *Content* vanish into the blue immensity of the Indian seas. Months pass; years pass; and no news of the ships reaches Scotland. But various chance remarks, let fall by members of the crew of the captured *Worcester*, give rise to dark rumours concerning the fate of Captain Drummond and his men. It falls to the lot of the Company's Secretary—never backward where the interests of the Company are concerned—to endeavour to penetrate to the grim realities that seem to lurk behind the ominous mutterings of the *Worcester's*



tarpaulins. Soon an opportunity presents itself, and Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, with a natural eye for romantic effect, has given us a vivid picture of the scene. 'In a night or two thereafter,' he writes, 'when the ship was got within the heads of Burntisland Harbour, and they were all drinking a hearty bowl of punch in the main cabin, Mr. Mackenzie happened to discourse about Captain Gordon's being a scourge to the small French privateers upon our Coast. George Hains, being pretty mellow with the punch, opened up his breast, and to the hearing of the boatswain, gunner, carpenter, and gunner's mate, who were then all in the cabin (as well as several Scots gentlemen), said flauntingly thus: "Our sloop was more terrible upon the coast of Malabar, than ever Captain Gordon was, or will be, to the French privateers upon the coast of Scotland: for a better sailer than that sloop never carried canvas."

'Mr. Mackenzie finding Hains in that mood, and walking upon the quarterdeck, being a fine moonshine night, asked him whether in their voyage outward or inward, they had met with, or heard anything of, two Scots ships that went on a trading voyage beyond the Cape. Hains asked what should they be? Mr. Mackenzie told him they were two small ships belonging to the Scots Company, the one commanded by Captain Drummond and the other by Captain Stewart. Hains said, "Yes—we heard of them, but did not see them."

'Mr. Mackenzie then asked what he had heard of them. Hains answered, "It's no great matter—you need not trouble your head about them, for I believe you won't see them in haste."

"Why so, George?" said Mr. Mackenzie.

'Hains shifted answering for some time, but Mr. Mackenzie repeating the same question again more earnestly, Hains said he had heard they had turned pirates, which was all the satisfaction he could get at that time.'

Thus planted under the autumn moonlight the dark seeds of rumour sprouted with sinister speed. Their rank and poisonous growth can be traced stage by stage in the elaborate indictment prepared by the Procurator-Fiscal to the Scots High Court of Admiralty. 'And further'—so it runs in one part—'George Hains, one of the crew of the said *Worcester*, since his coming to Scotland and when at Bruntisland, being asked by one James Wilkie, Taylor, burgess in Edinburgh, about his brother Andrew Wilkie, who went Chirurgeon in Captain Drummond's ship, if ever the said Hains had seen the said Andrew Wilkie in his voyage, he flew into a passion and cried, "What devil was his concern with Captain Drummond."

'Upon which James Wilkie, forbearing a little till he should be calmer, asked the said Hains whether he had heard of or seen any Scots ship coming to or from the East Indies during their voyage. Hains answered that when they were upon the coast of Malabar, a Dutch ship informed them that one Captain Drummond, commanding a Scots ship and having a sloop in company, was turned pirate.

'Likeas when, after the said James Wilkie departed, one Anna Seaton in Bruntisland did at his desire further enquire at Hains about Captain Drummond's ship, he answered that he saw they had a design to get news, but that they should not be the wiser of him.

'And when at another time the said Anna Seaton told Hains that she had an old sweetheart who went away with Captain Drummond and would gladly hear some tidings whether he was dead or alive, the said Hains who was then a suitor to Anna Seaton, assured her she would never see him again if he was in Captain Drummond's ship.'

On this and similar crazy evidence was the case against Captain Green built up. In the course of the trial strong evidence was indeed forthcoming to the effect that the *Worcester* had fought with and taken some ship off the

Malabar coast ; but that the captured ship was the *Speedy Return* the prosecution could produce not a particle of proof. Indeed, while Captain Green lay under sentence of death at Edinburgh, tidings came to hand of what had actually happened to the *Speedy Return*. Furnished by two of the crew of the *Speedy Return* who had landed at Portsmouth, these tidings, which received immediate and ample corroboration, showed conclusively that Captain Green could not possibly have had anything to do with the Scots ship.

It is significant of the temper of the Scots nation at this time that the Privy Council, despite the arrival of this evidence of Captain Green's innocence, and despite the personal intervention of Queen Anne on his behalf, did not dare to disappoint the populace of the victims marked down for sacrifice. The additional tension thrown by this legalised murder on the already strained relations between Scotland and England was a powerful factor in hastening the movement that resulted in the Union of 1707.

## VI

The story of the voyage of the *Speedy Return* and the *Content* is one of the strangest tales in the romantic annals of the Company of Scotland. After rounding the Cape, the two Scottish ships steered for the Island of St. Mary's—the pirates' lair off the coast of Madagascar.

By the end of the seventeenth century the peace with Spain and the activities of British colonial officials—prominent among them Sir Henry Morgan—had made the Caribbean rather too warm for enterprising pirates. They had swarmed to the Eastern seas, and at St. Mary's they had set up what was practically a pirate state. For the Eastern wares which they plundered from the rich traders of all nations their principal market was New York. 'For

a dozen years of more,' writes the American historian, Fiske, 'the streets of New York might have reminded one of Teheran or Bassora, with their shops displaying rugs of Anatolia or Daghestan, tables of carved teakwood, vases of hammered brass and silver, Bagdad portières, fans of ivory or sandalwood, soft shawls of myriad gorgeous hues and white crêpe daintily embroidered, along with exquisite ornaments of ruby, pearl, and emerald. In the little town which had been wont to eke out its slender currency with wampum, strange pieces of gold and silver now passed freely from hand to hand; Greek byzants, Arabian dinars, and mohurs from Hindustan, along with Spanish doubloons and the louis d'or of France. A familiar sight in taverns was the swaggering blade attired in blue coat trimmed with gold lace and pearl buttons, white knee breeches and embroidered hose, with jewelled dagger in his belt, paying scot for all who would listen to his outlandish yarns, and tipping everybody, from the pot-boy up (as it was whispered), even to the worshipful governor.'

It may have been the visit of the Darien ships to New York after the first abandonment of the Isthmus Colony that suggested the design of sharing in this trade. 'The risks were not small, but the profits were prodigious. For example, the ship *Nassau*, which sailed from New York in 1698, was laden with Jamaica rum, Madeira wine, and gunpowder. The rum cost in New York 2s. per gallon, and was sold in Madagascar for £3 per gallon. The wine cost £19 per pipe, and was sold for £300; and the gunpowder we may suppose at a similar advance. In return the *Nassau* purchased East India goods and slaves of the pirates, and, taking 29 of the latter as passengers, sailed for home. The pirates paid £4000 for their passage, and the voyage is said to have netted the owners £30,000.'

St. Mary's—the El Dorado of the Scottish voyagers—had certain natural advantages which had recommended

it to the pirates as a depot. It had a good harbour with a depth of some five to six fathoms. The harbour entrance was narrow—not more than a musket shot across. To defend the entrance the corsairs had built a fort on which they had mounted a number of ship's guns. Besides the fort, the cluster of thatched huts under the palm trees by the water's edge, and the ships that swung at their moorings, the forest-encircled lagoon betrayed more sinister traces of the pirates' activities. Above the mirror-like surface of the basin projected the masts of various prizes which they had scuttled. Beneath that surface, too, lay the rotting timbers of a craft that had cleared from New York with a commission to hunt down pirates : the famous—or notorious—*Adventure* galley.

For Captain Drummond was not the first Scotsman to make St. Mary's a port of call. Some years before Captain Kidd had steered the leaking tempest-tossed *Adventure* hither with his rich prize the *Queddah Merchant* in his wake. His arrival caused no little consternation among the crew of a pirate ship, the *Resolution*, Captain Culliford. 'Several of the men,' it was declared at Kidd's trial, 'came off to Captain Kidd, and told him they heard he came to take and hang them. He said it was no such thing and that he would do them all the good he could.' They exchanged visits, and on the quarter-deck of Culliford's ship they brewed some bomboe. In terms of picturesque profanity Kidd asseverated the benevolence of his intentions towards the Captain of the *Resolution*; grasped the cup of bomboe; and, as Goldsmith's Citizen of the World would phrase it, confirmed his sentiments with a ceremony of the most persevering devotion.

At the scene of this convivial interlude in the Odyssey that began at New York and ended at Execution Dock, the *Speedy Return* and the *Content* duly arrived. From St. Mary's both ships sailed, crammed with negro slaves,

to the Island of Don Mascarene to the south-east of Madagascar. On the return of the Scots ships to St. Mary's, Captain Robert Drummond, Captain Stewart, Surgeon Andrew Wilkie, and others went ashore. In their absence a boat containing five men approached the *Speedy Return*, and its occupants came on board under the pretext of making some purchases. The skipper was away, the ship's company were below—working in the hold, it was afterwards asserted—and the five visitors, who were armed with pistols and swords, soon had made themselves master of the ship. A signal to the shore brought out half a hundred more pirates, and soon the brigantine *Content* had also ceased to belong to the Company of Scotland. The brigantine was lost by fire off the Madagascar coast; the *Speedy Return*, after a voyage across the Indian Ocean, met with a similar fate. The crew of the *Speedy Return* were transferred to a ship bound for Arabia; this ship touched at Mauritius, where two of the crew escaped and shipped aboard an English vessel homeward bound.

Captain Drummond, left ashore in Madagascar, flits through the pages of Robert Drury's *Madagascar Journal* like some paladin who, under tropical skies and against savage potentates, worthily upheld the valorous tradition of the Scot abroad. Modern research has cast grave doubts on the authenticity of Drury's memoirs. But even if it were established that Drummond's adventures have been invented for him by some exceptionally gifted editor—and many indications seem to point to Defoe as the real author of the *Journal*—this appears decidedly to be an instance for the application of that 'rather delicate casuistry' by means of which R. L. Stevenson argued that what is historically false may be essentially true.

Two centuries and more have passed since the *Speedwell* crashed on that scarce-hidden reef in the Straits of Malacca, and the charred hulls of the *Content* and the *Speedy Return*

sank to the coral-strewn floor of the Indian Ocean. Yet as one scans the time-stained manuscripts that hold the record of these traffickings in strange seas, those old Scottish adventurers, their hopes and plans, their difficulties and their dangers, seem very near to us. The voyages have their own place in the political history of the years preceding the Union: it would not be wholly paradoxical to argue that the Parliaments of England and Scotland were united in 1707 mainly because an 'ignorant, self-willed, and obstinate commander' ran his ship on a rock in the Straits of Malacca. But to dwellers on Clydeside one of the voyages makes a more intimate appeal: the story of the *Speedy Return* is an almost forgotten chapter in the history of the most romantic of Scottish rivers—the River Clyde.



# PAPERS RELATING TO THE SHIPS AND VOYAGES OF THE DARIEN COMPANY

## CHAPTER I

### PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST EXPEDITION

#### *A.—The Despatch of Commissioners*

##### I

*April 20th, 1696.*—Ordered that Mr. Smyth do enquire to send from London patterns of the Several goods proper for Africa, West or East Indies, with their several prices, and that the Merchants of this Committee do bring patterns of the Several goods that this Kingdom affords for Exportation and their prices.

*April 24th, 1696.*—Ordered that the books be open every Tuesday and Thursday from 10 to 12 and from 2 to 4 o'clock in the afternoon in the usual place for taking of Subscriptions until the full sum of £400,000 be complete. Ordered that Lieut.-Col. Erskine and Mr. Watson do treat with the Gunsmiths to bring in patterns of arms.

##### II

The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies do hereby constitute and appoint Messrs. James Smyth and James Campbell of London, Merchants and Directors of this Company, to execute and perform all and every part of the following instructions, for and in behalf of this Company, and do hereby declare, that all matters or things agreed, done, and concluded upon by them with relation and pursuant

to the said instructions shall be good and valid and be binding and obliging to this Company.

GENTLEMEN,—When you come to London you are to repair to Mr. James Fowlis to know whether he intends to hold his subscription in this Company, and if so, you are jointly with him, the said Mr. James Fowlis (who in that case is equally empowered with you) to execute and perform the following instructions; but if he decline being any further concerned therein you shall then and in that case receive from the said Mr. James Fowlis all such sum or sums of money belonging to this Company as he hath now in his hand, and you shall give unto him or the subscribers, or the respective proprietors thereof, such sufficient receipt for the use of this Company as shall be needful.

You shall use the most speedy and effectual means to receive the first payments of such of the subscribers at London as are willing to hold and continue their subscriptions to this Company, and take the answers of such as are unwilling to be concerned, and return an account thereof to this Court, that their subscriptions may be disposed of otherways.

You shall nominate one or more fit and sufficient persons to this Court in order to have them constituted your assistants in the premises.

You shall keep regular and fair accompts of the money you receive, and of all your transactions for this Company, and transmit the same from time to time to the Committee of Trade of this Company.

Done, concluded and agreed upon  
in a Court of Directors at Edinburgh  
the 23rd day of June, 1696.

To Messrs. James Smyth and  
James Campbell, Directors of  
the said Company.

## III

The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies do hereby constitute and appoint Messrs. Alexander Stevenson, Merchant in Edinburgh, and James Gibson, Merchant in Glasgow, to execute, do, and perform all and every part of the following instructions for and in behalf of this Company, and do hereby declare that all matters and things agreed, done, or concluded upon by them, with relation and pursuant to the said instructions, shall be good and valid and be binding and obliging to this Company, as if the same were herein particularly named, mentioned, and confirmed.

GENTLEMEN,—You shall repair to such places beyond the seas as the Committee of Trade of this Company, or any three of them, shall direct, where you shall inform yourselves of the best and most expeditious way of purchasing or building five or six ships of about 600 tons each, well and sufficiently built, and such as are fit for voyages to the East Indies.

You shall and may expend and disburse all such sums of money as you see needful for the best and speediest way of procuring the said ships, and receive such sums as you shall be directed by the Committee of Trade of this Company.

You shall inform yourselves of the best way of purchasing three or four lesser ships from two to four hundred tons each, and report your opinion therein.

You shall inform yourselves of the best way of procuring and purchasing stores and materials for building of ships in this Kingdom, as also of guns, builders, and carvers, and report to the said Committee from time to time accordingly, and receive their directions therein.

You shall keep exact and fair accounts, receipts, and disbursements of money of and for this Company, and of your proceedings relating thereunto, and transmit the same from time to time to the Committee of Trade.

You shall observe all such further and other instructions

as shall be enjoined you from time to time by the Committee of Trade of this Company, or any three of them.

Done and concluded upon in a Court of Directors at Edinburgh the 23rd day of June, 1696.

To Alexander Stevenson and James Gibson, Merchants.

IV

The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies reposing full trust and confidence in the fidelity, discretion, and good conduct of the Honorable John Erskin, son to David, Lord Cardross, and Governor of Stirling Castle, John Haldan, Baron of Gleneagles, and Messrs. William Paterson and James Smyth, Merchants, Directors of the said Company, do hereby nominate, constitute, and depute the said John Erskin, John Haldan, William Paterson, and James Smyth to be the true and undoubted deputies and representatives of the said Court for the purposes hereafter mentioned with full and free power to treat with, make, and conclude all such Treaties and other agreements of Commerce as shall by them be thought needful and beneficial to the said Company with any such Kings, Princes, Potentates, Estates, Bodies Politic or Corporate, or others as are in amity with our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, and do hereby further request and desire that the said deputies and representatives may have full credit and be so reputed by all such Kings, Princes, Potentates, Estates, Bodies Politic or Corporate, or others with whom they shall happen to treat for or on behalf of the said Company as aforesaid ; And for the better establishment and greater solemnity of this Act the said Court of Directors do hereby ordain and appoint that extracts hereof, as well in Latin as in English, be made by the Secretary of the said Court of Directors, and that the seal of the said Company be affixed thereunto. Done in a Court of Directors at Edinburgh the sixteenth day of September, one thousand six hundred ninety and six years.

Instructions for John Erskin, son to David, Lord Cardross, and Governor of Stirling Castle, John Haldan, Baron of Glencagles, Messrs. William Paterson and James Smyth, Merchants, deputed by the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies.

You shall with all convenient speed repair to such place or places beyond the seas as you shall judge most fit, and there or from thence proceed to make and conclude such treaties or agreements of trade as you shall judge most beneficial for and on behalf of this Company.

You shall likewise with all expedition purchase and provide such and so many ships together with such cargoes, provisions, and stores, as you shall judge necessary for the Company's immediate use, with due regard to the proportion of stock of this Company already paid in, and without further order, not to exceed thirty-five thousand pounds sterling.

You may entertain and admit into the service or pay of this Company such and so many fit persons as you judge needful to expedite and complete the equipages requisite.

You may from time to time disburse and dispose of all such sum or sums of the Treasure or money of this Company as you find necessary in and about the premises not exceeding the said sum of thirty-five thousand pounds sterling without further order.

You shall keep fair and exact and regular accompts of all your receipts and disbursements for and on behalf of this Company and likewise of all your other proceedings in relation thereunto, and transmit the same from time to time to this Court or the Committee of Trade of this Company.

You shall give regular and due orders to all such persons as you shall entertain and employ in the service of this Company, and receive just and due accounts of their respective proceedings from time to time.

You shall follow, observe, and keep all such further and other instructions as you shall happen from time to time

to receive from this Court or from the Committee of Foreign Trade of this Company. Done in a Court of Directors at Edinburgh the sixteenth day of September one thousand six hundred and ninety-six years.

Memorandum:—That pursuant to the within written Acts of the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies the said Company's Secretary did make, sign, and seal extracts thereof in Latin as well as in English.<sup>1</sup>

*B.—The Scots Commissioners at Hamburg*

I

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to MR. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Aug<sup>t</sup> ye 10<sup>th</sup> 1696.*

I have received your advices from ye Camp of ye 5/15<sup>th</sup> and now I am to acquaint you that severall persons are come hither from Scotland to buy and build ships at this place for ye forwarding of their East India trade. I heare that they have already bought one and have agreed to build 3 more. The persons employed herein are recommended to Mr. Stratford as is commonly reported, but none of these Commissioners have as yet been with me, and indced I care not for their company. . . .<sup>2</sup>

II

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Aug<sup>t</sup> ye 11<sup>th</sup> 1696.*

. . . We have here at present a certaine crew of Scotchmen sent hither from ye East India Companie of Scotland to buy and build ships for y<sup>t</sup> trade. They have bought

<sup>1</sup> The documents transcribed in Section *A* are in the Archives of the Royal Bank, the lineal descendant of the Darien Company: they are contained in a set of papers entitled, 'The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies: Instructions of the Court of Directors.'

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E. fol. 29 b.

one allready and have agreed for the building of 3 more. There is one English man here to whom they are recommended, but I have never seen them nor they me, nor do I desire their companie. . . .<sup>1</sup>

III

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to MR. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Sep<sup>r</sup> ye 22<sup>nd</sup> 1696.*

I this morning received ye favour of yours of 19/29 from Loo, ye Contents of which being of great importance I thought it necessary without any delaye to returne you an answer thereunto that so it may meet you time enough at the Hague before ye King passes over into England.

I was much pleased to receive his Majesties commands and directions in what manner I was to behave myself towards ye Commissioners of ye Scotch East India Companie when they come over into these Parts. The building of their ships goes briskly forward and their Commissary, or overseer of their workmen, seems to be an active and a cunning person. I have seen him at a third place, but I never entered into discourse with him, nor ever gave him so much countenance as to bring him to my house. I have been and shall be very watchfull over all their motions, and am very sure and confident that the businesse is yet gone no farther than to the building of ships, but as to any Treaties with ye magistrates of this city for any Priviledges or advantages to the prejudice of other his Majesties subjects, I doe not believe as yet that there have been any motions; the which in all probabilitie may be reserved untill ye coming over of ye Scotch Commissioners, who can never conceale themselves here without my knowledge, nor any of their negotiations without my partieular inspection: and I dare boldly say that none of ye Magistrates of this city will presume to enter into articles and agreements with any of his Majesties subjects without ye Partieular leave and

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 30.



license from ye King. In short, when time serves, I shall signify most amply to ye Senate and Magistrates of Hamburg and to all persons in Publick Trust here, that no man without ye intervention of his Majesties Minister and his Royall allowance signified by him, will presume to give any countenance to any Societie of Scotland without his Majesties immediate consent or desire, his Majestie looking upon such proceeding as derogatory to his Royall authoritic. The same I shall likewise signify to the other Hans tounes, especially to Lubeek, where the best and greatest ships are built of all ye Ports in Germany, and I hope with Gods grace and help so to manage this businesse that ye businesse of ye Scotch East India Company shall get not footing within my province: herein I may enlarge farther hereafter. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## IV

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Sep<sup>r</sup> ye 22<sup>nd</sup> 1696.*

I sent him ye Extract of ye abovesaid Letter, and only added viz.: 'And that it may appeare what part his Majestie takes with our East India Company in England, perhaps it might not be altogether impertinent to let them know what Commands ye King hath laid upon me at this Place in reference to them.'<sup>2</sup>

## V

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Le 25 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1696.*

In pursuance of what you wrote me by command of his Majestie dated ye 19/29<sup>th</sup> instant from Loo, to which I returned an answer of the 22<sup>nd</sup>, I demanded Deputies from ye Senate, which being accordingly come to me, I acquainted them fully with ye whole contents of what you

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 32 b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

wrote to me under ye said 19/29<sup>th</sup>; but howsoever I thought not fit as yet to make mention of any Particular nation, whether English, Scotch or Irish, but to reserve that untill ye arrivall of ye Commissioners who as I heare are allready on their way to this Place, and may about this time be in Holland or nearer to us, as I have been informed by one of the Scotch nation. I am very well assured and dare answer for it, that the Government here will not enter into Treatie with any of his Majesties subjects without the Expresse order of ye King or pleasure signified by his Minister here; and that nothing may be omitted to defeat the Scotch designs in order to their East India Companie I have prepared 2 letters to be sent to the other Hans Towns of Lubeck and Bremen of the same tenure, with what I intimated to ye Deputies of ye Senate; and thô it be not so necessary to make this intimation to ye first as to ye latter, by reason that Lubeck will not dare, without ye allowance of ye King of Denmark, to admit of such guests or such conventions, yet howsoever to leave no stone unturned which may defeat the Scotch designs, I shall write as fully to that City as I do to Bremen. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## VI

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Sept. ye 22<sup>nd</sup> 1696.*

*N.B.*—I wrote the same to him as to Mr. Blathwayt hereabove copied.<sup>2</sup>

## VII

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Octob. ye 2<sup>nd</sup> 1696.*

My last to you was of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Past in which I acquainted you with ye commands of his Majestic touching the designs of ye Scotch E. India Companie in these Parts with Instructions how and in what manner I was to act against them to pervert their Aetings so prejudiciall to our East

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 33 a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

India Companie and ye whole realme of England. I have accordingly desired Deputies from the Senate who came to me and have assured me how gladly they embrace all the commands of his Majestic and in Particular that relating to his own subjects who can never be received to any Treatie unlesse by especiall license and commission from his Majestic which is a point already acknowledged by them. The Commissioners from Scotland are not yet arrived thô dayly expected and then I shall send away my Letter to the Government of Bremen of which I have herewith in the meantime sent you the Copy of what I intend and am very watchfull to know the very minute of their arrival and whatsoever they act or contrive in these parts. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## VIII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, October ye 9<sup>th</sup> 1696.*

I hope that with Gods blessing these shall find you safely arrived in England and shall serve to congratulate your happy returne. I heare nothing of ye Scotch Commissioner designed to treat with ye Hans Townes touching ye affaires of ye Scotch East India Companie, and perhaps they have laid aside that designe, for thô the building of their ships goes forward yet I am sure ye Priviledges and advantages which they expected for their Trade in these Parts are under great discouragements and will never passe farther in these Parts of which I have thought fit to give you this advertisement that you may be assured I am not unmindfull of his Majesties commands in this important matter. . . .<sup>2</sup>

## IX

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Oct. ye 13<sup>th</sup> 1696.*

I heare nothing of ye Certainty of ye comming over of ye Commissioners of ye Scotch E. India Companie to this

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 33 a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 34.

Place and ye Hans Townes. Some report that they are come from Scotland and are now on their way hither, by way of London, and that they are not ye same that were nominated at first, one of them being ye Sonne of a Lord or at least of a Laird. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## X

## SIR PAUL RYCAUT to the SENATE of BREMEN

*Hamburgi datum 16<sup>o</sup> die  
Mensis Octobris 1696.*

Magnifici et Nobilissimi Domini et Spectabiles Viri Inelytae Civitatis et Reipublicae Bremensis Senatus, Gulielmus Tertius D. G. Magnae Britanniae etc. Rex Dominus meus Clementissimus per Secretarium suum novissime mihi significavit: quod cum Majestas sua ex mero motu gratiae et benignitatis suae literis patentibus instituisset novam Societatem Mercatorum in Regno Scotiae cum licentiâ et authoritate commercium exercendi in Indys orientalibus ad quem finem non solum modo praedicta Societas in hac Civitate Hamburgi assumpsit sibi facultatem fabricandi Naves immensae Magnitudinis (ita ut licitum iys aliisque gentibus) sed etiam sine ulla legitima authoritate a Rege nostro impetrata in animo habent sese etiam stabiliendi in vestra urbe Bremensi sub Pactis et conditionibus cum Publico Regimine initis cum spe obtinendi Privilegia Portumque liberum aut Francum ut possint melius convenire cum utilitate et commodo eorum. quae quidem res cum a nullis Regibus aut Potestatibus conceditur, aut datur licentia subdita eorum contractandi cum alienis nationibus nova foedera aut Conventiones Commercy gratia sine interventione aut Permissione Authoritatis Regiae, propterea Majestas sua mihi in Commisum dedit et jussit ut Ego vestris magnificentys significarem, ut ego per Res praesentes notum facio, quod Voluntas Regis est ut hic Inelytus et magnificus Senatus nullo modo exaudire debuerit tales

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 34.

propositiones sed potius eas rejiceret et nullas ejusdem modi generis acciperet praeterquam eas quae per literas Regias aut per auctoritatem ministri sui vestris magnificentys prius significabuntur. Propterea magnopere rogo in nomine Majestatis suae ut quodocunque tales homines Vestris Magnificentis aliquas Propositiones ejusmodi naturae afferent eas vellent rejicere omnesque mihi notas facerent, ita in hoc modo daretis specimen continuatae vestrae amicitiae et observantiae erga Dominum meum Regem Majestatem devinceretis ad majora officia et ad animum benevolum erga Magnificentias vestras et erga vestram urbem admodum Celeberrimam.

Dabantur Hamburgi decimo sexto die Mensis octobris 1696.<sup>1</sup>

## XI

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Nov. ye 17<sup>th</sup> 1696.*

. . . There was a report here yesterday that the Scotch Commissioners for ye East India Company of Scotland were come to this Place. However I cannot yet learne it for a certainty but I hope before ye departure of ye Post I shall give an information more fully of this matter.

This evening I have understood that ye Report is false and that the Commissioners are not yet come from Scotland. . . .<sup>2</sup>

## XII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Feb. 16<sup>th</sup> 1697.*

At length 2 of ye Commissioners for ye Scotch East India Company arrived here on Saturday night last namcly Mr. Paterson and Lieut.-Colonel Erskin and yesterday they came to me and made me a compliment, letting me know that out of duty and respect to his Majesty they were come to pay their Civilitys to me who am his

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 34 b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 36.

Minister. After some few words we sate downe and fell into Discourse about ye Scotch E. India Companie on which subject I soon found that they willingly entertained me. In ye first place Mr. Paterson told me that he was always well affected to ye English nation and looked on them as one people with theirs under one denomination of Brittaines, so that his great and chief desires were to unite ye Scotch and English East India Companies, engaging to bring in £500,000 Stock to be employed joynt with ours ; but this Proposition was rejected and whereas their nation was villified and esteemed as a Company of beggars their People were so provokt by this contempt and scorne that they were resolved to let ye world see that they could stand upon their owne leggs and raise such a fund as was sufficient to carry on this great designe, to which their people had freely and unanimously contributed. Urging them farther about their designs and intentions here, they told me that they could not take any farther measures herein untill their ships building here were completed, but howsoever I might assure myself that they had no project to ye prejudice of ye Hamburgh Companie, which I would not thank them for.

In ye month of October last I received intimation from Mr. Blathwayt that ye Scotch E. India Companie were sending over Commissioners to this place to treat with this Regency on Articles of Settlement of a Factory for Managing their East India trade, ye which I was commanded in a spetiall manner to oppose and by positive command of ye King to represent ye same to ye Senate to be his Majesties pleasure, that they should not in any manner of way treat with or enter into Concordatum or Conventions with ye Scotch Commissioners without Permission or license first had from his Majestie signified to them by myself or any of his Majesties ministers ; ye which having accordingly represented to the Senate in a Latin memoriall they promised me faithfully to observe ye King's commands in this Particular : but least they should have forgotten this Intimation so long propounded, I sent to the Senate for Dignities, by whom I thought

necessary to refresh their memories of what had passed in October last. Accordingly one of their Sindieqs being sent hither I desired him to put ye Senate in mind of ye promise they had made to me in Relation of ye Scotch E. India Company; and for ye better enforcement hereof I desired Mr. Cresset to be present with me, who also joyned with me in ye farther signification of his Majesties pleasure herein. What shall farther passe herein I shall inform you minutely of every Particular, but for ye present I can discover nothing farther but that their businesse reaches only to subscriptions, of which I believe they will find very few in this City, neither ye Designe itself nor ye people who manage it having any great reputation. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XIII

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Feb. ye 16, 1696/7.*

I wrote ye same to him as to Mr. Secretary Trumbull.

## XIV

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Februari ye 19<sup>th</sup> 1696/7.*

In my last which was of ye 16<sup>th</sup> instant, I informed you of ye arrivall of ye 2 Commissioners for ye E. India Company and that they had been with me to make me a compliment; and I advised you that immediately hereupon I sent to ye Senate for Deputies to come to me, who accordingly comming, in presenee of Mr. Cresset I informed them of ye arrivall of these Scotch Commissioners, putting them in mind that it was his Majesties pleasure that they should not admit them to any treaty or Articles with them, for which I alledged many reasons, and this day ye Senate returned me an answer in presenee of Mr. Cresset, by one of their Syndieqs with much respect and civillities and duty towards the King, declaring that they were resolved

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 39.



to observe his Majestys commands in this affaire, and that in case they should presse upon them with any Propositions for establishing any commeree or trade between Scotland and this City, they would give no ear thereunto unlesse I should signifye the King's consent and allowance thereof and that whatsoever matter shall be propounded to them Secretly or in a Clandestine manner they promised to give me information thereof: as to any Publick Treaties I doe not think that ye Scots will attempt anything at this Place, nor in any other within my Province; all that I heare they are doing is to gaine subscriptions, and that work also will be very difficult, the merchants not seeming fond of so dark and doubtful a designe: but whatsoever shall be acted herein I shall be very diligent to discover and give you a constant and particular account of every-thing.<sup>1</sup>

## XV

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Febru. ye 23<sup>rd</sup> 1696/7.*

By last post which was of ye 19<sup>th</sup> instant I gave you a full and ample account of ye arrivall of ye Scotch E. India Companys Commissioners, namely Mr. Paterson and Lieut.-Colonell Erskin, employed to this City from their E. India Company, and of what I had done in opposition to their settlement in these parts, since which I doe not find that they have made any steps in order to a settlement with ye government of this City; they have only as I heare made some overtures with certaine Dutch merchants of this place, but none English, for Subscriptions to enlarge their Stock, but none seems forward here, for thô at first there was a talk here that some of ye chief Bankers or trading merchants would come in, yet I doe not heare that any of them are very forward to come in; but on ye Contrary so many seruples arise here daily, that I believe they will be able to doe nothing here, unlesse it be

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 39.

in order to their shipping, the building of which hath gone but slowly during this terrible winter, ye most severe I ever knew in my life. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XVI

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, le 2 Mars, 1697.*

Since ye arrivall of ye 2 Scotch Commissioners at this Place I have been as watchfull as I could to observe all their motions and am well assured that they have made no steps or addresses yet to obtaine any favour from ye Senate relating to ye settlement of trade or gaining priviledges or making a Concordatum and Articles with this government; howsoever they speed not their time idly here, but employ themselves either in building their ships which may be ready by ye end of May next, or in proeuring subscriptions for enlargement of their Stock by ye Duteh merchants, for as to ye English I am apt to believe that none will interest himself therein; how farre ye Dutch may adventure therein I know not, for Mr. Paterson, who is a diligent Projector, lyes hard at them, and representing nothing but riches and a golden age, and yesterday gave a Treat at Altona to such of them as seem most inclinable to this new designe, so that people beginne now to talk that ye Subscriptions may become in a short time very considerable. I am apt to believe that in case they should be successful in this City they will extend their Endeavours farther into ye trading townes of Germany, against which all that I can doe will be from time to time to give notice and an account of all their motions. Having wrote thus farre I was highly favoured with your most welcome and obliging letter of ye last month whereby you acquaint me that his Majestic was graciouslie pleased to accept of my endeavours in ye matters of ye Scotch E. India Company: the which is such an encouragement to me that both in that and in ye execution of all other his

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 39.

Majesties commands I shall laye out myself with all cheerfulness to ye utmost extent of my Powers. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XVII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, March ye 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1696/7.*

I wrote ye same to him as here above to Secretary Trumbull.<sup>2</sup>

## XVIII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, March ye 12<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

. . . I doe not find that ye Scotch Commissioners for ye E. India Company have as yet obtained any subscriptions for ye enlargement of their Stock, nor doe I believe that they will follow that work close untill all their 4 ships which are now abuilding are in a greater forwardnesse of being finished. On Wednesday last they launched one of 'em and called her ye *Caledonia*, and yesterday they launched another and called her ye *Installation*, with which and other fine names which are prepared for them and ye other two being allso launched, they hope so to take ye minds and hearts of ye Dutch merchants of Hamburg that none will be able to resist ye temptation of being concerned in such fine ships, and then they think it may be ye most proper time to procure subscriptions. Of what passes herein you shall from time to time receive ye due advices.<sup>3</sup>

## XIX

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, March ye 12<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

I wrote him ye same things as above concerning ye Scotch E. India Company. . . .<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem.*

## XX

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, 14<sup>th</sup> March 1697.*

. . . One of the Scotch Company called Mr. Smith was lately arrested at Amsterdam for default of payment of some bills or money which he had taken up belonging to the Scotch East India Company of which he could give no good account. It is said that he and Paterson are in contrivance to cheat the stock; which report, thô there were nothing more in it than a report, yet it is sufficient to break the whole credit of the Company in these parts: as it hath already done, and some merchants here beginne to bless their good fortune that they have so well escaped the snare. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXI

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, March ye 16<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

In my last I advised you that 2 of ye East India Ships built at this Place for ye Scotch E. India Company were launched and named ye *Caledonia* and *Installation*; ye other 2 remaine yet in ye Dock upon which ye Carpenters work with all diligence. As yet these Commissioners have not opened their books for inscriptions, which they fancy will come plentyfully in, so soon as they can make ye show of 4 such large and fine ships whereby they intend to take ye hearts of ye people, who beginne to fancy that much may be gained thereby; for as ye world for ye most Part is pleased with novelties so mens harts are in a spetiall manner easily persuaded to new projects in trade, to obviate all which all that I or such as I employ can doe, is to decry ye designe and demonstrate ye difficulties and hazardous condition thereof: farther than which I cannot goe considering that ye Kings Charter allowed them to take subscriptions for enlargement of their Stock from

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 21,490, fols. 3 and 4.

Forreigners in amitie with his Majestie who may enter themselves members into this new projected Company of which Mr. Paterson is ye Chief Director. Howsoever, it shall be my business to deery it so much as I am able. It is talked here that their Intentions are not to make a voyage into ye East Indies for ye first yeere, but to employ their ships somewhere in Africa, perhaps about Cape Verde, and thence to America, which may take up a yeares voyage, whilst preparations are in ye mean while making for ye reception and entertainment of their Ships in the East Indies, which seems unto me to be such a chimera as is worthy of no other Projecting head to carry it on than that of Mr. Paterson. Thus you see how frequent I am with you on this subject, ye which I shall continue to perform with ye like diligenece so often as anything occurs worthy your information. . . . Be pleased, if you think fit, to let Mr. Blathwayt have a sight of this letter.<sup>1</sup>

## XXII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Seeretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, March ye 23<sup>rd</sup> 1697.*

. . . The Scotch East India Commissioners have of late had severall conferences with ye most rich and monied merchants of this City, at which severall Articlees were agreed which as yet are not made publiek, but I am told that ye same will be finished and made known at the end of this week, when I shall send you a Coppie of 'em ; and in ye meantime it is talked here that 2 more Commissioners are expected, and just as I wrote this same I am told that they were arrived and were eonie to make me a visit in ye next room. I immediately went to receive them where I found only one, Mr. Halden, introduced to me by Mr. Paterson and Colonell Erskin, whom I saw once before at my house ; ye 4th of them, namely Mr. Smith was not with them, perhaps because he was wearied with his journey and may take another time to visit me. It is said that so

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 41.

soone as they have finished ye Articles and points before mentioned, they intend to publish them at Bremen as well as here, as also at Leipsigh, Dresden, Frankfurt, and other great cities where they will employ severall persons inhabitants of those places to take ye subscriptions. They also talk big that ye Dukes of Zell, Brunswig, and Wolfenbuttel will come in and make their subscriptions, by which they fancy not only to gaine a reputation but a Protection to their Stock. You may be confident there is not an English man in this companie that will subscribe to this Stock. It was thought that Mr. Stratford would have come in but he hath declared ye contrary. Concerning ye Duke of Cell's coming in to subscribe to ye Scotch East India Company, I have discoursed Mr. Cresset who not only believes ye report to be false but to be impossible and inconsistent with their humour. However, to know the truth thereof he will take farther information from Persons well versed at that Court. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXIII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, March ye 23<sup>rd</sup> 1697.*

*N.B.*—I wrote Mr. Blathwayt ye same verbatim as to Secretary Trumbull for as much as concernes ye Scotch E. India Company.<sup>2</sup>

## XXIV

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, March ye 26<sup>th</sup> 1697.*

Having allways a steddy eye upon all ye Proceedings and motions of ye Commissioners of ye Scotch East India Company, I am the more easily furnished with ye Particulars worth your knowledge and which by Command from his Majestic I am obliged to acquaint you with. The 4 ships now building will not be ready to saille out till towards Michaelmas and the Principal Shipwright come

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fols. 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 42.

out of Scotland lately to survey them finds great fault with them and sayes that ye holds are very little, which takes of them their burden, and carry their gunns so low that they are and will be useless in a high sea and bad weather. These Commissioners have translated ye King's Charter into High Dutch which they have dispersed in all parts amongst ye merchants with coppies thereof given to ye Senate and College of Commerce, but nothing will be granted them of Concordatum, or Particular Convention with ye Regency, which was what ye Chief Burgess of this City assured me of yesterday, and that nothing more should be allowed them than what is given to any stranger which comes to inhabit amongst. Moreover these Commissioners are now publishing certaine articles and rules for the benefit of those who will subscribe to the stock and for encouragement of ye adventurers, which so soone as it comes out, which may be to-morrow or Monday, it may be met with another contradictory to ye same representing ye many difficulties this new Company is likely to undergoc with ye many hazards before it can come to ye terme and season for expecting proffit and benefit thereby. Ye same was drawne by my secretary in High Dutch, and so soone as it is published as it may be in French, I intend to send you some coppies thereof which I hope will not be displeasing to his Majestic, of which you may please, if it shall be thought fit, to send a coppie or more to our East India Company at London: the which I have great hopes upon due consideration will cause many to give a stop to their subscriptions who other wise intended to have come in with ye others. . . .<sup>1</sup>

XXV

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Mar. ye 30<sup>th</sup> 1697.*

Your letter to me from Loo of ye 19<sup>th</sup> Sept. last hath from ye receipt thereof been allways in my thoughts whereby I am commanded to act within my Province

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 42.

so farr as I am able against ye designes and stratagemes of ye Scotch East India Company, and to leave no stone unturned whereby I may disappoint their intentions, so much to ye Prejudice of ye King and our Countrey. What I have hitherto done herein and by what methods I have proceeded, I have not only signified to yourself by diverse letters, but also to Mr. Secretary Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Trumbull, of all which I doe not doubt but that his Majestie hath well approved; and now to acquaint you what I have farther acted hercin I am to let you know that I have given encouragement to a paper which my Secretary hath put out in High Dutch against ye designes of ye Scotch East India Company now acting in this City: of this Paper I have sent a coppie to Mr. Secretary Trumbull in French written in manuscript with another printed paper in High Dutch which may be presented to his Majestie if it shall be thought fit, which I have desired Mr. Secretary to show you and I beseech you after that perusall to give me your thoughts thereupon.

The Scotch (as I heare) are displeas'd hereat and threaten to give an answer thereunto to dispossesse the minds of ye People of these prejudices which this treatise hath impressed upon them, and this to be published the next week on thursday ye 8<sup>th</sup> of Aprile which ye Scotch Company hath appointed for ye day to open their books. This treatise in print is bought up on all hands and I hope will have ye effect desired, which is to give a stop to ye subscriptions now negotiating or intended to be negotiated, of which I may give you an acct in 20 days time more, when we may be able to make a certaine judgement how farre this Project may take footing in these parts. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXVI

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Mar. ye 30<sup>th</sup> 1697.*

In my last which was of ye 26 instant I acquainted you that there was a Paper preparing in High Dutch

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 43.



setting forth ye difficulties which must necessarily arise in and about ye management of ye affaires of ye New Scotch E. India Company: that it was scarce possible that ye trade thereof could be carried on for some yeares with any considerable proffit to ye benefit of ye Adventurers but rather to ye Consumption of ye whole stock. This paper which came out this morning or ye last night is allready much bought up, but what effect it may have in stopping ye current of ye subscriptions we may know shortly by ye books which may shortly be opened, as is appointed on Thursday of ye Easter week. That you may best judge of the Strength of ye Arguments of this Paper, I have caused ye High Dutch to be translated into French, the which after your Perusall you may please to communicate to Mr. Blathwayt, and if it may be thought worthy his Majesties Gracious hand and consideration and be delivered without absurditie and breach of good manners, I presume to offer ye inclosed in Dutch to ye perspicacious eyes of his Majestie, which you may deliver if you think fit, otherwise to lay it by you. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXVII

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to the GOVERNMENT of LÜBECK

*Aprill 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1697.*—Transcribed and sent the same letter in Latine to the Government of Lubeck as was written to the Senate of Bremen, the 16<sup>th</sup> of October, 1696.<sup>2</sup>

## XXVIII

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Aprill ye 6<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

This day 4 Posts are wanting to us from England, and as to my last to you of the 30<sup>th</sup> past I have little to add in regard that because of ye Holly days nothing hath been

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 43.

done unlesse it be yt the Scotch Commissioners have by a Printed paper of Advertisement notified their Resolution to lay open their books on thursday next to receive subscriptions from 10 in the morning till one after noon and from 3 to 6: what successe this may have you shall Constantly be advised by me, tho since ye reasons which were published in High Dutch of which by my last I gave you a translation in French, many persons as I heare are fallen of from their intention to subscribe and that ye Commissioners themselves have a worse opinion of it than before.

It was talked here that these Scotch gentlemen had an intention to take a Publiek house for their businesse and with license of ye senate to write over ye doares of it in Capital letters, This is ye house of ye Scotch Company: which so soon as I heard I applyed myself to ye Chief Bourguemaister, giving him to understand that such a Concession would be a downe right owning of this Company, against which I have by order of ye King my master given them so many cautions, but he stiffly denyed that there were any such intentions in the Senate or that any thing of this nature had been motioned into them by ye Commissioners or others, and that in case any such thing should be proposed, it would be rejected by them. Howsoever, for better assurance hereof I have desired ye Senate to send me Deputies to morrow morning by whom I shall again encharge them not only not to bestow on this new Company any Priviledges in this City, but not so much as to grant them license to write over ye doare where ye subscriptions are designed to be taken any motto for ye House or Place and Mr. Cresset hath desired to be present with me when I reiterate againe my former Charge to ye Deputies of ye Senate, with which I am well pleased that he may be a wnesse of my Zeal and proceedings herein, which God grant may be happy and successfull.

Mr. Paterson, ye first of these Commissioners, came yesterday to dine with me uninvited, and I received him civilly as I doe all other strangers who come to me on

Certaine dayes and I am of opinion I can give no scandall, being by such a communication better enlightened and informed in their affaires ; and yesterday he told me that Lieut.-Colonell Erskin, his Colleague, together with ye other Commissioners Smith and Walden of Coneguy<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) were gone to Lubeck and Gluckstadt and Tormingen on ye Eyder and other places on discoveries : what Report they may bring of ye Land I know not, but these were never esteemed lands that promised much either of silver or gold or other Comoditeys.<sup>2</sup>

## XXIX

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Le 9 Avrill, 1697.*

In my letter to you of ye 6<sup>th</sup> inst. I informed you that for ye day following I had appointed ye Senate to send me Deputies according to ye usuall Manner and Practices of this Government ; the which coming to me on wednesday at ye time and houre appointed, I deliverd unto them a Memoriall in Presence of Mr. Cresset relating to ye Scotch East India Company, a Coppie whereof I herewith send to you, to which they promised to bring me an answer on this day, but instead hereof they sent me word that they could not be so soon provided to declare their sentiments, but on Monday next I should not faile to receive them, till which time we must have patience. In the meane time I heare that ye Scotch Commissioners are greatly confounded and know not which way to act, in regard that upon reasons lately printed in High Dutch against ye constitution of ye Scotch East India Company, and ye memoriall which shows that ye same is not agreable to ye Kings pleasure, and ye very Act itself which is so full of Priviledges and impracticable immunities (which to merchants and considering men appears as if it would

<sup>1</sup> Haldane of Gleneagles.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 43.

fall with its own weight), most of ye rich and able men who declared their intentions to subscribe retire back and hold their hands, and ye room which is over ye Exchange, which was said to be the place appointed to take subscriptions is still shut up, thô yesterday was the day appointed for opening ye books. In short, things are now come to their Crises, and I am persuaded that in Lesse than 15 days we may be able to make a right judgement of what may be ye event and issue of all these matters. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXX

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, ye 9 Aprill, 1697.*

I wrote him ye same as to Secretary William Trumbull and sent him also a Copy of the Memoriall to ye Senate.<sup>2</sup>

## XXXI

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, April ye 13<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

In my last which was of ye 9<sup>th</sup> instant I gave you to understand how that ye Senate had appointed yesterday being ye 12<sup>th</sup> to returne an answer to my memoriall touching ye Establishment of a Scotch East India Company in this City and to ye reasons against it which I preferred in ye Kings name, of which I sent you ye coppie. Accordingly ye answer was brought to me in the presence of Mr. Cresset, a Coppie of which I herewith send you, being delivered to me by ye hands of a Sindicq and one of ye Senators in name of ye Senate; the Contents of which you will find to be an entire concurrence with his Majesties Pleasure in all matters relating to ye Commissioners of ye

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fols. 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 44.

Scotch East India Company who were desirous and had projected to fix a Mart and Factory in this city, but ye current course of these affaires being stopped by ye severall methods of which I have all along acquainted you, the whole machine seems to be broaken, for ye Dutch merchants falling of from ye designed subscriptions ye Scotch Commissioners declare that after to-morrow, being thursday, having launched the 2 remaining ships, which is to be done this day, they resolve to take leave of this City and proceed for England, there as in Holland to make their Complaints to His Majestie how and in what manner they have been obstructed by his Majesties Ministers here and to demand Justice against them; but you knowing how well I am fortified and warranted by his Majesties command, I feare not their menaces nor ye displeasure of his Majestie for having transgressed his Royall commands.

This businesse being considered by me as a matter of high moment, as you have sometimes intimated unto me, I took Mr. Cresset into Consultation with me and for more strength of ye Matter he signed ye last memoriall with me, for which he had no Credentials yet I thought in such a criticall businesse my Credentials might serve us both, for that he was acting at that time with me and in my presenee ye negotiation would appear more solemne and formall before ye Senate.

And thô this affaire may for ye present seem to be laid asleep and husht up, yet I am farre from thinking that we shall heare no more of it at this Place. For the Scotch have declared the Contrary and that they only retire back to returne with ye greater force and that having made their complaints to the King for this Contradiction of this Act they doubt not but to obtaine from his Majestie amongst all other his gracious and large concessions ye libertie of maintaining a Resident or Consul here independent of ye English for better protection of their trade Interest. . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 44.

XXXI (a)

A Leurs Magnificences les BURGO-MAÎTRES et à Messieurs  
les CONSEILLERS de la VILLE D'HAMBOURG

Nous les Soussignez Ministers de sa Majesté le Roÿ de la Grande Bretagne avons representé par deux diverses fois à vos Magnificences et Seigneuries de la part du Roÿ notre Maître sur l'arrivée des Commissaires d'une Compagnie des Indes en Écosse, Que sa Majesté, ayant appris que les dits Commissaires tachoient de s'ouvrir un Commerce dans ces Quartiers en faisant quelque Convention ou Traitté avec cette Ville, nous avait Commandé tres empressement de notifier à vos Magnificences et Seigneuries que si Elles entroient en de telles conventions ou Traitez avec des particuliers ses Sujets qui n'ont ni Lettres de Créance ni sont aucunement autorisé par sa Majesté, que sa Majesté regarderait ce Procédé comme un affront à son Autorité Roÿale et qu'elle ne manquerait pas de s'en ressentir. Vos Magnificences et Seigneuries avez eu la bonté de nous repondre la dessus par votre Deputé qu'elles n'entreroient aucunement en Commerce avec les surmentionés Commissaires, ni les encourageroient ni de façon ni d'autre. Nonobstant, Nous les Soussignez voyons avec Deplaisir que sans qu'on ait egard aux Remonstrances que nous avons faites au Nom de sa Majesté, les Habitants de cette Ville ne laissent pas de faire des Conventions avec les dits Commissaires qui osent même eriger un Bureau Public pour recevoir ces souscriptions comme il paroît par l'imprimé cy Joint, et il n'est guère croyable que des Etrangers puissent entreprendre des affaires de cette Importance si ouvertement sans être appuiez par ce Gouvernement: C'est pourquoy nous en faisons nos just plaintes à vos Magnificences et Seigneuries, les priant au nom du Roy Notre Maître de remedier de bonne heure à ce qui est commencié, et de faire en sorte que d'empecher que cela ne puisse avoir de suites capables de troubler l'amitié et la bonne Correspondence que nous voudrions cultiver entre l'Angleterre et la ville d'Hambourg.

PREPARATIONS FOR FIRST EXPEDITION 29

Nous attendons la Reponse de vos Magnificences et Seigneuries par Ecrit pour être Mandée à sa Majesté Notre Maître, et Nous Sommes de vos Magnificences et Seigneuries.

Les tres humbles Serviteurs

Faite Hambourg  
le 7 d'Avril 1697.

CRESSETT

Envoyé Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Brittanique dans les Cours de Lunenberg et son Plenipotentiaire aupres en Traitté de Pinnenberg.<sup>1</sup>

LE CHEVALIER RYCAUT

Resident pour sa Majesté le Roy de Grande Bretagne dans cette ville d'Hambourg.

XXXII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Aprill ye 13<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

I wrote to him verbatium ye same as to Mr. Secretary Trumbull.<sup>2</sup>

XXXIII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Aprill ye 16<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

My last to you which was of ye 13<sup>th</sup> advised that ye Last memoriall given to ye Senate touching ye Scotch affaires had put a full stop to all their further proceedings in this city in regard especialy to their subscriptions, for which ye bookes were all ready provided and designed to be laid open on Monday last, but this arrest to their business put ye Commissioners into such a confusion that not

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. i., No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 44.

knowing what course to take they considered of ways and meanes how to put their subscribers into heart and ease them of ye feares they had conceived of ye Kings displeasure, telling them that I had no orders to declare myself in ye Kings name so fully against their new Company of Scotland, but others and such as were of ye Principall members inclined to ye new East India trade, having a fuller knowledge and Experience of my Probitie and faithfull Actings in all my negotiations which have passed under my conduct for ye space of 8 years in this my province, would not trust to this suggestion but came at length to this conclusion, That they would subscribe with this Temperament that in case ye King should be pleased to approve of their subscriptions that then they should be obligatory to them, and if not, then ye same should be invalid or of no effect; this qualification took so well that on Wednesday last the books were opened with some solemnitys and subscriptions were made according to ye particulars enclosed, but a farther judgment of this matter I may give you by next post. I am half of an opinion that all these subscriptions will come to little and ye whole structure will fall for want of a good foundation which I will diligently remarke that so his Majestic may not be put to any uneasinesse of being obliged to declare himself one way or another to ye enquiries which these unfortunat Scotchmen intend to make to him. . . .

Subscribed on Wednesday, in ye Scotch Comp books,  
 ye summe of 8,500£ sterling  
 on Thursday £800 or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup>

## XXXIV

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, ye 16<sup>th</sup> Aprill, 1697.*

I wrote him the same as Secretary Trumbull.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*



## XXXV

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Aprill ye 20<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

Since my last which was of ye 16 instant nothing hath moved in matters of ye subscriptions relating to ye Scotch East India Company, which seems to be entirely quasht and ye subscribers dishearted. Those who ye first day were so brisk were men who valued themselves much of being Directors of this Company in Hamburg or at least Factors, who being to receive a salary for their services would not lose much let the world goe how it would. So in this manner we remaine our Commissioners designing to depart hence in a few dayes to meet ye King they say with their complaints upon his arrivall in Holland. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXXVI

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamb. Apr. ye 20<sup>th</sup> 1697.*

I wrote him ye same as hereabove to Secretary William Trumbull, and directed his letter to ye Hague.<sup>2</sup>

## XXXVII

SIR PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, Aprill ye 27<sup>th</sup> 1697.*

On fryday last Mr. Smith, Colonell Erskin, and W<sup>m</sup>. Walden of Coneguy,<sup>3</sup> being 3 of ye Scots Commissioners for ye East India Company, departed hence as did Mr. Paterson on Saturday with 2 other Scotch gentlemen who came hither on a Proecess at Law, in which I having given my help they returned well satisfied towards Scotland, but ye others desigine to waite on his Majestie

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 45.<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*<sup>3</sup> Haldane of Gleneagles.

in Holland there to make their complaints. I am glad, howsoever, that we are quit of 'em for ye present. About ye time that ye Scotch Commissioners departed hence an answer came out in print to ye Paper which I lately sent to you in disparagement of ye new Project of forming a Scotch East India Company: ye which answer is so foolish and impertinent that it is scarce worthy taking notice of and being for ye most part full of lyes and mistakes seems as if it would doe ye Scotch cause more harme than good, of which I send you here a printed paper for your better information and judgement with a few marginall notes on ye side thereof.

I understand that ye Scotch Commissioners intend to exelame much against my Secretary for writing ye German Paper against ye Constitution of their Company, of which they cannot prove him to be the author, yet if they could, he and I are too well satisfied in having done this duty that we are both without feare of having gained his Majesties displeasure thereby. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XXXVIII

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, Aprill ye 27<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

I sent him ye same as to Mr. Blathwayt.<sup>2</sup>

## XXXIX

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, May ye 7<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

Since ye departure of ye Scotch East India Commissioners I have heard nothing from them. I am of opinion that they will goe for Scotland to consult with their brethren there before they proceed any farther, and in ye mean time ye Commissioners and ye whole designe loose their reputation dayly, so that none will now hearken to their former

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

propositions which at first seemed probable but are now entirely rejected. . . .<sup>1</sup>

## XL

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, May ye 7<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

I wrote ye same to him as to Mr. Secretary Trumbull concerning ye Scotch Commissioners and ye matter of ye Holsteyn troops.<sup>2</sup>

## XL (a)

Sir PAUL RYCAUT to Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1697.*

R<sup>r</sup> HON<sup>BLE</sup> S<sup>R</sup>

By our letters this day from Holland of the 4<sup>th</sup> instant I was overjoyed to heare of His Majesties recovery from his indisposition caused as I believe and hope from no other cause than the hot and unseasonable weather, for which I praise God.

Since the departure of the Scotch East India Commissioners from hence, I have heard nothing from them. I am of opinion, that they will goe first into Seotland to consult with their Bretheren the Scotch before they proceed any farther therein. In the meane time these Commissioners and their whole Project loose their reputation daily, so that none will now hearken to the former propositions which at first seemed probable, but are now entirely rejected.

The Holstein Troops are now in full March towards their Rendezvous on the Rhine, and being now come as farre as the Elb they were desirous to have them embarked on boats, to passe downe the river so farre as to Buxtahoe (which is in the dominion of the Swedes) to which end it was thought convenient to obtaine a Grant

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 1153 E, fol. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

from this Senate, to presse as many boats as should be necessary for transportation of the Infantry downe the river, which as we supposed, would save them 4 or 3 dayes march by Land, which might be advantagious in this very hot season ; but the Senate would not hearken hereunto ; for which cause this morning Mr. Cresset, with the Holland's Resident, myself and the 2 Commissioners of Holstein, viz. the Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ranzon and Pansier met at my house ; and the Senate sent 2 of their Deputies to debate with us on these particulars, but we came to no agreement, because the Hamburgers would not, or could not, as they pretended, come up to any of our propositions for passing over the Troops, as you may see by the inclosed paper which I herewith send you, who am

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup>

Most faithfull, most humble and most  
obedient Servant

PAUL RYCAUT.

I am to return you my hearty thanks for  
the favour of y<sup>rs</sup> of the 1/11 of this month.

Endorsed : Scots, May '97.  
From P. Ryeaut.<sup>1</sup>

*C.—The Scots at Hamburg, from the Departure of the  
Commissioners to the Sailing of the Ships*

I

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. ORTH, dated at Hambourg,  
the 20th April 1697 (accompanying Mr. Vernon's Line).

. . . Another Circumstance which may be worth your knowledge is that the said Scots Commissioners not having been able since the Hamburgers have conceived a bad

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the possession of the Editor.

opinion of the project of an East India, Africa, and America Trade to bring them to other thoughts concerning that Project, they since said that the truth was that they intended but very little Trade in the East Indies nor in Africa, that they only had added these to Disguise their true Intentions which are to trade in America. They told those that are their confidants that it was in a part of America not belonging to the Spaniards but whose Inhabitants were Mortall Enemies to them (which I suppose to be in the Gulph of Mexico) with whom they say they intend to settle and Inhabit. I farther understand that their first Expedition is really intended thither, that they send five of their most capital ships and two small Frigotts in this first voyage, which may be ready towards the end of August: this Country where they intend is more abounding with Silver and Gold than any Part of Peru.

Endorsed: Rec<sup>d</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> }  
 Read 21<sup>st</sup> } May 1697.<sup>1</sup>

I (a)

‘ Mr. VERNON’S LINE ’

*Whitehall, 20<sup>th</sup> May '97.*

MY LORDS,

Mr. Blathwayt having transmitted to the Lords Justice the Enlosed Letters from the Government of Rhode Island and from Hamburg by his Majesty’s Directions, Their Excelleney’s command that the same be sent to your Lordships to consider them and report your opinion to their Excelleney’s of the matters contained therein and particularly what you think fitt to be done for preventing the Scots East India Company from carrying out any Designs that may be to the Injury of the Spaniards or prejudiciall to the Trade of this kingdom, Mr. Blathwayt intimating that their project is to send to the Streights of Darien and to enter into a League with the Prince there

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 A.

in order to the exercising hostilitys and Depredations upon the Spaniards. I am

My Lords

Your Lordships

Most faithfull and most humble Servant

J.A. VERNON.

Lords Com<sup>ty</sup> for Trade and Plantations.

Endorsed: Dated 20	} May 1697. <sup>1</sup>
Rec <sup>d</sup> 20	
Read 21	

II

The ATTORNEY and SOLLICITOR GENERAL'S answer to ye Queries made them relating to ye Scotch East India Company

Received ye 9th August 1697

1. Q.—Whether the king can issue a Proclamation, that no Seaman, or Merchant, or other Subject of the kingdome of England, shall take Service or Embark, under what pretence so ever, upon any ships belonging to the Scotch East India Company, going to the West Indies upon an Expedition that is presumed may be prejudiciall to his Majestys Allies, and to the Trade of England ?

2. Q.—Whether the king can authorize and require the Magistrates and other officers in his Parts in England, Ireland, and the Plantations, to search any of the said Scotch ships when they putt in there, and to take out of them any of his foresaid English subjects ?

3. Q.—Whether any of his Majestys Men of War, meeting any of the said Scotch ships in the High Sea may be authorized to search, etc., as in the foregoing article ?

4. Q.—If the ways aforementioned cannot all be made use of what else may his Majesty doe, by Law, to hinder

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 A.

or discourage his English Subjects from Embarking in this Expedition ?

1<sup>ly</sup>.—We are of opinion if his Majesty be satisfied That the Scotch East India Company are going upon any Trade or Expedition which is against the laws of England, That in such case his Majesty may by Proclamation prohibit English Subjects from going upon such an Expedition.

2<sup>ly</sup>.—We think the King may authorise and require the Magistrates and other officers abovementioned to search any Scotch Shipp which they shall suspect to be gone upon such unlawfull Voyage and to take out of them any of his English subjects.

3<sup>ly</sup>.—We think they may.

4<sup>ly</sup>.—We cannot at Present think of any other method.

THO: TREVOR.

JO: HAWKE.

Endorsed : Trade Foreigne.<sup>1</sup>

III

TWO LETTERS from Mr. ORTH, Secretary to Sir Paul Rycout

(a) To Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1697.*

HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR

Having on the 20th of August Last given advice to Mr. Blathwayt that I was informed that the two Scotch East India Company's ships now lying in this River were designed for the South Coast of America, at the Isthmus of Darien, and that they were to be followed next spring by two other ships, which were to possess themselves of some Place or Island in the North of America, whereof I perceive that Mr. Blathwayte hath also given your honour notice, I have now received orders from Mr. Blathwayt, dated Loo the 7/17th instant, to make a further enquiry into this matter, and not only to give him an

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 B.

account of my proceedings therein, but also to your Honour the enlosed extraet of what I have wrote this day farther of this matter to Mr. Blathwayt. I may perhaps make some farther discoveries hereafter, when I shall not faile immediately to giv your Honour an account thereof, who am with deep respect

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir

Yr. Honours

most humble and most obed<sup>t</sup> servant,

ORTH.

Sec<sup>ry</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Trumbull.

(b) To Mr. BLATHWAYT

*Hamburg, 17 Sept. 1697.*

SIR

With the former Post I humbly acknowledged the Receipt of yr Hon<sup>rs</sup> letter of the 7/17th instant and added that because I had rec<sup>d</sup> the same somewhat late it had not been possible for me to execute yr. Hon<sup>rs</sup> Commands for making a farther enquiry into the designs of the Scotch East India Company.

I have since endeavoured to procure some more certaine proofs than the bare report, which hath been made me, but all that I could hitherto effect, is to hear the same things which I wrote to yr. Hon<sup>r</sup> confirmed from some other hands, with some farther additions and more considerable circumstanees, for as the design of the s<sup>d</sup> Scotch Company of making settlements in the South and North Seas of America hath only been communicated to those of the Hamburgh merchants that were most affected to the s<sup>d</sup> Company by word of mouth, I cannot have it otherwise attested but by the confirmation which I receive from Severall hands, thô the one knoweth not what discourses I had with the others and that those which reported these things to me are men of knowne credit and honour: this I can assure your Honour for a certaine truth; as to the farther circumstances which seem to justify that this design of the s<sup>d</sup> Company is no other but that which I



acquainted your Honour with on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August last, they are chiefly :—

1. That the two Scotch ships which now are ready to saile, and which only expect the arrivall of about 200 Scotch seamen from Edinburgh to compleat their Ships Company, are wholly laden with timber, the intention whereof is, That whereas because of the difficulty of the Voyage they cannot send from these parts such ships and barks as are proper to trade from the Isthmus of Darien all along the South Coast of America, they may be able with this timber to build the same there.

2<sup>ly</sup>. And which is of Moment, and very trew is, that the two above s<sup>d</sup> ships have now on board a great Part (if not the greatest) of Every's crew, which the Scotch Company hath carefully sought for, because they are acquainted with those seas where they intend to navigate. Some of which crew are people of this countrey who having been first taken by Every in Guinea, afterwards went on with him in his Voyage, and being at Altona have been hired with these Scotchmen at high rates. It is a Principall Hamburger merchant who told me this yesterday, adding that he told it me now because the s<sup>d</sup> ships being fallen downe as farr as Staden were now out of our reach, and so could receive no prejudice by the discovery.

3<sup>ly</sup>. A third circumstance which very much justifies this designe, is that there is in this City a Captain of a Hamburger Merchant ship of 30 guns, but a Hollander, who 7 or 8 years ago was with a Dutch Frigate of 24 guns at the Isthmus of Darien and thereabouts; which Frigate having already 28 Tunn of Silver on board by Negligence at Noonday had been cast away on a bank near the s<sup>d</sup> Isthmus, and the above s<sup>d</sup> Captain with some of the men having escaped they crossed the countrey from the South to the North Seas being a district of 18 leagues and with fisher boats came from thence to St<sup>t</sup> Thomê. This man because he hath by means hereof a great knowledge of that Countrey and the Parts where they intend to navigate, they have highly cossetted to enter into their service,

promising him great rewards, which however he refused. This man and his owners are very well knowne to me, and therefore I can averre this for truth.

Endorsed : Trade Foreigne.  
 Copys of 2 L<sup>rs</sup> from Mr.  
 Orth, Sec<sup>ry</sup> to Sir Paul  
 Rycaut dated ye 14<sup>th</sup> and  
 17<sup>th</sup> Inst ab<sup>t</sup> the proceed-  
 ings of the Scotch East  
 India Comp<sup>y</sup> at Ham-  
 burgh.

Sent to the Board by Mr. Ellis  
 from Mr. Sec<sup>ry</sup> Trumbull.

Rec<sup>d</sup> }  
 Read } 30<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1697.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

## Mr. ORTH to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, 21 Sept. 1697.*

HON<sup>BLE</sup> SR

It was upon commands from his Majesty signified to me by Mr. Blathwayt that I have presumed to waite upon your Hon<sup>r</sup> with the last post, and to send your Hon<sup>r</sup> an account of what then was further come to my knowledge of the designs of the Scotch East India Company, since which, to have a greater evidence thereof, I designed to have tryed how far I could have persuaded one of the Officers of the Scots Ships (who I am told is dissatisfied with the Company) to be assistant unto me herein ; but the 200 expected Scots Seamen arriving in this River, he was hurried aboard by the Captain, nor do I know if he will be permitted to come up again to this place or no.

As to the said Scots Company I hear, that besides those of Every's Company which are now on board of the Scots Ships that are in this River, his mate or Pilot (one of the

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 C.

chief instruments of his Piracy) is now at Edinburgh expecting the arrival of the said ships, being to be a Lieutenant or a chief officer of one of them, who also is most instrumentall in getting together as many as he can find of that Pyrating crew which the Directors of the said Scots East India Company are most desirous to have, which being very surprizing to me, I proposed this question to my Informers viz<sup>t</sup> of what use these men could be to the Scots Company, since that Company designed to go and settle on the South Coast of America, and that Every's exploits had been in the Indian Seas: whereupon I had for answer that Every had likewise been in the South Sea, and farther that the Scots Company, after having settled themselves in the South of America designed to trade from thence with the Silver and Gold of that coast in the East Indies, and to make Settlements there in places and Parts known to these men (I wish it be not rather to drive their trade). I am further told that Paterson, who is well known at London, is to go with these ships as supreme Director of the same, and of the Conduct of Affaires in those parts where I hear they intend to enter into Amity and League with the Indians, and to assist them against the Spaniards. They say they shall have 200 leagues of the Country to trade in. All this they have told our Hamburg merchants who I am sure knew nothing of that country before, and are too honest men to add any thing to the story that hath been told them first by Paterson and hath since been confirmed in the many particulars by the Captains of the said Scots Ships, so that it is in my opinion not to be doubted but that this is their reall design.

The two Ships which are now in this River are designed for that Voyage, carry 56 guns each, whereof the lower Tier is of 12 pound bullets and the upper Tier of 8 pounds. They have each of them 200 men on board. Their lading being timber, it is evident that they are not design'd for the East Indies. I am told that they are to take on board at Edenburgh some fine linnen, laee, and other Comoditys, proper either for the use of the Spanyards in America or of the Inhabitants and Natives of that Country.

The two Ships which remain here this Winter are to be fitted out in the Spring, and then to sail to the North Part of America; Captain Stevenson, Factor of the Scots Company here, is to command one of these.

I shall not be wanting in my endeavours of procuring further information and proofs of this matter whereof I shall give your Hon<sup>r</sup> an Exact Account, in whose favour and Puissant protection, I humbly recommend myself, who am with deep respects,

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sr

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most humble and most obedient  
Servant

ORTH.

Endorsed :

<p>Hamburg 21 Sept 1697. Copy of Mr. Orths Lre to M<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>ry</sup> Trumbull about the Scots E. India Company.</p>	<p>Trade Foreigne. Copy of a Lre from Mr. Orth Sec<sup>ry</sup> to Sir Paul Rycout at Hamburg to Mr. Sec<sup>ry</sup> Trumbull relating to ye proceedings of ye Scotch East India Comp<sup>y</sup> there. Brought to the Board by Mr. Stepney.</p>
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<p>Dated 21<sup>th</sup> Sept. } Rec<sup>d</sup> } Read } 5<sup>th</sup> Oct. } 1697.<sup>1</sup></p>
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v

COPY of a LETTER from Mr. ORTH at Hamburg to Mr.  
Secretary TRUMBULL of the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1697

Since my last of ye 28 of September, having met with one of this Citty that was intimately acquainted with the chief Officers of the Scotch East India Company, and hearing that one of the Scotch Ships was yet lying at an anchor 3 leagues from this Citty, I desired this Person, being a discreet man in whom I could confide, to enquire

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 D.

as exactly as he could of the said officers, which way they were intended, either for the East or West Indies, and what he could further learn from them : from whom this account and answer was brought me.

That they were intended from this River to Edinburgh, where these two ships would be unladen and brought into the docks to have double keels made to them.

That this was to be done with all speed, that they might be ready in December, for that they were to sail in January next in Company of 2 ships of the same Bigness as these are, built in Holland, and of 2 other ships of 80 or 90 Lasts each, which were to be laden with Necessaries, Provisions, and the like.

That each of these Ships was to carry on board Barks or long Boates of about 50 tunns each, which were ready fitted and prepared, so that they might be carryed on Ship board, and att their arrivall to their designed Port, be joyned and sett together with little trouble.

That with all these ships they were designed to saile directly to the South of America, and to settle themselves both in the Isthmus of Darien and in the kingdome and coast of Chili, and being masters by means of this squadron in those Seas to trade all along that Coast, wherever they pleased.

That it was told them that there was already a Convention made between the Scotch and ye Natiffs of Chili, who had told them somthing of a new Mine of Gold, which they had lately discovered.

That Every's pilot, who also speaks good Dutch, was come hither with the other Seamen that came lately from Edinburgh, and was now on board one of these ships, together with several others of those that had accompanied Every in his late pyrating Expedition.

And that they had further told them that they would make their voyage good one way or other.

All which circumstances, confirming what I have before learnt from other hands, I thought it my Duty to lay before y<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup>. This Person told me that those men to whom he spoke seemed to give him to understand that

something of Every's Trade might be driven too in this expedition, but this was but darkly explained and by saying that formerly they had been on the South Coast of America, and that, tho' they had brought no goods to trade with, yet that by putting out their flag for a Signall, the Natifs came aboard with silver, and that by means thereof they got enough of that Commodity.

Endorsed :

Copy of a Lre from Mr. Orth  
Sec<sup>ry</sup> to Sir Paul Ricaut at  
Hamburgh to Mr. Sec<sup>ry</sup>  
Trumbull ab<sup>t</sup> ye Scotch East  
India Comp<sup>y</sup>.

Communicated to ye Board by Mr. Stepney.

Dated 1 <sup>st</sup>	} Oct. 1697. <sup>1</sup>
Rec <sup>d</sup>	
Read	

VI

Mr. ORTH to Secretary TRUMBULL

*Hamburg, ye 12<sup>th</sup> October 1697.*

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup>

Having since my former Relation continued my endeavours in inquiring into the designs of the Scotch East India Company, I had this farther account thereof, viz.

That the s<sup>d</sup> Company had not only already made a Treatie and convention with the Natifs of the kingdome of Chily for their Trade and Navigation there, but that by virtue of the said Convention they were to be put into possession of a place called Arauka or Arica, situated in the middle of Chily on the Seaside where that Company intends to erect a Colonie and to build a Fort.

That besides this Colonie, and another which they design to erect on the Isthmus of Darien, they will possesse themselves of a certaine Island in or near the Fretum

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 E.

Magellanicum where besides the other advantages of that place they had the conveniency of careening their ships with as much ease as it could be done in England.

That they desyned not only to admitt all Nations and People to settle and Inhabit these their Colonies, but also that for some contribution of Money and on certaine easy eonditions they would give license to forreigners to navigate and trade there, that they might the sooner populate their said Colonies and the easier carry on their designes.

They further told me that Every who, they say, was in hopes of obtaining His Majestys Pardon, was to go himself with their ships on this first expedition, but however earnestly I enquired why they so much eovcted to have this Every and his Piratting Crew in their Service, I could get nothing but smiles for answer.

As to the Istmus of Darien they tell me that the River which doth conduce thither from the North Sea is navigable to ships of 150 Tunns for about 6 leagues from the North coast; that from thence to the Isthmus or South Seas there were 6 leagues more, which were only navigable to floates of Planks or Trees fastened together, on which (if not by Land) they intended to send to the sd. ships, the Gold, Silver, and other goods from the South Coast.

As for the East India Trade, that they say is not thought on as yet; their first endeavour will only be to settle and strengthen themselves in Ameriea; it is for that reason they send so many ships on this Expedition, viz<sup>t</sup>:

4 ships of 56 guns eeah, burden 350 tunns, and 2 of 160 and 180 tunns, carrying 20 and 24 guns; each of these six ships is to earry on board a Barke of about 50 or 60 Tunns in pieces, ready prepared, So that at their arrivall in the South Seas, they may immediately and easily be fitted and set together; each one of these Barks is to earry 4 gunns. And when they have well settled and fixed themselves in America, then they intend to go from thence to the East Indies to buy there with their Silver and Gold such spices and goods as now are first brought from the East Indies into England and Holland, from thence to

Cadix in Spaine and from thence again into America ; which trade they therefore (according to their project) can drive with great advantages directly from the East Indias to America.

This, R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir, is that which is farther discovered and revealed unto me. The Scotch Ships are still detained by contrary winds on this River, but they intend to sail as soon as possibly they can.

I am with Deep Respects

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most humble and most obedient  
Servant

ORTH.

Endorsed :

Trade Foreign. Copy of a L<sup>re</sup>  
from Mr. Orth to Mr. Sec<sup>ry</sup>  
Trumbull dated at Hamburgh  
ye 12<sup>th</sup> Oct. N.S. ab<sup>t</sup> ye pro-  
ceedings of the Scotch East  
India Company.

Brought to ye Board by Mr. Stepney.

Rec<sup>d</sup> }  
Read } Oct. ye 20<sup>th</sup>, 1697.<sup>1</sup>

VII

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Hamburgh dated 12<sup>th</sup> Nov.  
1697, from Mr. ORTH to Mr. Secretary TRUMBULL

I presume againe to waite upon Your Honor and to lay before You that which farther occurs as to the affairs of the Scotch East India Company, according to his Majestys orders Signified unto me by Mr. Blathwayt.

Their two Ships sail'd from this River for Edinburgh on Monday or Tuesday last. They once designed to have sheathed or doubled themselves, but having been detained so very long by contrary winds, they now have resolved to lett their Ships proceed on their Voyage to America

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 F.



as they are, that they may loose no more time ; which they the rather doe, first because that Island in or near Fretum Magellanicum, of which they pretend to possesse themselves (as I formerly humbly wrote to your Honor) doth furnish them with as great conveniencies for careening and sheathing their ships as any are in England or Scotland ; secondly, because the wood of that Country, or that which they will have from the Coast of Brazill, is much more lasting than the wood of these Parts ; and for these two reasons (to gaine Time) they have given over the designe of Sheathing their ships at Edinburgh.

They are so persuaded of Success in their designs of possessing themselves of those places in the Streight of Magellan, kingdome of Chili, and Isthmus of Darien which I formerly mention'd that they are (as I am told) sending Emissaries for Jamaica, St. Domingo, Barbados and other Leeward Islands, to debauch as many of the inhabitants thereof as they can, to Settle or Navigate in their Colonies which are to be a Porto Franco for all Nations. I am also told, that a French Refugée of this Place hath been sent to France, and in particular to St. Malo, Nantes, Rochelle, and Bordeaux to acquaint the people their with their Designe, and to encourage them to settle or navigate there, and it is very probable that they will intimate the same things in all such other Ports from whence they may expect any benefit.

This it is, Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir, what I have to lay before your Honor on their behalf. I have some reason to believe that the French court hath been informed of this designe (thô I cannot affirm it for a positive truth) for I have heard it whispered by French Roman Catholicks, whom I know to correspond with the French ministers, that perhaps the French would be before the Scotch in America, which makes me suspect that that Squadron of men of Warr and Merchant Ships which is now preparing with all speed in France, and said to be designed for the East Indies, may be intended for the South Seas. The consequence thereof being so great and so dangerous, I thought it my duty to lay this Account (thô as yet uncertain)

before your Honor, that farther Enquiry might be made therein, whilst I shall endeavour to gett such farther light and information thereof, as this distant and remote place will permit.

Endorsed :

<p>Extract of a Lre from Mr. Orth to Mr. Sec<sup>ry</sup> Trumbull. Hambgh. 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1697.</p>	<p>Trade Foreign. Lr from Mr. Tucker inclosing one from Mr. Orth dated at Hamb. the 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1697 relating to the Scotch East India Company.</p>
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Rec<sup>d</sup> }  
Read } 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1697.<sup>1</sup>

*D.—Expert Advice concerning Darien*

I

DAMPIER and WAFER

Journal of the Proceedings of his Majestys Commission for promoting the Trade of this Kingdom; and for inspecting and improving his Plantations in America and elsewhere.

Vol : 11<sup>d</sup>

Whitehal, June the 30<sup>th</sup> 1697.

At a meeting of his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

*Present*

Sir Philip Meadows. M<sup>r</sup> Locke. M<sup>r</sup> Hill.

Ordered that Mr. Dampier who hath lately printed a Book of his Voyages have notice to attend the Board on Fryday next; and that he give notice to Mr. Wafer (whom he names in his said Book) to attend also at the same time: In order to Enquire of them of the State of the Country upon the Isthmus of Darien, where it hath

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 388/6 G.

PREPARATIONS FOR FIRST EXPEDITION 49

been signified that the Scotch East India Company have a design to make some settlement.<sup>1</sup>

Whitehall, July the 2<sup>nd</sup> 1697.

At a meeting of his Majestys Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

*Present*

Earle of Tankerville.	M <sup>r</sup> Locke.
S <sup>r</sup> Philip Meadows.	M <sup>r</sup> Hill.

Mr. Dampier and Mr. Wafer attending according to Summons, Their Lordships enquired of them many things relating to the Isthmus of Darien, concerning which they gave the following answers. Scotch E. Ind. Comp<sup>y</sup>.

The Spaniards in the South Sea are settled from Panama Eastward to the River of Chipelo and an Island of that name. Dampier. Wafer.

[Then comes a description of Darien, much less detailed than that which will be found in Wafer's Manuscript printed as Part II. of this section.]

After several answers and discourses of this Nature, Their Lordships told those Gentlemen that they might hereby perceive what it is they are desirous to be informed of viz<sup>t</sup>: A description of that Country and of the State of the Spanish settlements there which they therefore desired them at their leisure to draw up as perfectly as they could and they promised accordingly to do it.<sup>2</sup>

Whitehall, September the 10<sup>th</sup> 1697.

At a meeting of his Majestys Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

*Present*

Sir Philip Meadows.	M <sup>r</sup> Lockc.
M <sup>r</sup> Pollexfen.	M <sup>r</sup> Hill.

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 391/10, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 391/10. The report drawn up by Dampier and Wafer is preserved in the Public Record Office. It is entitled 'An Answer to Queries proposed by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council of Trade': it was used by Wafer, with very slight alterations, when giving information to the Company of Scotland.

Isthmus of  
Darien.

Upon intimation given of the Importance of Golden Island and of the Port upon the Main over against it, to any settlements that may be attempted to be made by any Nation whatsoever upon the Isthmus of Darien; Ordered that a Representation be drawn to lay before their Excellencies the Opinion of this Board, That a Competent number of Men be sent either from hence or from Jamaica to take possession of that Port and Island for the Crown of England.<sup>1</sup>

## II

[Surgeon Lionel Wafer, after a meeting in a London coffee-house with agents of the Darien Company, journeyed to Scotland, and was interviewed by the Directors of the Company. The handwriting of the following summary of Wafer's *Journal* bears a strong resemblance to that of Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, the Secretary of the Darien Company. As has been pointed out, Wafer's 'Short Description' is practically identical with the 'Answer to Queries' proposed by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council of Trade prepared by Wafer and Dampier.]

A Short Description of the heads of my journal concerning the Isthmus of Darien relating to the Ports, Rivers, Harbours, Islands, Bays on the North and South of that part of the Isthmus the free Indians Inhabite.

You gentlemen are pleased to propose to me which part or how much of the Countrey in or near the Isthmus of Darien is possessed by the wild Indians independent of the Spaniards.

My answer to this is that on the North Sea coast the Spaniards had no Settlement (when I was there) from the Bastiments which ly to the Eastward of Portobel till you come about 10 Leagues eastward to the mouth of the River of Darien, all that part of the Continent being possessed by Indians who were under no subjection to the Spaniards. But some of them held some Commerce with the Spaniards and others of them were at Warr with them, inviting the Privateers to their assistance against them. In the Islands are no Inhabitants of any Sort, but they are frequently

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 391/10, p. 251.

visited as well by the Indians from the Continent as by the Privateers.

On the South Seas coast the free Indians have a much longer Tract of ground fair from the River of Cheapo to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a degree South of the Equator (making in a straight line without reckoning the bending of the coast 9 or 10 Degrees of latitude). . . .

Gen<sup>l</sup>. The other Querie is concerning the Isthmus of Darien, what convenience of Settlement is there what Ports etc.

I suppose Gen<sup>l</sup> your inquiry is chiefly with reference to the north coast, and as to that I answer briefly that from Portabel Eastward to the place where the City of Nombre de Dios formerly stood, which is over against the Isles Bastimentos, the Country is under the Spaniards; but the Indians of that part have their plantation very Scattered and some distance from the Shoar: the free Indians who are continued from thence further eastward have their plantations more close together, so as to make little villages for mutual defence, having generally for that purpose a Warr-hous in each village. But neither do these Settle very near the Shoar, tho they often come down thither from the ground plat of Nombre de Dios to Point Samballas (which is a pretty remarkable promontory because the Shoar from there bends more to the Southward). It is generally a high woody coast with no River or Creek of note but only Port Scrivan which goes pretty far within the Land and is a good harbour but hath a bad entrance having several Rocks on each Side the Channel, especially on the east side, and not above eight or nine foot water, tho deeper further in; the opening at the entrance is Searee a furlong over, and the two points that make it are very capable of being fortified as is the land about the Bed of the harbour which is also very fruitfull for plantations and hath good fresh water. The land about this part is low for 2 or 3 miles, free from swamps and mangroves unless a little to the Westward.

From point Samballas the land to the Sea is pretty Low and very fruitfull rising up leasurly to the main ridge of

hills which runs the length of the Isthmus and in a manner paralel with the Shoar at some few miles distant. At the mouth of Some of the Rivers (which here are more numerous but small and shallow) the Ground is Maugrovy and Swampy and extraordinary large woods with stately timber trees which overrun the whole Coast like a continual forest ; and this tract with the neighbouring Islands affords a very delectable prospect at Sea. These Islands are called the Samballas, many in number, but small and of unequal bigness and scattered in a range of considerable length. Along the Shoar for a mile or two from it they ly in Clusters having their length divided in 2 or 3 places by navigable Channels which afford so many entranees into the long Channel or road which is made by the whole range of Islands and the adjacent Continent and affords excellent riding for any number of ships. There is everywhere good Anchorage and Islands, which are all low and flat, guarded on the outside toward the main ocean with a long Ryff of Roeks at some distance ; and these Islands afford very good water upon digging and are plentifully stored with variety of fruit trees as Spadilla, Mamees etc., besides timber trees and others, the soil being rich. Small vessels may pass among almost any of the Islands, but the Channels that cross the range admitt of large Ships, tho not those entranees at each end of the long Channel, being more Shoalic.

From the end of the Samballas a few leagues further eastward lyes the Isle of Pines, the Shoar between being much the same as that opposite to the Samballas but only that it's rocky and guarded with a Ryff of rocks off at Sea, which hinders any craft from running near to it.

The Isle of Pines is a high-land affording good trees and water and hath good anchorage on the South Side with a fair Sandy Bay to land at. Near its eastermost part lyes Golden Island, much smaller than the other, and a fair deep Channel lyes between. It is a good Champain level Island, moderately raised from the Sea by a Gentle ascent from the landing place which is a Sandy Bay on the South

Side. But the rest of the Shore is a rocky precipice, quite round and inaccessible, so that a good fortification on the Island would at once command the landing place and the road before it, which is a very good one in all respects and is landlock'd by the Island and the two points of the neighbouring Shoar of the Isthmus, which opens here into a bay: the very end of this bay is shallow and the land by it swampy, but on each side there is good land and good going on Shoar, and the mouth which faces Golden Isle is deep and of a good bottom near the easter point of it which is not above three or four furlongs distant from Golden Island, and there is a Rivulet of very good water. This Golden Isle is without Comparison the best place on all this Side of the Isthmus whereon to make a fortress to secure trade or a passage overland. East of this, doubling the promontory, you enter the wide mouth of the River of Darien. But the deep is not answerable to the entrance, though it is deep enough further in. The Shoar is still much the same and the land within very rich and fruitfull, but hath no harbours beside Carret Bay which is by report indifferent good, for I have not been there, not on the coast but on the east side of the River.

The Land of the Isthmus in general is very good, with variety of Hills and valleys, watered with the Rivers, covered with perpetual woods.

The South Sea Coast of the Isthmus hath no port between the River of Cheapo (so far as which the Spaniards come) and the Gulph of St. Michael, yet there is very good riding all along the Shoar and in general in most parts of the Bay of Panama. The Shoar here in the main is pretty high with some small Rivers that are shallow and have their outlets in drown'd mangrove land.

Tis all lowland about the Gulph of St. Michael for a great way up the Country, and there are many large and deep Rivers fall into it: the Spaniards are settled on the midmost of these, but Congo River on the north side of the Gulph and that of Sambo on the South are possess'd by the wild Indians, and among some of these or in the Country more to the Southward, we should Settle if we

would have a port on the South Sea coast to answer Golden Island for the Security of a passage overland.<sup>1</sup>

[Wafer's views on the failure of the Scottish efforts to settle in Darien are given in the Preface to the Second (1704) Edition of *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*. This edition was dedicated 'To his Grace, John, Duke of Marlborough.'

'The ensuing Treatise,' runs the Preface, 'is a Second Edition of my account of the Isthmus of Darien, with Additions; which I publish at this time not so much because the first Impression is wholly sold off, as chiefly to give occasion to the Ministry (whereof your Grace holds no small share) to think of making a settlement on one of the most valuable spots of Ground in the World, thereby either to enhance a Part of the Mines which are lodged in its Bowels, or entirely to banish thence the Enemy, who is now possessed of them; besides that by such a Settlement a free Passage by Land from the Atlantic to the South Sea might easily be effected, which would be of the greatest Consequence to the East India Trade.

'The Miscarriage, my Lord, of the Scots in this Design, can be no discouragement to England, considering that we have at hand, within our own Plantations, Provisions and every thing useful for subsistence, which they wanted: and their Escapes will furnish with Precaution, by which we may avoid their Misfortune. I can assure your Grace that a Friendship may be easily cultivated with the Natives, who are entirely in our Interest. And besides the peculiar Advantage of such a Settlement England would derive by their Vicinity to Portobel and Carthage, a ready sale for the slaves brought from the Coast of Africa.

'The French, My Lord, being now our Rivals for this Settlement, it highly imports England to prevent them, by endeavouring to become Masters of this Neck of Land, of which being once possess'd, they may command those inexhaustible Treasures, which at Pleasure give either Peace or War.

'And how easily this might be effected will easily appear, if your Grace will but please to take notice with how little difficulty Captain Rash and his Associates made themselves Masters of all those Mines with a handful of men and in a very inconsiderable space of time, according to the Particular Relation given of that Expedition inserted by Mr. Davies at the end of this book. . . . Considering the favourable Disposition of the Indians (who are entirely our Friends) and the Weakness and Diversion of our Enemies, the Spaniards, it need not be so considerable as some People are apt to apprehend. . . .']

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Miscellaneous Collection, vol. i., No. 58.



*E.—Assembling and Fitting Out*<sup>1</sup>

## I

*Feb. 25, 1697.*—Resolved that a particular Committee be appointed to project and advise upon some convenient place of settlement suitable to the present circumstances of this Company and the cargoes already bought for the first Expedition and that the consideration of that matter be referred to Mr. Woodrop and Mr. Robert Blackwood, who are desired to report their opinion particularly with relation to any land or Island in America, and how far they conceive settlement there practicable.

*March 19, 1697.*—Resolved that the two sealed papers containing Mr. Paterson's secret with relation to the designs of this Company, and Mr. Cragg's secret in making Salt be now in presence of the Directors put up in safe custody in one of the cash chests.

Resolved that a Credit of £4,000 stg. be given to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Larwood to answer the draughts upon them from Hamburg, and for expediting and sending home the first ship bought by Mr. Gibson at Amsterdam and the two ships that are in greatest forwardness at Hamburg.

## II

COMMISSION and INSTRUCTIONS from the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies to Capt. James Gibson, Commander of one of the Company's Ships, the *Rising Sun*.

You are with all convenient speed to list and take on for the Company's service as many able seamen as you think may reasonably well man the said ship for sailing her from Amsterdam to the Road of Leith.

You are also to be aiding and assisting to Capt. Rob<sup>t</sup> Pinkerton for listing and taking on for the said Company's service a suitable number of able seamen to man and carry

<sup>1</sup> The documents in Section E are from the 'Instructions of the Court of Directors' in the Darien MSS. in the Archives of the Royal Bank.

home the Company's other ship called the *Unicorn* to the Road of Leith.

You are also jointly with the said Cap<sup>t</sup> Robt. Pinkarton to list and engage for the said Company's service a suitable number of able seamen to carry home the Tender of 10 Guns (called the *Dolphin*) lately bought for the Company's use, as also the two other Tenders lately ordered to be bought for the said Company's use, all which are to come home under your command till your arrival here.

You are to take on board one or other of the said ships as you shall think most convenient, all the goods ordered to be bought by our Company's factors at Amsterdam, conform to a list sent to them for that effect, as also such other goods as any merchants or others may happen to have ready for transportation into Scotland, they paying reasonable freight for the same, of which you are to give public notice as you shall see cause.

You are to give charge and command of the said Tenders to such officers as you, with the advice of Capt. Pinkarton, shall think fit till their arrival here as aforesaid. But if it should so happen that before your departure from Amsterdam any person arrive there from Hamburgh recommended by Mr. Stevenson you are to give him the command of his choice of the said Tenders.

You are, with the advice and concurrence of our Factors at Amsterdam, to buy and take on board of the said ships such suitable quantities of provisions as may reasonably serve them till their arrival in Leith Road and no more, we having already taken the needful care of what may be necessary thereafter.

And whereas further the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have upon our request granted you a Commission or Letters of Mart, dated the third day of August, 1697, which we have already transmitted to you by the way of Hamburg, and may, we hope, be safe come to hand. You are to act pursuant thereunto with such care conduct, and discretion as is suitable to the trust reposed in you, and to the Bond of Cautionry granted to the Admiralty by the said Company on your behalf, a copy

whereof we have for your further instruction herewith transmitted unto you. In testimony of all which, these presents are signed by the said Company's Secretary and sealed with the said Company's seal in name, presence, and by order of the said Court of Directors at Edinburgh on the tenth day of September, 1697.

[On the 20th August 1697 instructions had been issued for the sending home of two of the Company's ships from Hamburg. These are printed in Dr. Hill Burton's *Darien Papers* (pp. 47 and 48), but as they form an important link in the chain of shipping documents it has been deemed advisable to insert them here.]

Commission and Instructions from the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies to Capt. William Tennent, Commander of one of the said Company's ships named the *Caledonia*.

Whereas the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have ordered his Majesty's ship the *Royal William*, commanded by Capt. Edward Burd, to carry and transport to Hamburg such seamen as are by you listed into the Company's service Therefore you are with all convenient expedition to go on board his said Majesty's ship, accompanied with all the seamen listed by you as aforesaid, and then to give your best assistance to the said Capt. Burd in making the best of your way to Hamburg, where you are immediately upon your arrival to repair to Mr. Alexander Stevenson, our Company's present Agent in that City, and deliver to him the herewith transmitted Pacquet.

You are then with all convenient speed to receive of the hands of the said Mr. Stevenson our said Company's ship named the *Caledonia*, and take upon you the charge and command thereof, with an inventory of all manner of goods, stores, provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries thereunto belonging, signed by the said Mr. Stevenson, which you are to signify by a Receipt to him under your Hand.

You are likewise to take on board of our said Company's ship all such other cargo or merchant goods as the said

Mr. Stevenson shall appoint or allow of, we having particularly advised him with relation thereunto, and while you continue at Hamburgh to follow his advice and instructions in all matters relating to the Company's service, and after having received your dispatches there, you are to make the best of your way directly home to the Road of Leith, still keeping company (as near as conveniently may be) with his Majesty's said ship the *Royal William*, and the Company's other ship called the *Instauration* commanded by Cap<sup>t</sup> John Brown. And in regard we understand that you and the said Cap<sup>t</sup> John Brown are in very good terms each with the other, we do allow you to concert and agree among yourselves as to the matter of precedence in point of command, but in case you should happen to disagree therein, you are (in presence of M<sup>r</sup> Stevenson) to determine the same by lot or cast of dice.

You are also to concert and agree with the said Cap<sup>t</sup> Brown as to an equal division of all the seamen which are to carry over the Company's said two ships from Hamburgh as aforesaid, but if you should happen any ways to differ therein, you are to be determined by the said M<sup>r</sup> Stevenson as absolute umpire for us in that matter.

And whereas further the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have upon our request granted you a Commission or Letters of Mart dated the 3rd day of August, 1697, herewith delivered unto you ; you are to act pursuant thereunto with such care, conduct, and discretion as is suitable to the Trust reposed in you and the Bond of Cautionry granted to the said Admiralty by the said Company. Signed at Edinburgh the 20th day of August, 1697, etc. in *communi forma* by

ROD. MACKENZIE, *Secretary*.

### III

Oct. 7, 1697.—A motion was made by Mr. Robert Blackwood how absolutely necessary it is that the Court come to immediate resolutions concerning the place or places to which the Company are to direct their first expedition,

what goods are ready for cargo, and what are yet wanting ; and to think of fit persons to go along upon the said expedition and to sit *de die in diem* till they come to fit resolutions on the Same.

Nov. 5, 1697.—Ordered that a further letter be written by this nights post to the factors at Amsterdam, desiring them to dispatch home the Company's ship called the *Unicorn* and put on board of her all the powder and other goods already bought and allowing foresaid factors to engage four or five discreet knowing men fit for Mates, under Mates, Pilots, etc. and also two or three Linguists who can speak Spanish.

Nov. 22, 1697.—A Representation being made that the Company's ship the *Caledonia* being now safe arrived in the River of Forth, and having a greater number of Seamen on board than what may be needful till the time of her departure on the intended expedition ; and that as regards now since the conclusion of peace Seamen may be had for less pay than formerly, it is convenient that all the Seamen on board the said ship be at once cleared off and such of them entered *de novo* as may be judged necessary to look after the same ship while she continues in the river.

Nov. 29, 1697.—A Representation being made that the Companys ship the *Instauration* being safe arrived in the river Forth ; upon a motion made for changing the name of the Company's ship the *Instauration* above mentioned, Resolved that from henceforward it shall be called the *St. Andrew*, and that the usual ceremony be executed to-morrow, it being St. Andrew's Day.

## IV

COMMISSION and INSTRUCTIONS from the Committee of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, to John Munro, Doctor of Medecin.

You are at Newcastle, London, or where else you can best, to buy a small vessel, a good Sailer, English built, not exceeding £300 Sterling price outreck and all, except

seamens wages and victual, and to provide for her an honest and expert Captain or Master not exceeding £5 or £6 Stg. wages per month, with a small cargo of spirits or other things fit for the West Indies not exceeding £50 Stg. value at most, and 12 or 16 seamen, half or two thirds English at least, or qualified according to the English Act of Parliament.

You are also to endeavour to engage and agree with Capt. Pennicook to be Captain and Commander of the *St. Andrew* for £10 at most, or failing thereof, with some other fit and qualified persons fit for an expedition, as you'll judge best, but leave this article last, discoursing or treating with him or others, and advising us before you conclude any positive agreement.

You would also engage Capt. Davies for a Chief Pilote or Mate at £5 or £6 Stg. per month.

You would also engage Mr. de la Wasser, who was Chyrurgeon to Capt. Dampier, at £3 or £4 per month.<sup>1</sup>

You would also engage 5 or 6 persons more, fit for Pilotes or Mates, who have been in those parts, and (if you can) let them be Scotsmen, and 2 or 3 good Ship Carpenters.

You are to use all endeavours for the recovery of the debts and effects assigned to Mr. Wooddrop for the Company's use by Mr. Smith, conform to the Instructions you shall receive for that effect from Mr. Wooddrop and us; and the other debts now due by Mr. Smith.

You would also see if Mr. Dazevedo can help you to one or two Jews or others that can write or translate Spanish accurately at £3, £4, or £5 per month.

If you should recover none of Mr. Smyth's effects, then advise us what you will need, and upon advice money shall be remitted or your draught answered for the value.

You have herewith given you Fourty Guineas for which you are to hold Compt.

This you would dispatch with all haste imaginable, and make as little stay as possible, for which you shall

<sup>1</sup> It was Surgeon Lionel Wafer whom the directors desired to engage.

have or be allowed £10 stg. for your charges to London and as much down and ten shillings Stg. per day during your stay there.

Signed at Edinburgh the 30<sup>th</sup> day of January  
1698 by warrant of the Court of Directors of  
the said Company,

ROBERT BLACKWOOD.

JAMES BALFOUR.

GEORGE CLARK.

WILLIAM WOODDROP.

V

*March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1698.*—A motion being made for appointing three ministers to go on the Company's intended expedition, ordered that a letter be written to Mr. Thomas James to come to town and that a letter be also written to Mr. Dunlop<sup>1</sup> to have his thoughts of other two ministers to be got ready in due time.

*March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1698.*—The Court taking into consideration some proposals of encouragement to all such as shall go on the Company's intended expedition, ordered that the said proposals be printed with all convenient speed, to the end that copies may be given or sent not only to all the overseers, assistants, and under assistants engaged in the Company's service, but also to the magistrates of the several burghs that they may publish the same, and before the 1<sup>st</sup> of April next return to this Court a list of all such persons as are willing to go on the said expedition together with an account of their names, designations, places of abode, and respective qualifications.

*March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1698.*—Ordered that the Committee of Directors take care to have a great and small seal for the Company's intended Colony cut in due time.

*March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1698.*—The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies

<sup>1</sup> William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow University.

Considering that the said Company's Ship the *Rising Sun* has been all this winter frozen in at Amsterdam, by reason whereof she cannot be expected to arrive in Scotland in due time so as to be ready for the Company's intended Expedition, Therefore the said Court of Directors do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint Mess<sup>rs</sup> Alexander Stevenson, Merchant in Edinburgh, and James Gibson, Merchant in Glasgow, to be the said Company's true, lawful, and undoubted Factors and Attorneys, with full power, commission, and authority to sell the said ship and all manner of stores or rigging thereunto belonging to the best advantage.<sup>1</sup>

*March 29<sup>th</sup>*, 1698.—Resolved that there be three Ministers sent with the Company's first Equipage to the said intended Colony. Resolved that each of these three Ministers have £10 stg. given them by the Company for buying of books or otherways as they should think fit. Resolved that each of the said three Ministers have £120 stg. per annum payable by the said Colony in the current usual pay of these parts.

*May 26<sup>th</sup>*, 1698.—The Secretary represented that he had got a warrant from the Lyon office for a Coat of Arms for the Company's intended Colony by the name of Caledonia, and had the same illuminated and engraved on a small seal, together with an iron press for making impressions.

*June 3<sup>d</sup>*, 1698.—Order'd that public advertisements be affixed in the Coffee Houses and Parliament Close as also in Glasgow appointing all persons who are to proceed the voyage to be in town against the 14<sup>th</sup> June instant.

*July 1*, 1698.—Ordered that the Lord Ruthven and Lieut.-Col. Erskine go to the Presbytery to desire that they may be pleased to appoint prayers in such Manner as they shall think fit for a fair wind and success in the intended Expedition (as being a National concern) the Ships being ready to sail some time next week.

<sup>1</sup> The *Rising Sun* sailed from the Clyde with the Second Darien Expedition in 1699.



*July 2, 1698.*—Resolved that W<sup>m</sup> Simpson be appointed a printer for the Company's intended Colony, with an allowance of forty shillings stg. per month.

Ordered that the said W<sup>m</sup> Simpson go on board the Company's ship the *Unicorn* to view the Company's printing press and letters etc. and report his opinion concerning the sufficiency thereof.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FIRST EXPEDITION, 1698-1699

#### *A.—Sailing Orders*

##### I

THESE Sailing Orders to be opened as directed by the first Sailing Orders ;<sup>1</sup> but in case of separation or necessity by the Councillors and Commander-in-Chief on board the Indian and African Company's ship the *St. Andrew*.

By the Right Hon. John Marquess of Tweeddale etc. ; James, Earl of Panmure etc., Sir Francis Scott of Thirlestane, Baronet, John Haldan of Gleneagles, and Mr. Robert Blackwood, Merchant, as being the Committee of the Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland appointed to give the sailing orders for their intended expedition.

GENTLEMEN :

By virtue of the power and authority to us given by the Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, you are hereby ordered in pursuance of your voyage to make the Crab Island, and if you find it free to take possession thereof in name of the Company ; and from thence you are to proceed to the Bay of Darien and make the Isle called the Golden Island, which lies close by the shore some few leagues to the leeward of the mouth of the great River of Darien, in and about eight degrees of north latitude ; and there make a settlement on the mainland as well as the said island, if proper (as we believe)

<sup>1</sup> 'I was ordered to sail, my orders being sealed by the Company's seal, and not to be opened until I should come in the latitude of 31 or 32 degrees, and in case of separation at Maderas.' Questions proposed to Captain Pincartone by the Judges at Sevil, and his Answers : *Darien Papers*, p. 105.

and unpossessed by an European nation or state in amity with his Majesty; but if otherways, you are to bear to the leeward and view the coast of the mainland towards Bocco de Toros and Bocco de Drago, and there make a settlement on some convenient place of that coast. Tho' in your way you are to visit the Island of Old Providence or Sancta Catalina to know the state thereof and to take possession of the same or not as you shall find convenient, for doing whereof this shall be to you a sufficient warrant. Given under our hands at Edinburgh the twelfth day of July 1698.

To the Councillors for the time being appointed for the Government of the Indian and African Company of Scotland's intended Colony of Caledonia in America.

TWEEDDALE.

PANMURE.

FRAN: SCOTT.

JO: HALDAN.

ROB: BLACKWOOD.

## II

### INSTRUCTIONS RELATIVE to the SECOND SAILING ORDERS

#### GENTLEMEN :

As soon as you are got clear of the Maderas and have opened your Second Orders directing your voyage, you are, with the advice of the Commodore and the other Sea Captains of your Fleet, to send one of your small ships to such of the French islands where you can most probably expect to procure some good and expert Pilots for the Coast of Darien, and those to whom you give the charge of that matter are carefully to inform themselves what natives of the said coasts are slaves either with the French or English. And upon notice had of any such persons, all possible means are to be used for procuring their freedom that you may carry them along with you: appointing the said small ship to meet you at Crab Island or such other place as you shall then think fit.

You are further to send a letter by the first occasion to Mr. James Dundass, now living at Amboyna-Pearth in East Jersey: he is brother to the Lord Justice Clerk and

Lord Arniston, has lived long in those countries, and has suffered much by the English ; if he come to you (as we believe upon your call he will) we desire he may be employed in a station suitable to his quality and character. For doing whereof this shall be a sufficient warrant.

Given under our hands at Edinburgh the twelfth day of July 1698.

To the Councillors in being  
for the time appointed for the  
Government of the Indian  
and African Company of  
Scotland's intended Colony of  
Caledonia in America.

TWEEDDALE.  
PANMURE.  
FRAN: SCOTT.  
JO: HALDAN.  
ROB: BLACKWOOD.

### III

INSTRUCTIONS to be opened by the Councillors of the  
intended Colony when at the Place of Settlement

GENTLEMEN :

When you are landed where your sailing orders doth direct, you are to take all possible methods to oblige the natives, and to enter into a strict correspondence with them, thereby to procure their right or consent to any settlement that you may make, for which end you are to take special care that no injury or injustice be done to them by any of your men, and if there be, that you make them full satisfaction for the same, by punishing the offenders or otherways as the nature of the offence may happen to require. And there being a grove of Bloodwood<sup>1</sup> not many leagues to the leeward of Golden Island and about two miles from the sea, nearby a river side (which we suppose to be Conception River) pretty shallow at the mouth or entry thereof, you are carefully to look after the same, and if upon trial the said wood be found to answer expectation, you are to use it to the best advantage.

And generally you are in all things to regulate yourselves according to the Act of Parliament by which our said Company is established, his Majesty's Letters Patent

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* page 90.

under the great seal of this Kingdom of Scotland past thereupon, the fundamental Constitutions of your Colony, and your instructions from the Council General of our said Company, and the Treaty made between King Charles the Second and the King of Spain bearing date at Madrid the 8<sup>th</sup> day of July 1670 ; exact copies of all which you have herewith for your further information delivered unto you. Given under our hands at Edinburgh the twelfth day of July 1698.

(Signed as before.)

IV

SAILING INSTRUCTIONS

Signals to be observed at anchor, in weighing anchor, and anchoring.

1. When the Commodore would have the fleet to unmoor in the day, he will loose his main top sail and fire one gun.

2. When the Commodore would have the fleet to weigh in the day, he will loose his fore top sail and fire one gun : then every ship in the fleet is to get under sail as soon as they can.

3. When the Commodore would have the fleet prepare to anchor, he will hoist a white ensign on his ensign-staff and fire one gun.

4. When the Commodore would have the fleet to moor in the day, he will fire one gun and hoist his mizzen top sail with the clew lines hauled up.

5. When any of the fleet happen to lose company and meet again in the day, those to windward shall lower their fore top sail and haul up their main sail, and those to leeward shall answer by lowering their main top sail and hauling up their fore sail.

6. In case of springing a leak by day, or any other disaster that disables the ship from keeping company, you are to haul up the courses and fire two guns.

7. When any one discovers land by day he is to hoist his

Jack and Ensign and keep them abroad till the Commodore answers with his.

Signals (by night) to be observed at anchor, in weighing anchor, and anchoring.

1. When the Commodore would have the fleet to unmoor in the night and ride short, he will hang out three lights, one over another, in the main top mast shrouds over the constant lights in the main top, and fire two guns, and every ship is to answer by hanging a light in the mizzen shrouds.

2. When the Commodore anchoreth in the night, he will fire two guns, and every ship is to answer by hanging a light upon his ensign staff and three guns are to be fired in a small space of time, one after another.

3. If any ship shall lose company and meet again in the night, he who hails first shall ask what ship is that, and he that is hailed shall answer 'Success,' then he who hailed first shall answer 'God grant.'

4. In case of springing a leak in the night, or any other disaster that disables their ship from keeping company, you are to hang out two lights of equal height and fire guns till you are relieved.

5. If the Commodore alter his course in the night, he 'll fire one gun.

Signals to be observed in a Fog.

1. If it grow thick and foggy weather the Commodore will continue with the same sail he had set before the fog came on and will fire every half hour a gun, which the other ships are to answer by firing of musquets, ringing of bells, and beating of drums.

2. When the Commodore would have the fleet to anchor in a fog he will fire two guns, and lest these should not be heard by some of the fleet who may be far astern, he will fire two more half an hour after.

3. If any discovers danger in a fog, which he can avoid by tacking and standing from it, he is to make the signal

for tacking in a fog, but if he should chance to strike or stiek fast he is to fire gun after gun till he thinks the ships are out of danger.<sup>1</sup>

*B.—A Journal kept from Scotland by one of the Company who sailed on board the 'Endeavour' pink; with a short account of Darien.*

*July 19, 1698.*—We fell down from Leith Road to Kirkaldy. We weighed but lay by all night.

*July 20, 1698.*—We were within two leagues of Aberdeen about 12 o'clock.

*July 23, 1698.*—There fell down a heavy fogg. We kept the Commodore Company all the night but next day at eight o'clock afternoon we losed all our Company.

*July 26, 1698.*—Tuesday we designed to goe through betwixt Orkney and Shetland but the fogg was so heavy we were engagd amongst the Orkney Islands, but the fogg breaking we gott cleare of them in the afternoon.

*July 30, 1698.*—We saw the *Unicorn* and next morning came up with her.

*August 1, 1698.*—We passed by St. Kilda.

*August 4, 1698.*—We passed by the Baskets in Ireland.

*August 20, 1698.*—Saturday we were in Sight of Madera. Since we came from Scotland our most northerly latitude was 61. From the day we met with the *Unicorn* till within two days before we came in we had the fairest wind could be expected.

*Aug. 21, 1698.*—We came in betwixt the Sisters (three small barren Islands) and the Madera shore. We perceived a bigg ship of 50 odd guns in the road of Funchall, a chief town in the Island. Cap<sup>t</sup> Pinkerton therefore sent in his pinnace to Santa Cruz, the second town in the Island, two or three leagues eastward to Funchall to enquire what

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<sup>1</sup> The Sailing Orders of this Section are from the 'Instructions of the Court of Directors' in the Archives of the Royal Bank.

ship it was. Twas there told him she was a Genoese fraughted thither by the Portuguese. The people of the place enquired of them what we were and how many men we had. Twas told them we were Scots merchantmen and had 300 men aboard. This alarmed them it seems though they took no notice of it then; for so soon as the pinnace was gone they sent to the Governor of Madera who lives in the Castle of Funchall to give him notice that the big ship was a Flemish built vessel of 50 guns and 300 men and believed her to be an Algerine, the *Endeavour* they took to be some poor English pink bound for the East Indies that had fallen in the Algerine's way and had been taken by her. Upon this advice sent by the people of Santa Cruz the Governor, who was as much alarmed as themselves, sent order immediately to the Genoese (for she was under Portuguese command) to make ready and go out and fight her. In the meantime that they were making all ready Capt. Pinkerton sent out his pinnace to give her an account what we were. The men were kindly entertained and the Captain sent a pilot to bring us in and immediately went ashore to tell the Governor what he had heard and done, that we were Scots merchants bound for Africa. He said moreover that he was fully satisfied we were no rogues and that we seemed to be in very good order for it was a handsome boat came aboard of him and that all the pinnace crew had the Unicorn head richly embroidered and silver on their caps. This startled him a little again for he thought that was not the equipage of merchantmen, besides he was told by the English that our country could never produce such a ship though at the same time [he had been told] who they were and where agoing. While they were talking Cap<sup>t</sup> Pinkerton saluted the Castle with 12 guns and was answered with as many. Then he came ashore himselfe with Capt. Malloek. Capt. Malloek and he went to the Governor to give an account what they were and whence they came, and whither bound, who told him they came from Scotland and were going to Africa. They immediately came away and went to the English Consul's house and the five land Captains



along with them. When they were discoursing one with another there was nothing but Captain such a one and Captain such a one: this was told the Governor and it afforded him a new doubt what the other five Captains could be. It looked like a [word illegible], for they were all in good equipage. So the Governor thought it convenient to put a sentry on the boat. After dinner they got notice of this and Captain Mallock went and satisfied the Governor, so the sentry was discharged. This had like to have been a big mistake if our peoples ability had not prevented it before they knew the danger of sending their pinnace aboard the Genoese that Sunday.

This Genoese was fraughted hither by the Portuguese and all her eargo was a Bishop and a bride. The bride was married by proxie at Lisbon to a gentleman in the Island and came hither to get the marriage confirmed. It is reckoned that the charges of the marriage stood the gentleman £15000 sterling, and yet the woman was no beauty for all that.

*August 25, 1698.*—At dinner we sighted two ships coming in, a big and a small. The big one we supposed to be one of ours and the small one the *Dolphin*. But the big one was another Genoese of 50 guns come likewise with a bride from Lisbon, but a cheaper and better favoured than the first; the other was a small English ketch.

*August 26, 1698.*—We spied the rest of our Company coming in and next morning Capt. Pinkerton and Capt. Mallock went out in the *Unicorn's* pinnace to meet them, not only to pilot them in, but also to tell them what they had said to the Governor. When they came to an anchor they saluted the Castle and were civilly welcomed. We stayed about 8 days more there. Madera is a very high land and may be seen 20 leagues or more off at sea. There is no lower ground on the Island, yet by the seaside it is for two or three miles a continued Vineyard. The people were originally Portuguese Bandits and retain some of their manners for they are very thievish. The English here live very well, the rest but unfavourable. I saw no

animal there I had not seen before, but lizards which are there in so great plenty, that you can hardly get down your food for them.

*Sept. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1698.*—We weighed and were under the sign of Cancer by the 10<sup>th</sup> of the month at which time the usual ceremony of dueking from the Yards arm was performed on those that could not pay their tropiek bottle. All this time we had a bright and constant trade wind which lasted three days more but afterwards we had it more variable than is usual in that place of the sea.

*Sept. 28, 1698.*—We made Descada, a small high island, about a league in length, and as much in breadth. It is full of trees, but whether it affords water or not I know not. It is uninhabited. Next morning we were between Antego and Montserat, belonging to the English, both pretty large and mountainous. Antego is peopled with English for the most part, and Montserat by a mixture of English and Irish. Their product is Sugar and Tobaeo. We were in the afternoon close by Redonda, a small rock about a mile long, inhabited only by Noddies and Boobies. When we were some leagues from Redonda, we saw at the same time Antego, Montserat, Redonda, Nieves, St. Christophers and Statia. Then we sailed close by Nieves, it bearing North of us; it is a small well peopled Island, its product is Sugar. They hoisted their Flag at the Harbour, and we shew'd them the Company's Colours. St. Christophers is a large Island and ill peopled; it belongs half to the English and half to the French. Night parted us from these Islands and next day, which was the 30<sup>th</sup>, we came in sight of Santa Crux, belonging to the Spaniards. When we were within four leagues they held a Counsell. The *Unicorn* and *Snow* were sent to St. Thomas, a small Island belonging to the Danes; it is a free port, and they say is well fortified. We went on to the Southward of the Island, and next day, being Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> we were, about 12 a clock past the S.W. Corner. It is very level towards the South. That night we got a sight of Crab Island and next day, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, we came into it and sent some of

our people ashore and took possession of it in the Companys name.

*October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1698.*—We stood to the Leeward, hearing there was a good Harbour there; when we came we saw the Danes' Colours flying on the shore, for the Governour of St. Thomas had sent 14 men and a Captain to take possession of it in the King of Denmark's name. Our Counsell sent to know his business there, and he told them this, but we found that we had taken possession of the place before they came from S<sup>t</sup> Thomas. They gave in their protest, yet seem'd to be glad enough of our neighbourhood. We had, notwithstanding, our flagg upon the shore all the time we stay'd, with 100 men, and Capt. M'Lean Governour. They stayed till we were gone, but would certainly march next day, otherwise the Spaniards of Porto Rico would not miss to take them off.

*Oct. 6<sup>th</sup>, 1698.*—Capt. Pinkerton and the *Snow* came in from St. Thomas, with old Capt. Alison along with them for a Pilot. On the 8<sup>th</sup> we left this place and on the 17<sup>th</sup> made Nostra Signora della Popa. We lay after that bubbening along the Coast untill the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of November, generally losing by night what we had gain'd all day. Crab Island is about 6 leagues long, and in some places 5 broad, the Soil is very good. Its all full of trees; all the South side is full of Bays very fit for anchoring in, but the best of all is to the Leeward, where the Dane hoisted his Colours. It would have been worth our while to possess it, had we not been coming to a better Country. It has this inconvenience, that nothing but strength of men, or Peace with everybody, can render it secure. It is called Crab Island from the multitude of Land-Crabs there.

*November 3<sup>d</sup>, 1698.*—We anchored before Golden Island, and sent in our Pinnacle to the Bay. The natives had hoised a White Flag in sign of Peace, and told us a great many Stories of Capt. Swan, Capt. Davies and others, for they took us for English, by reason of our red Fly; but we took no notice of the men they nam'd. At last they asked us our Business; we told them we design'd to settle

amongst them and to be their Friends. They told us we were very welcome, and that by prediction they had expected us these two years ; for they say that two years ago it was foretold them that a people should come and live amongst them, that would treat them civilly and teach them good manners. We conversed some time with them, and after viewing the Harbour came aboard.

*November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1698.*—We came into the great Harbour of Caledonia. It is a most excellent one, for it is about a league in length from N.W. to S.E. It is about half a mile broad at the mouth, and in some places a mile and more farther in. It is large enough to contain 500 sail of ships. The greatest part of it is land-lock'd, so that it is safe, and cannot be touch't by any Wind that can blow. The Harbour and the Sea makes the Land that lyes betwixt them a Peninsula. There is a point of the Peninsula at the mouth of the Harbour, that may be fortify'd against a Navy. This Point secures the Harbour, so that no Ship can enter but must be within Reach of their Guns. It likewise defends half of the Peninsula ; for no Guns from the other side of the Harbour can touch it, and no Ship carrying Guns dare enter for the Breastwork at the Point. The other side of the Peninsula is either a Precipice, or defended against Ships by Shoals and Beaches, so that there remains only the narrow neck that is not naturally fortified ; and if 30 leagues of a wilderness will not do that, it may be artificially fortified 20 ways. In short it may be made impregnable, and there is bounds enough within it, if it were all cultivated, to afford 10,000 Hogsheads of Sugar every year. The Soil is rich, the Air good and temperate, the Water is Sweet, and everything contributes to make it healthful and convenient. The Product of this place, I mean in the Harbour and Creeks herabouts is Turtle, Manatee, and a vast variety of very good small Fish, from the bigness of a Salmon to that of a Perch. The Land affords Monkeys of different sorts, Wild Deer, Indian Rabbits, Wild Hog, Parrots of many kinds, Parakites, Macaws, Pelicans, and a hundred more Birds we have got no name to. There are moreover Land-

Crabs, Souldiers, Land-Turtle, Lizards, Guanhas, baek-Lizards and Scorpions : I had almost forgot Patridges, Pheasants, and a kind of Turkey. All the Birds in this Country are beautiful, but none of them that I could observe have any Notes. We have a Monkey aboard that chirms like a Lark ; it will never be bigger than a Rat.

This place affords legion of monstrous Plants, enough to confound all the Methods of Botany ever hitherto thought upon. However, I found a shift to make some specimens, and that is all I can do. I say some specimens, because if I should gather all, 'twould be enough to load the *St. Andrew*, for some of their leaves exceed three Ells in length and are very broad ; besides these Monsters, reduceable to no tribe, there are here a great many of the European kindred (but still something odd about them), as *Lingua Cervina* of different kinds, *Felix* of different kinds, *Polypodium*, several of the *Plantae Papilionaceae*, *Musci*, *Fungi*, *Convolvuli*, and a great many more I cannot now remember.

Now come we to their people. The men are generally very civil and sagacious, have all of them good Faees, are of low Stature, but very well built ; they are of a eopper Colour and have black hair ; they us'd to go naked, but are now as well cloath'd as our selves ; they wear a plate of Gold in the Nose, and a great many rows of Beads about their Neck and Wrists. . . . The Women are generally the most pitiful like things that ever man saw ; their habit differs from the men, for they ordinarily wear a ring in their Nose ; they have Petticoats and a Veil over their Faee. They are under no formal Government, but every Captain commands his own River, Bay, or Island where he lives ; the greatest of them all is one Captain Ambrosio : he commands particularly the country about the Sambaloes point, but when he pleases he can levy all the men betwixt that and the Gulf, about twenty leagues. There is another Captain, Pedro, that lives in the House with Ambrosio, and is his Nephew and Son-in-law ; there is a third Captain, Andreas, that commands the River *das Armas* ; a fourth Captain, Brandy, that commands

about the Golden Island; a fifth Captain, Andreas, that commands the Country adjoining to our Settlement; and a sixth Captain, Pedro, his Consort; a Seventh Captain, Paçigo, who commands at Carret Bay; and Captain Diego that commands the Gulph. Ambrosio seems to be the greatest, and Diego next, both old men; they are all very much our friends and fond of us. All have been frequently here except Captain Diego, who is Goutyish. Some of these Captains wear the Scots flag in their Canoas. There is no such thing as a King or Emperor of Darien, nor, so far as we can gather from all the chief men hereabout, has been these 40 or 50 years. The old men remember such a man; they say he was a tyrant, would take as many wives as he pleased and allow them but one, and therefore they cut him off. This derogates much from the Reputation of the History of the Buccaneers. If there were such a man, he has been an Indian made Emperor by themselves, I mean by the Buccaneers. This Country certainly affords Gold enough, for besides that the Natives constantly assure us that they know several Gold mines on this side; besides that, I say, the Plates they wear in their Noses, and the quantity of Gold that is amongst them, is enough to persuade any man of the truth of it. There was one night aboard here some Indians that had a hundred ounces of gold about them.

We are certainly much bound to Providence in this affair; for as we were searching for the place we were directed to, we found this, and though the Privateers had been so often at Golden Island, and though English, Dutch, and French had been all over this Coast, from Portobelo to Cartagena, yet never one of them made the discovery; even the Spaniards themselves never knew of this place. Besides, for as great a secret as we thought the project, it was known all the West Indies over, and yet it was not in their power to crush it. At Madera they seemed to know it; at St. Thomas I'm sure they knew it; at Portobelo their intelligence was so good that they knew the names of all our Councillors and Captains of Ships before we landed, and had that particualar observation that

there were four Roberts among them. Our circumstances are in some respects very good, for we have advice by the way of Portobelo that there is a great rebellion in Mexico, and Captain Diego, and all the Indians about him are at present at war with the Spaniards. Captain Ambrosio is going to his assistance, and that will divert them on that side ; but which is better than all, that we are now in a posture of defence against all the Spanish force in America. I have seen already Dutch, French, and English all at the same time in our Harbour, and all of them wonder what the rest of the world have been thinking on, when we came hither to the best Harbour of America, in the best place of it. Capt. Long came in eight days after, and I believe we were a great eyesore to him, tho he said nothing. He commanded the *Rupert Prize*, a small English Man of War, fitted out by the King, upon what Design we know not, but he pretends it was to search for a Silver Wrack ; he was on the coast a month before, sounding it ; and conversing with the Natives, he put ashore men in some places, to take possession for the King of Great Britain, but none of them within fifteen leagues of us. Hearing by the Natives that we were here, he came in with his Long-boat, as he said to see us, but I believe it was only to know the certainty of what he feared was too true. He had told all the Indian Captains that he came only to try their inclinations, and that there was a great fleet coming with a great many people to settle amongst them, and defend them against their enemies ; he meant the English that were to come by his direction ; but our Fleet coming within a month after, they all look't upon us to be the people he spoke of ; so that whatever presents he made them before that time, was as much for our advantage as if ourselves had given them. He pretends to be a Conjuror and to foretell things ; but that was the truest Prophecy ever he spoke, though he knew not whom he spoke of.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Royal Society, Guard Book No. 7, Part I. ; and *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. xxii, for the years 1700 and 1701 (London, 1702). See note on the Darien Manuscripts in the Archives of the Royal Society.

*C.—Captain Pennycook's Journall from the Madera Islands to New Caledonia in Darien*

*Sept<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>, 1698.*—We weighed from Madera road, the Governor having been very civill to us. I gave him 15 Guns, the *Unicorn* 13, and the *Caledonia* 11. All which he particularly returned with two Lesse, which is as much as he gives to any of the King's Shippis.

*Sept<sup>r</sup> 5, 1698.*—We saw some flying Fish.

*Sept<sup>r</sup> 10, 1698.*—This morning we pass'd the Tropick of Cancer. I caused perform the usuall ceremonies, by Ducking Such as had not past it before, and would not pay the usuall Forfeit, viz<sup>t</sup> a Bowl of Punch.

*Sept<sup>r</sup> 17, 1698.*—The *Pink* sprung her foremast. Wee saw a Ship to windward about 2 Leagues, which hoisted French colours, which I answered with ours. The French Man kept us company, but at a great distance. We judge he is bound to Martenico, and on the 19<sup>th</sup> we lost him.

*Sept<sup>r</sup> 28, 1698.*—On the forenoon we made Disceadoe.

*Sept<sup>r</sup> 30, 1698.*—At Six in the Morning we made the Islands Antego and Montserat; at noone the Island Rodando, a small Island or rather Rock like the Bass; it bore S.S.E. halfe a mile distant; and the Island Nevis N.W. and by W. 4 Leagues Dis<sup>t</sup>.

*Oct. 1, 1698.*—At six last night the west end of St Christopher bore N. half E. distant 4 Leagues. This day at noone the S.E. End of Santa Crux bore W. half Southerly 7 Leagues.

*Oct. 2, 1698.*—This day the Council met aboard of me, where it was resolv'd that Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton and the *Unicorn* with the *Snow*; and Mr. Patersone, should be immediatly dispatch'd for the Island of St Thomas (being a Free Port of the Danes) in order to gett Pilots for the Maine, and what Intelligence was possible of the state of Darien. Accordingly at 6 last night they parted from us, wee



steering directly for Crab Island, which we made in the Morning bearing N.W. half North 5 Leagues.

*Oct. 3, 1698.*—This morning wee went ashore, and took possession of the Island in name of the Company of Scotland Trading to Affrica and the Indies. Wee left some of our People ashore all night ; and it being Like to blow, Stood to Sea.

*Oct. 4, 1698.*—In the forenoone our men came on Board, and wee Stood away to Leeward (where is the best Anchoring). About half an hour past 4 in French mans Bay, wee saw a Sloop with Danish Colours with a Tent ashore ; we immediatly stood in, and anehor'd by her. I sent to know what she was, and her businesse there. They made answer, They were Danes with a Governor and 15 Men sent by the Governor of S<sup>t</sup> Thomas immediatly upon the *Unicorn's* Arrivall there, to assert the King of Denmark's Right to the Island, and protest against our having any thing to doe there. But we were ashore in the Island before they parted from S<sup>t</sup> Thomas. However they offered their protest, as did the aforesaid Governor to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton. This they owned was matter of Form and that they were obliged so to doe to please the Court, but wish'd with all their Hearts we would Settle there, for then they would have a bulwark betwixt them and the Spaniards of Porto Rico, who are very troublesom Neighbours.

*Oct. 5, 1698.*—This day the *Unicorn* arrived with the *Snow*, and brought one Allitson along with them, who freely offer'd to goe along with us to Golden Island. This man is one of the Eldest Privateers now alive. He commanded a small ship with Capt<sup>n</sup> Sharp when they went into the South Sea. He had likewise been at the taking of Panama, Portobello, Chagra, and Cartagena. All the while we stay'd here I had a Tent ashore with the Company's Colours flying on it, and 60 men for a Guard where we fill'd our Water.

*Oct. 7, 1698.*—At 4 in the Morning we weighed and

gott under Sail. We left one Michael Pearson behind, who ran away from the Tent to the Woods.

*Oct. 17, 1698.*—At 10 in the forenoon we made Punta de Canea with the high land of Nostra Signiora della Popa, and on the 22<sup>nd</sup> at noone the Island Fuerte, E. by N. 5 Leagues.

*Oct. 27, 1698.*—At 8 at night I anchor'd in a fair Sandy Bay about 3 Leagues to the westward of the Gulph of Darien. There came two canoes aboard with Severall Indians, who were very free, and not at all Shy. They spoke some few words of English and indifferent Spanish. We gave them victualls and Drink, which they used very freely, especially the last. In their Cupps wee endeavoured to sound them, who told us they had been expecting us these two years, and that we were welcome: that all the Country was at Warr with the Spaniards. They gott drunk and lay aboard all night. In the morning when they went away, we gave each of them a hatt and a few Looking Glasses and knives, with which they seem'd extremely pleas'd.

I sent in my boat to Carret Bay, which is about two Leagues to the Westward of the Place that we anchor'd last in, to view it and endeavour to gett Intelligence of the Golden Island, we being at a Losse; for none of us knew the Land. Here we met with the Indians that had been on board of us, who informed us that Golden Island was 5 Leagues farther to the Westward.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 1, 1698.*—In the forenoone we anchor'd within half a Mile of Golden Island. In the afternoon the Counsell Mett and afterwards we went in our Boats to sound all about the Golden Island, which we did with great Exactnesse, but found it not convenient for our Shipp, there not being room enough about the point of the Maine for Shipp of our length to swing. There is room enough near the Island; but their we might be attack'd by the greatest Shipp either from East or West, for they can come in both ways. As we went to Sound we saw a flagg of Truce wafted in the bottom of the Bay. We went there; and

found about 20 Indians with bows and Lances, but upon our approach they unstring'd their bows in token of Freindschip. We made one of our men swim ashore while we lay off upon our Oars, to know their meaning. They desir'd us to come ashore, but we did not think it fitt. They told us two of their greatest Captains would be aboard of us to-morrow, so we parted.

*Nov. 2, 1698.*—This morning came aboard one Captain Andreas with 10 or 12 men with him. He inquir'd the reason of our coming hither, and what we design'd. We answer'd our Designe was to settle among them, if they pleas'd to receive us as Freinds: that our Businesse was cheiffly Trade, and that wee would supply them from time to time with such Commodities as they wanted, at much more reasonable Rates than either Spaniards or any others can doe. He enquired if we were freinds to the Spaniards. We answer'd that we had noe Warr with any Nation: that if the Spaniards did offer us noe affront or Injury, we had nothing to say to them; but if otherwise, would make open Warr. They seem'd pleas'd withall, still beleiving us to be Privateers, and our Designe on the South Seas. He began to run out in the praise of Captain Swan and Captain Davies, two English Privateers, who he said were his particular Freinds, and whom he knew in the South Sea. We receiv'd it coldly and told him we were on noe Such designe—beleiving he did it only to pump us. We gave him a hatt ty'd with Gold with some other toys; soe wee parted for the time. He (as generally those People are) is of a small Stature. In his Garb affects the Spaniard as alsoe in the Gravity of his carriage. He had a red loose Stuff coat on with an old hatt and a pair of Drawers, but noe Shoes or Stockins.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 3, 1698.*—Yesterday in the afternoon we went in our Boats to sound a bay about 4 Miles to the East of Golden Island and found it a most Excellent Harbour. The Harbour is within a great Bay lying to the westward of it, made by Golden Island and a Point of the Land bearing from thence E. about a League. From the



travelling wife. He has in all four. Polygamy being here allowed, every one may have as many as he can maintain. He was Still on the Pump as to our Designs. But when he found our Accompts all of a piece, he told us that the English, after they had been very freindly with them, had severall times carried away their people; and that was the Reason why Capt<sup>n</sup> Pedro, whom he promised to bring with him when last here would not venture aboard till he were better assur'd of our Integrity. He likewise told us that there were some French men who lived among the Indians towards the Sambaloes to the Westward.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 4, 1698.—This forenoon we weighed and gott into the Harbour by an order of Counsell. There were 40 men from each ship sent ashore to cleare away and make Hutts for the Sick men.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 5, 1698.—We sent all our Sick men ashore and 30 more from each Ship to clear away. The Counsell mett and went to view the most proper Place for a Fort for our present Security.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 6, 1698.—This morning the Counsell mett on board the *Unicorn*, where all the Land Captains being consulted, it was resolved to build a battery on the west side of the Entrance into the Harbour, and that all hands should be employed, in order to clear a way to it.

This morning arrived a Canna with a Frenchman, two Creolines of Martenico and four Indians, as also a Periago with Capt<sup>n</sup> Ambrosio and Pedro who live 16 Leagues to the Westward. These Frenchmen have lived 4 years with these Indians and one of the most sensible of them speaks their Language perfectly, who gives us the following Accompt viz. That the stories of an Emperor or King Paico, Rose, and Golden Cape were mere fables. But he says that about 50 yeares agoe one who by his valour and conduct against the Spaniards had acquired soe great a Reputation, that they made him Commander in Chief of all their united forces. But he had noe sooner gott the Power into his hands than he became a most dangerous

and barbarous tyrant, and often for his Pleasure would cutt off the heads of his bravest and best Captains, and what yet troubl'd them more, he would suffer noe man besides himself to have more than one wife, which they by noe means would endure. Soe they set upon him in the night and murder'd him. Since which they have never allow'd any one to be greater than his Fellows: only in time of Danger the wisest and bravest of them within their Severall Districts is chosen for their Captain for the time. And those now allow'd to be soe, are as follows. Capt<sup>n</sup> Diego commands from the bottom of the Gulph of Uraba on this side of Carrett Bay and has about 3000 under his Command. He is esteem'd the most powerful among them. He has been at warr with the Spaniards about a twelve month agoe. The occasion was this: the Indians having found 3 Gold mines within his jurisdiction, two small ones and one very great, consulted with themselves what to doe; and being sensible that they did not understand how to work them they concluded to discover them to the Spaniards, provided they would allow them such a share of the Profitt. This was agreed and faithfully promised to by the Spaniards, but no sooner had the Indians shown them the Mines but they shutt up two of them and put strong Guards on them, and fell to work the Third; of which the Indians demanding their share, they beat and abus'd them, calling them their slaves and threatned to kill them, which provok'd them soe, that a little time after they seiz'd upon 20 Spaniards with 3 Preists and cutt them to Pieces.

The next to Capt<sup>n</sup> Diego is one Capt<sup>n</sup> Pacigo of Carret Bay. He is one of the Indian elergymen and commands that part of the coast which lies betwixt Carret Bay and Golden Island. He is but a small Captain and is brother in law to Andreas. The Peninsula which we possess and which we found uninhabited, lyes between him and Capt<sup>n</sup> Andreas. From Golden Island to the River Pinas about a League to the Westward of the Isle of Pinas, Andreas and his Brother Pedro command. They are greater than Pacigo, but not so powerfull as Diego, yett

their united Interests by consanguinity together with the vicinity of their Commands to our Settlements, makes their Freindship of greater consequence. These People have had for Severall years past a good correspondence with the Spaniards, and have suffer'd some of them to live among them to give an Accompt by Land to Panama from time to time who were on the Coast. About two Months before our Arrivall here Cap<sup>tn</sup> Ambrosio, who has the Second Command, forced them to enter into the Common Confederacy and cut off 10 Spaniards who lived upon the Main of Golden Island. There is near us amongst them a high Mountain wherein they assure us are severall mines of Exeellent Gold. The Spaniards are very sensible of this, and from time to time have taken great care by fair or foul means never to let them be open, well knowing that being soe nigh the North Sea, they should have the least share of them. This Capt<sup>n</sup> Andreas hath often been at Panama and the South Sea. The Spaniards beleving he might be usefull to them, made him a Cap<sup>tn</sup> by giving him a Stick tipt with Silver, upon which he values himselfe above others, and that has we beleive endear'd him so to their Interest. Yet the Love of ones Country and Liberty is so Naturall that we have good reason to believe that as soone (being a very sensible cunning Fellow) as he finds we are able to protect him, he will heartily joyne To our Interest. From the River Pinas Ambrosio commands Bononos, Mango, and Carasso to the Samballoes. He is a man about 60 but strong and vigorous, a mortall Enemy to the Spaniards, with whom he hath had a Long Warr. He is esteemed the bravest and most successfull of all their Commanders. He has a son in law, one Pedro, a brisk little fellow, who speaks good Spanish, having been a Slave to them at Panama for severall years who cannot forgett nor forgive their usage to him. He likewise speaks good French, having liv'd for some time at Petit Guavas. He hath as much of the French Gayety as Andreas of the Spanish Gravity and is a great Freind to the French, who they are made beleive designe speedily to settle among them, and we have reason to beleive the

same if we had not prevented them. This Pedro is highly esteem'd by Ambrosio and all his People, whose Daughter he has to wife, as also two of her Daughters by himselfe, which is allowed here, yet it seems it 's beleived a Crime, since if they have any Children during the Life of their Mother, they are burnt alive, I meane the Children, which is very strange that the Innocent should suffer for the Guilty. They press'd us very hard to come and live by them, as also jointly to make Warr against the Spaniards, whom they would engage upon the forfeiture of their heads if we would assist them with a 100 armed men and as many arms with 2000 of their own People, to drive them not only out of the mines, which are but 3 days Journey from the Place, but ev'n out of Panama itselfe. We gave them fair Words, and promised to goe to the Westward with them to view the Coast, and if there were any convenient harbour for our Shipp, wee would be their Neighbours.

The Sambaloes to the River Conception is commanded by one Corbet, who is altogether in the French Interest, and we have the following Accom<sup>t</sup> of him: About 7 yeares agoe, there being abundance of Privateers about the Sambaloes, this Corbett and they contracted a Particular Freindship, and he did them many good offices. They in return told him, if he would goe to Petit Guavas, the Governor there, Mons<sup>r</sup> du Cass, would make him amends for all his favours to them. He resolves upon it, and away he goes in a French vessel, and chane'd to be taken by an English Privateer and carryed to Jamaica, where he and two Indians were sold as Slaves. As soon as Mons<sup>r</sup> du Cass was inform'd of this, he sends to the Governor of Jamaica, who at his Desire releas'd them, and sent them to Petit Guavas, from whence they took the opportunity of a Privateer bound to the Sambaloes, and returned home. They were Prisoners in Jamaica 7 months. Corbet continued rambling with the Privateers and took another trip to Petit Guavas, where he had not been long before Mons<sup>r</sup> Pointy arriv'd, with whom he went to Cartagena, who gave him goods to the value of



2000 Crowns. Mons<sup>r</sup> du Cass who accompanied Mons<sup>r</sup> Pointy in that Expedition, gave him a Commission as Generall of all the French and Indian forces on the Coast of Darien, to take, sink, and destroy the Spanish or any other Enemy. Notwithstanding this Commission, both the French and most sensible Indians have noe opinion either of his Capacity, Courage, or Constancy, for he hath a correspondence under hand with the Spaniards that they doe not like. But Ambrosio, whom all owne to be the most daring and brave, as well as the most faithfull to his promise, keeps him within bounds.

Next to Corbet from the River Conception is one Nicola, who speaks Spanish as well as a Naturall Spaniard, having been for about 12 years in his youth among them. He likewise reads and writes it perfectly, and understands the Affaires of Europe perfectly well, which none of the Rest have any Notion of. He is said to be wise and brave, extreamly beloved by his people for his Justice and good Nature. This Nicola was in good terms with the Spaniards till about a 12 month agoe. A trifle made him break with them and it was thus. He had got an Excellent French Fuzie from a Buccancer, which he valued extreamly. It was somewhat out of order, nor did he know how to putt it to Rights again. A Spanish Don from Porto Bello being at his house, told him he would carry it with him and gett it mended for him. The Don show'd it to the Governor, who liked it extreamly, and said it was too good for a Heathen who kept correspondence with the French. So he order'd an old rusty match Lock to be sent in place of it. This he took so heynously that he fell upon the Spaniards wherever he found them, and cutt them off; nor is he to be reconcil'd to them. Thus we parted with the French men, whom we treated with all possible civility. They went home to Ambrosio's, and promised to returne in 5 or 6 days.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 10, 1698.—Capt<sup>n</sup> Andreas din'd with us with his first wife and Sister. They are generally of a small stature as well as the men. The ornaments they weare are corall about their necks and arms with a large massy ring of

Gold through the gristle that divides the Nostrills. They are very obsequious to their husbands, who at the same time are very indulgent to them.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 13, 1698.*—We saw a Ship standing to the Westward which we believed to be Capt<sup>n</sup> Long in the *Rupert Prize*, who we heard was in the Gulph of Uraba. On the 15<sup>th</sup> Capt<sup>n</sup> Long came in his Boat to visit us, and the day after dined aboard of me. We could by noe meanes find him the conjurer he gives himself for.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 17, 1698.*—Capt<sup>n</sup> Long dined aboard Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton. The Counsel order'd that Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton, Major Cuninghame, Mr Mackay and I should goe with 2 Long Boats and two Pinaces well mann'd and armed as far as Ambrosio's, being 16 Leagues to the Westward to survey the Coast and know whether there might be any more convenient Place for a Settlement. In the Evening Capt<sup>n</sup> Long's Boat went to his Ship which lay at the Isle of Pines.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 19, 1698.*—At 8 this morning we sett out to the Westward with 5 days provision, and about four in the afternoon gott aboard of Capt<sup>n</sup> Long, where we stay'd all night, it blowing hard, soe that our Long Boats could not gett hither till next morning.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 20, 1698.*—About 8 in the morning our Long Boats gott up together with Capt<sup>n</sup> Pedro in his Periagua. Whatever the King or Government of England may have found in Capt<sup>n</sup> Long we know not, but to us in all his conversation he appear'd a most ridiculous shallow-pated fellow, laught at and despis'd to his very face by his owne officers and continually drunk. We kept him warm all the while he stayd with us in order to find out his Designes. He has a very large and ample Commission, which obliges all Governors of Islands, Captains of Ships, etc. to be aiding and assisting to him in case he finds any wrack. This he gives out to have been his Principall Designe. But if that was all, I know not what he should doe on this Coast, where he had been a month before us. He touch'd

first at the Sambaloes ; and from thence went directly to the Gulph of Uraba where he stay'd about 3 weekes : thence came to the Westward and anchor'd at the Isle of Pines. He owned, and soe did all his People, that his boat had not soe much as been ashore at any Place betwixt the Gulph and the Isle of Pines, nor had he any Conversation with these People, soe that he can have noe manner of pretence to our Settlement. This night we lay in a little Bay about 2 Leagues to the Westward of the River of Pines.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 21, 1698.*—In the morning we weigh'd and sound'd all the Coast along and about noon found a most excellent harbour about 4 Leagues to the Westward of where we lay all night, capable of containing 10,000 sail of Shipp's. It is made by an Elbow of the Main to the Eastward and a Range of Keys to the Westward about 2 Leagues. To one of these, called Lawrence Key, the greatest ship in England may lay her side. Here the Privateers used to careen ; but the inconvenience of the Place is that the Shipp's may not only come in from the East and the West, but between severall of the keys, soe that it cannot be defended without a great many Forts as well as men. After having survey'd this Bay, we gott to the River Coco. About 4 o'clock we landed and went to Ambrosios house, which is a good League from the waterside. It stands upon the Bank of the River with about 10 or 12 Lesser houses about it. When we came near Ambrosio advanced about 50 Paces with 20 followers all clothed in white loose frocks, with Fringes round the Bottom, and Lances in their hands. He saluted us kindly, and gave us a Calabash full of Liquor almost like Lambs wool, which they call Mislow : its made of Indian corn and Potatoes. Before the house 20 paces was smooth and clean. The House was about 90 foot long, 35 broad, and 30 in height : it was curiously thatched with Palmetto Royall and over that Cajan Leaf. The floor was of firm Earth, very smooth and clean. The sides were of large canes about the bigness of a man's Legg. In this house Lives Ambrosio and Pedro with both their Families, in all about 40 Persons. There was an old

woman who cook'd their victualls, and was very stirring about the House. She seem'd to us to be but about Sixty (she is Ambrosio's Grandmother), but upon asking her age, the Frenchman told us she was 120. We could not beleive it, and were persuaded they were mistaken in the computation of time. He assur'd us not, and for an undeniable proof, show'd us the 6<sup>th</sup> Generation of this woman's Body in the House, which was indeed most surprisening to us, and yet more when he assur'd us it was common among them to live to 150 and 160 years. Yet it is observed those of them who converse often with Europeans and drink our strong Liquors are but short-lived.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 22, 1698.*—In the Morning we had Plantanes, potatoes, and wild hog drest after their way for breakfast, and after Ambrosio and Pedro went out with their Guns to kill some fowl for us. Pedro return'd with some partridges the largest and the best ever I saw, being bigger than our Capons and exceeding Sweet. Wee were afraid it would be late, and soe took our Leaves ere Ambrosio return'd, Pedro and the Frenchman conveying us to the Water side. We lay this night at the Eastermost of the Keys we mentioned before. And to-morrow by noon to the Isle of Pines and at night aboard. We found Capt<sup>n</sup> Long sail'd the Sunday before.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 26, 1698.*—The Counsell mett, where Capt<sup>n</sup> Long's sudden departure being consider'd, it was resolv'd the *Pink* should be sent home to Seotland with all possible speed. Likewise it was order'd that Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton and I with Capt<sup>n</sup> Allitson should goe and search the River of Agara for the Niearagua wood, being about a mile and a half from Golden Island. On the 27<sup>th</sup> Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton and I return'd and told them we could find none of that wood. And we have reason to beleive Capt<sup>n</sup> Allitson does not know it, nor is there any here does.

*Nov<sup>r</sup> 30, 1698.*—Yesterday ten planters deserted with fire arms from the *Unicorn's* Quarters. In the afternoon the Counsell mett and ordered a Capt<sup>n</sup> and four Subalterns

to goe in my Boat in search of them to Carret Bay, where we supposed they were. This being St. Andrew's Day the Counsell din'd aboard of me, where Capt<sup>n</sup> Andreas was likewise invited, the Counsell wanting an opportunity of clearing some suspitions they had of his correspondenee with the Spaniards; we tax'd him home with it and he ingenuously confessed that the Spaniards had been freindly to him, and had made him a Captain: that he was oblig'd for his safety to keep fair with them, they assuring him that we were nothing but Privateers, who had no designe to settle but to plunder both Spaniards and Indians, and be gone in 2 or 3 Months time, as they used to doe; and if he assisted us in any manner of way, as soon as we were gone, they would destroy both him and his. We gave him all possible assurance of the contrary, soe that he was fully satisfy'd and desired we would give him a Commission and receive him and his people into our Protection; which if we did, he would give us all his Right to this part of the Country. This was promiss'd, and he was to return with his Brother Capt<sup>n</sup> Pedro on Sunday next.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 1, 1698.*—My boat return'd with the Deserters who were presently order'd to be put in the Irons, and fed with bread and water.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 4, 1698.*—The Counsel met, where Capt<sup>n</sup> Andreas Commission being read and approved of, was delivered in manner following. The Commission being read and render'd verbatim to him in Spanish, he agreed to every Article before 7 or 8 of his People, and severall of ours. It was deliver'd to him with a broad basket-hilted sword and a pair of Pistolls, with which he solemnly promis'd to defend us to the last drop of his Blood against all our Enemies. We drank the Companys health and wish'd him Joy by firing 7 Guns, which he receiv'd as a great favour.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 10, 1698.*—Fifteen men were order'd out of each ship to cut and square some Cedar Trees to put aboard the *Pink*. This wood grows here in great abundance as also Mangroves, yellow sanders, lignum vitae, Manchancel,

vanilloes, whereof there is great plenty here. It is a most excellent perfume.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 11, 1698.*—This morning came on board of me a French Long Boat, and the Lieutenant with the purser of a Dutch ship. The Lieutenant belongs to a Ship named the *S<sup>t</sup> Anthony* of 42 Guns, but had but 32 mounted, comanded by one Mons<sup>r</sup> Vite Thomas. The Dutch Ship was one of 22 Gunns, a Trader upon the Coast. This French ship came out in company of those who returned the Church Plate to Cartagena. She is a Merchant ship but hath the Kings Commission and half the company paid by the King. She was very Leakie and soe begg'd Liberty to stop his Leakes in our Port, which we freely granted. The Dutch ship being afraid of the Barliavento Fleet kept him Company and likewise desired our Protection. She is richly Laden, and has been upon this coast some time, yett has most of her Cargoe aboard, being bound to the Coast of Cartagena. She must ly here till the Barliavento Fleet passes for Porto Bello.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 12, 1698.*—This morning the French ship anchor'd near Golden Island, and the Dutchman came into the Harbour directly. In the afternoon the French Captain came on board of me. He told us all the news on the Coast, and that the President of Panama had giv'n an Accompt to the Governor of Cartagena and Portobello of our arrivall and Settlement. The Spaniards all along the whole Coast are in a wonderfull consternation. He told us there were 4 sail of Shippes of 50 Gunns each, whereof the *Dartmouth*, an English Man of Warr of 52 Gunns taken by the French, was one. That they beleived our designe was on the River Messissippi, soe were gone into the Gulf of Mexico to seek us: that the Barliavento Fleet was now at Cartagena consisting of 3 sail. The Admirall has 56 Gunns, one of 36, and the third of 28, the vice-admirall of 40 Gunns being gone with a Dutch ship of 32 Gunns whom they had made a Prize of, as also two English sloops, for trading on the Coast of Vera Crux. That Mexico was all in a Confusion; for upon advice of

the King of Spain's Indisposition, Count Montezuma, Viceroy, born in the kingdom and of the race of the old Emperours, had made such an Interest that it's not doubted he will speedily sett up for himselfe. Cartagena has been likewise in civill warr, which is only cover'd not quenched. At Portobello about 700 slaves gott into a Body which in a little time increased to above 1500. The Governor did all he could to suppress them, but they being supply'd with arms and ammunition from the English, French, and Dutch Traders, it was not in his power. Soe he was fore'd to come to very dishonourable terms, viz<sup>t</sup>, to allow them to be a free People independent of the Spaniards, and only call'd their Freinds. This agreement was made about 8 Months agoe, and shows the weak condition of the Spanish Empire in the New World. The French have been very industrious in promoting there Interest here, both in the Natives and Spaniards, which they have cultivated to a great Degree. Nor is it to be doubted but they will push fair for a good share of these Countries upon the King of Spain's Death.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 14, 1698.*—Yesterday came in the French ship, and this day Cap<sup>tn</sup> Long's boat came into the Harbour, and told us he sail'd for Jamaica on Sunday last; that he had left three men and a Woman with Capt<sup>n</sup> Diego in that Gulf; and that the Barliavento fleet, consisting of 7 sail of great Shippes and abundance of small Vessels full of Souldiers, were lying at the Burass, taking in provisions in order to attack us in a few days. This oblidges us to make all possible haste in our batterie and to gett our Shippes in a Line of battle in the mouth of the Harbour.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 16, 1698.*—Seven Planters runn away at 8 this morning. Captain Fraser with 8 men in my pinnaee were sent to Carret Bay to look for them as alsoe a Party by Land, and one was sent to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pedro and Andreas to make them send out their men in search of them. The last whereof sent us word that the Spaniard was marching from Panama to Portobello with a great number of men

to attack us by Land, while they muster'd up all their naval force from Portobello and Cartagena by Sea. Upon this the Counsell thought fitt to alter their measures and turn the *Pink* into a fireship, which was immediately order'd. This day our Lookout was finished, soe that noe Ship or Vessel can come within 10 Leagues but we can desery them.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 18, 1698.*—The Counsell mett where it was resolved that since the *Pink* could not goe, wee should send one home by the Frenchman with our Letters, he being directly bound for France: and that Mr. Hamilton should be the man.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 19, 1698.*—In the morning one of the men whom Capt<sup>n</sup> Long left towards the Gulf with a boy and two Indians came in a Canoa, and told us that a Spanish Periagoe landed where they were. The Indians and they fell upon them, and kill'd seven of the Spaniards, the rest escaping in the Periagoe. This, we told them, was more than they could answer for: they wanted to have some arms mended and some powder and shot but we would spare them none. This fellow told us that Captain Long had gone a day's journey from his Shipp in the Gulf amongst the Spanish Indians on purpose to tell them we were a pack of Theives and robbers, being only a Parcell of Disbanded officers and souldiers, and that noe body would protect us. This day the battery was finished, sixteen twelve pounders being mounted on it, and we are now in such a condition that we wish nothing more than that the Spaniard would attack us.

*Dec. 20, 1698.*—This day the French ship being filled came out and rid by us and on the 22<sup>d</sup> warpt out about a Cable's length without us.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 23, 1698.*—Capt<sup>n</sup> Ambrosio and Pedro with severall others came from the Sambaloes to see us. The French have gott a great ascendant over these People by means of Pedro, who is altogether in their Interest. Their Freindship they have cultivated very industriously and



indeed have gott a very great Influence over him. This the French Captain endeavours to improve by treating and carressing them extreemly, and designs to carry Pedro to Petit Guavas, and from thence to France, in order to lett the king know the favourable sentiments they have here of his Majesty and to desire to surrender themselves as his Subjects into his Protection. This hath been long projected by the French, but the King of Spain's indisposition with their pretensions to the Crowne has hitherto made them defer their designs. Our settling here was a great surprise to them and its my opinion it will quicken their Resolutions as to their Measures on this coast. Our great satisfaction is that neither Capt<sup>n</sup> Pedro, Andreas, nor Paeigo, who are our neighbours have any Manner of Freindship or correspondenee with them; and I am apt to beleive that the English or Dutch will not soe much overlook their own Interest, as to suffer soe powerfull and troublesom a neighbour to settle quietly here. There came in a Sloop this day with provisions from Jamaica.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 24, 1698.*—This day Capt<sup>n</sup> Paeigo of Carret Bay came on board to visit the Counsell, where among other Discourses he told us there were severall good Mines within Lesse than 2 Miles of us, which he promis'd to show us, and lett us see a Sample of the Gold which was extraordinary fine.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 25, 1698.*—In the morning early the French Shipp by which these were to goe gott under sail; our Dispatches not being quite finished, I went aboard to desire him when he gott out to tarry an hour for them. The wind had blown fresh at North, soe that there tumbled a great Sea, in soe much that she drove wholly by the broadside upon the Rocks and had infallibly been stranded upon the first Point, where not a man had been sav'd, had I not order'd my Pinnaee of 12 oars to goe ahead and tow her, as soon as she gott clear of that Point. There was a little Bay where we lett goe both best and small bower anchors and here we rode about three Quarters of an hour. I sent my

boat to get a Long boat with a stern anchor and cable with all our Pinnaces to tow her, but the Sea breize coming in fresh made a very great Sea, soe that ere they could come back our left bower cable parted. The other held an hour after that. I was very sensible of the Danger when I sent my boat away; but the Captain begged I would not leave him, since his Men having been all drunk overnight and then hotheaded would hardly mind what he said; but to me they had some more regard. I promis'd to give him all possible assistance, and not to leave him till he left the Ship first. He was in his Cabin when I went first aboard, having been very drunk the night before with Capt<sup>n</sup> Ambrosio, Pedro, and some others of the Sambaloes Indians whom he carress'd exceedingly and promis'd great Things to. He had certainly been drown'd asleep had I not gone aboard. At last the small bower gave way and ashore we went upon the Rock. The seas broke mountains high, soe that in half an hour she was all in pieces. I was as good as my word, and stay'd till I saw the Captain fairely gone upon a raft, then wayted the best opportunity, and naked as I was born, with much adoe I swam ashore. The seas brokc over me, under each of which I was at least 20 Seconds; and indeed two such more had done my businesse. The Rocks were hard and sharp where we were cast ashore, yett I received only a small wound on my thigh with some bruises. There was aboard 60,000 peices of eight in Gold and Silver, besides 30,000 more in goods and cloath. The Captain got ashore and the Lieutenant, but both almost dead and sadly bruis'd and wounded. There were in all aboard 54 persons of which 24 were drowned. I gott the Captain and the Lieutenant aboard of me, and divided the rest among the other Shippes.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 26, 1698.*—Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton, by order of Counsell, bought the Jamaica Sloop's Cargo.

*Dec<sup>r</sup> 27, 1698.*—The French Captain went with some Dyvers to the Wreck but could not come near, thô there was not the tenth part of the Sea, as when we were lost.

The Counsell takes all possible care that what comes ashore may be saved for him.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 28, 1698.—The Jamaica Sloop designs to saile to-morrow and Mr. Hamilton, by whom these are conveyed, and Major Cuningham takes their passage in her.<sup>1</sup>

*D.—The Voyage of Captain Richard Long*

I

*Whitehall, 8 May 1697.*

MY LORDS,

Mr. Richard Long have represented to his Majesty the probabilitys hee had of discovering where Gold might be found in America, in a part thereof that no Europeans have ever yet settled upon, as also that he was credibly informed where two Plate Wracks lay in the West Indies, and he had good hopes of recovering great part of their Treasur, for his Encouragement to proceed on these undertakings his Majesty was willing that he should be furnisht with a sixth rate frigate, and the demand thereof being layd before the Lords Justices on the enclosed proposall, their Excellencys command that the same be sent to your Lordships for your giving such Directions thereon as may enable him to prosecute the said Design. I am

My Lords,

Your Lordships most faithfull humble servant,

JA. VERNON.

Lords Com<sup>rs</sup> of the Adm<sup>ty</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

II

TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE LORDS JUSTICES OF  
ENGLAND

THE HUMBLE PROPOSALL OF RICHARD LONG

That he informed his Majesty of a Great Probability of Discovering Gold on the Coast of America, where no

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Royal Society, Guard Book No. 7, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office, Ad. 1/4085, p. 157.

Europeans had yet settled, as also that he had knowledge of a Plate wreck or two that is lost and is in great hopes of finding and getting good part of the Treasure out, upon which he had begged his Majesty would be pleased to grant him a Sixth Rate to performe his intended Voyage. What Discovery of Gold should be made was to be wholly for his Majestys Service (excepting the recompense he was to have): as to the Treasure to be got out of the said wrecks, he being in contract with the Duke Schomberg's Committee on the said wrecks, it was agreed that his Majesty should have one hundred Shares out of sixteen hundred as the said shares are divided in that Committee, and his Majesty to be at no further charge henceforward in the shares than the fitting out the above mentioned Ship as followeth :

A New Sixth Rate ready mann'd with 70 men, if she carries a hundred cruising in the Channell.

I pray the Liberty of Choosing a Lieutenant and all the rest of the Officers may keep their stations, two boats besides the Pinnace that already belongs to her, and that I may have the contrivance of them.

Twelve thousand weight of Bread and as much flower in firm Cask to make bread, this will be of greatest Service, Pork, beef, and flower for Puddings, Oatmeal, butter, Cheese, Pease, Vinegar for 10 months, Beer for 4 months, wood 3 months. If the Ship cannot conveniently carry all these provisions, I desire to have a hundred Gallons of Oyle in the Roome and to have my stores full when I leave England.

Sheathing commonly spoils the Sailing of Ships: I would onely have the keel 3 streaks a Low sheathed with plain board, and the Stem and Stern post and bearding and back of the Rudder with Lead and the rest of the ship with Cartridge paper laid on a hoot Coat Smooth and a Coat over that to keep it fast, and tenn ream of Cartridge paper in store for Careening the ships to lye on again.

Stores and Ammunition as is usuall for a West India Voyager, 5 Barrels of Small arm Powder and 6 muskets

which I shall have occasion to make use of in the Country above the Common Stores.

I also told his Majesty that my Principle in Religion did not lead me to be a soldier, but in this honest Disigne I was going on, if any did Stop me I would defend myself and keep the Ship in order fitt for it.

And I humbly pray that no other than a Paper might be drawn up as to my Fidelity to the King and that I will never use any designe to bring the Roman Catholick Religion or Government into England, and will Sett my hand to this upon the receiving my Commission.

I also did pray for a Power to give Commission in his Majestys name to the Chief of the Natives as I see fitt, knowing that the name of a Commission from the King of England would buoy up their fancyes to assist me on this Gold designe to their power, as also Power to any Englishman, if Occasion be to leave any there, whilst I doe goe on the Plate wrecks.

I also pray your Excellenys to Consider, if I meet any English Vessell, if I do I know it must be a small one, after sollid Gold is discovered, whether I may stop them with me, for if I lett them goe the News of this runs all the West Indies over and nott be kept from the French as also on the plate wrecks. An Example by Sir W<sup>m</sup> Phips, a Bermudas sloop came and saw him on the wrecks, and whilst he came back home four hundred thousand pounds was fetched by settlers in America. And also upon further discovery of these rich wrecks, if I see it worth while and for fear of loosing it by the French and others, that may be considered of and that further strength may go out with me from any of ye Colonnys where our Men of Warr are.

And I humbly Pray leave in my orders that I may go outwith the ship myself to go into the Mountains on the Discovery of Gold, if I find none within the Barr of the River, and that I may use my own Judgement in proceeding in the said Discovery of Gold or Silver as to matter of rivers I see Convenient and provisions to bring me away. But first by God's assistance I will see the Ship in a good road and leave the Lieutenant in Charge.

Because the Winter is coming on there, that little work will be done on the plate wrecks by reason of bad weather, that I may use my own discretion to goe and come between the place of the Gold and the wrecks, as I see things do answer, or go in and harbour in any of the English Colonys, and orders to the Governors to send home advice boats with all hast if I see things answer, and that they may provide me with all necessarys.

I do promise to be carefull of his Majesties Stores and so spend my Time with all Diligence in this Business.

All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships  
Consideration

RICHARD LONG.<sup>1</sup>

III

CAPTAIN RICHARD LONG'S LETTER to the Duke of Leeds.

Dated from on board His Majesty's Shipp *Rupert Prize* at Jamaica the 15<sup>th</sup> February 1698/9

May it please your Grace,

The former favours I have received from your Grace, putt me in mind of paying my Duty to you, hoping you have heard from me since my coming from England already. I doubt not but your Grace has heard enough of the Seoteh Settlement near Golden Island, about fifteen leagues from the mouth of the Gulph of Darien, and how that I had procured a peace with the inhabitants along that Coast before their coming. The Darien Country lyes on the west side of the Gulph, as Porto bello does, in breadth from the North to the South Seas near a hundred miles, and in some places more, about sixty leagues in length, abounding in hills, whereof some are very high, and between them very pleasant valleys, enricht with store of fresh-water rivers, of a strong and fruitfull soyle whose fatness gives it a black and oyley colour, yett some bad land there may be as well as in other places. This country is undoubtedly rich in gold, in many parts among the mountains. The Natives tell me that the Spaniards have discovered five

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, Ad. 1 4085, p. 157.

gold mines on the South-Sea-side of that country within these eight or ten yeares, call'd the gold mines of Kana, three whereof they work in, and in the biggest thereof employ eight hundred negroes, and one or two hundred a peece in the two lesser. The others they have not opened for want of hands to worke in them. For the Indians say they doe not only pick the gold out of Rivulets, but digg it out of rocky mountains with iron tools, and wash the earth from it, and that the Spaniards never sought after any Gold Mines on the north side of this country, neither was it sufferable by their government.

Here noe Spaniards inhabit ; and the country is but thin of the natives, who live by the fresh water river sides, and take great delight in swimming, and as soon as they sweat they goe in. I cannot perceiue that they can raise above three thousand Indian men fitt for warr in all that country, and they live so scatter'd in the valleys, that 'tis troublesome to gett five hundred together. These Indians were formerly divided in two partys, one warring upon and abundantly destroying each other, but now joyne together against the Spaniards, who sometimes have had peace with these Indians, but whether by treaty or conquest I know not, but heare they us'd, in peace, to send fryers to live among them, which the Indians in a short time us'd to kill upon some disgust or other, so that the very name of a fryer is odious amongst them, and soe are all Spaniards in generall. These Indians are a very sloathfull people, taking no delight in manuring their land, having only small plantations to subsist on, wherein the women doe most of the labour, whilst the men sometimes goe a fishing or hunting. I asked the Chief of them why they did not search for gold in their country wherewith to trade and buy necessarys ; but they said it was hard work to digg in mines, which they would not doe for the sake of the gold. Their chief delight is in warr, and in learning the use of firearms, at which I have seen some few very dext'rous and very good markesmen. Their way of warreing hitherto differs much from the Europeans, who meet in bodys drawn up to pitch'd battles in the day time, but they

surprise them sleeping in the night, or hide in ambush behind the bushes in the day time, and then having the advantage, fall violently on the enemy and destroy them, without ever giving quarters, it being the nature of the neighbouring Indians, as well as these, to doe the like; excepting to young women which all in general strive to preserve, and which the Dariens doe not violate; which principle of theirs is to be admir'd. I heard lately from Porto bello that some of these Indians had lately beat the Spaniards from one of the mines of Kana, perhappys one of the least.

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup> days of November last, I was at the Scotch settlement. The new Governor of theirs, especially Mr. Patterson did owne (being the chief contriver of that Colony) that it fell out well for them that the Spaniards had soc farr abus'd the Indians as to provoke them to revolt, and likewise that I had done them a great piece of service in making peace with the natives all along the coast before their comeing, so that the Indians taking them for my Consorts, came readily on board of them, calling them all Englishmen; for indeed I had been very kind to some of the cheif of them, in spending liquors freely on them, and giving them many presents. Tho' this country was not the particular place whither I at first was design'd for, yett encourag'd by the largeness of his Majesty's instructions, I consider'd I had a fitting opportunity of goeing to the Gulph of Darien and was thereupon considering which way to gaine acquaintance with the natives there, my chief aime being at the great river, to see what discoverys I could make therein. Whilest I lay at Jamaica providing stores and getting my long boat fitted, there came in a parcell of Frenchmen, who had liv'd sometime among the Darien Indians, and were then bound to Petty Guavaes. I perceived they only wanted their king's encouragement for the settlement of that country. I was lately before that informed that some French shippes were fitted out for the settling a Colony in some parts of America, and mistrusted it might be in the Gulph, which things induced me to embrace the oppor-



tunity I had of intercepting the French from a settlement, which I told Mr. Patterson of; and which indeed was the real cause of my coming before I knew of the Scotch. His opinion was, that I had done his Majesty more service in that very thing than the charge of fitting out six such frigatts would countervail, of which he said he would per first opportunity write thereof to Mr. Charles Montagu and Mr. Blathwayt.

Yett some time since that I have heard that the Scotch have reflected on me for following reasons. In the bottom of the Gulph of Darien, which runns in 20 leagues to the southward, severall fresh water rivers run into it, and one greater than the rest comes through the body of the country. One branch runs away to the south east through the kingdome of Kitta, which is rich in gold. I am inform'd it is but a little way from the head of that river's branch to the kingdome of Peru, to the mines of Potosi. How farr that branch reaches, by turnings and windings, I know not, but guess it cannot be less than 200 or rather 300 leagues. The Dariens tell me the Spaniards worke upon four gold mines in that country, from which rivoletts run into the great river, that it takes them up eighteen or twenty days, or as they reckon, sleeps, in padding or roweing up to those rivoletts. I have ventur'd to say a hundred leagues in the account I have given his Majesty upon a straight line from the river's mouth up to the mines. I believe by all circumstances that these are the very mines to which the Indians would have piloted Sir Walter Rawleigh, if he had had success, from the head of the River Oronoko. From these mines to Darien river's mouth the country is vacant of Spaniards, as the Indians informe me, excepting a river which they call Keyerika, which from the mouth of the great river emplyes itselfe into it, about two days paddle up on the west side; they reckon it two days more up to the head of that river, and then about two days travell more over land to the gold mines of Kana, which I suppose may be about fifty miles on the South-Sea-side of the Dariens' country; and that from the head of one of the branches of this river, it is

but twelve hours travell over to the south seas, whereas the Scotch are four days hard travell from thence to them that know the way best. I referr it to your Grace's better judgment how great advantages may arise to the nation from such a settlement in that Gulph (if it may be) and in the fortifying of that great river's mouth, as well from trading with the natives who live near gold mines, as of transportation into the South Sea. It seems to me that this river fortify'd would command the whole cuntry. When I was with the Scotch these things worked in my head, knowing if such benefitts should be lost thro' my negligence or ignorance (since his Majesty had been pleased to imploy me in such matters), I should lye under a lasting blame. I went the second time to the Gulph, and renew'd my acquaintance with the Cheif of the Indians there, and accepted of a contract I had made with them on the fourth of November last, wherein they freely resigned up their whole country of the Gulph and the rivers running into it, excepting their owne small plantations, to the Crowne of England, and thereupon I left four people with his Majesty's colours to live with the Cheif of the Indians and keep possession. And this is the reason the Scotch have a private grudge against me, if they have any. My duty to his Majesty and love to the nation induced me to doe this, which if his Majesty approves not of, he may easily revoke at his pleasure. I have written to the Scotch a very moderate letter to this effect, that as Mr. Paterson had been many yeares contriving their settlement near Golden Island, so had I likewise to gaine the country of the Gulph, and that great river (which I have been long sensible runs thro' the body of the country) for the Crowne of England, how I was in Darien before them, and if there was ten thousand English settl'd up that river, what harme would that be to the Scotch? or so many Scotch more near Golden Island what harme it would be to the English? I beleived none, but rather like loving freinds, they would assist one another against Brittaines common enemys?

On the east side of the Gulph of Darien, a nation called

Arrabha Indians dwell, mixt with some few Dariens, who brought me acquainted with them. I went up eight or ten miles into their countrey; and they received me very kindly. They are at this time mortall enemies to the Spanyards. Up the countrey lives another nation of Indians called Chuekoes, who are at warr with these and the Darien Indians, and sometimes come down the great river in moonlight nights and kill them by way of surpris. This is the dangerous nation that Dampier speaks of, which a privateer informed him of. But they are not soe dangerous a people as Dampier gives out, for upon the second day of November last, I was up at the Indian Governour's of the Gulph Indians house, which is about twenty measur'd miles up in the country, where at night a party of these Indians came to besiege his house and to putt him and his family to death, but one of his countrymen discovering their designe he made ready for his defence. I had then only a negro with me of the shipp's crew, he had a Paterero and some powder in his house, which he took from the Spaniards, which I fir'd three or four times, the noise whereof frighted the enemies all away. The greatest disadvantage in the Gulph is this, as it is 6 or 8 leagues over at the mouth, and soe continues to the southward till you come to the bottom thereof, wherein the rivers empty themselves, and carry that breadth of land up the country for about twenty leagues, which is drown'd mangrove lands (though much of it improvable by industry) before you find any good by the great riverside, yett the land without is extraordinary good on each side of the river.

The great men at Jamaica are much against such a settlement in the Gulph either by English or Scotch, saying it is the Spaniards countrey. Many of them came ragged to Jamaic, tho' now they have great estates, little considering part of the originall thereof came from the Spaniards. They doe not in reality consider his Majesty's interest but their own private interest and grandeur, fearing great part of their common people would run away from them to live there because of its noble name, and that a great many of his Majesty's subjects

whose necessities might force them otherwise to transport themselves to Jamaica, would goe thither. Many of them are in hopes his Majesty will command the Scotch away from the Country of Darien. Some of them say I deserve to be hang'd for taking possession of the Gulf and great river, yett the most reasonable of them will allow, that if that place were settl'd, it might yeild in all probability more riches to the Crowne of England than all its Colonys besides. Sir William Beeston, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, is very silent in these matters,<sup>1</sup> and herein I have heard the present Chief Justice speake very moderately. Tho' I have given his Majesty a large account of that country, yett something might be omitted, which is in this. Wherefore I humbly leave it to your Grace's consideration, whether you think it fitting to communicate these matters to his Majesty or not, since your Grace hath the honour of access to his Majesty by that great station, which I hope your Grace still enjoys, who I hope will in good part accept of the best endeavours of

Your Graces

Most dutyfull and obedient servant

RICHARD LONG.

I heare there was four shippes that came from France, and were at Hispaniola, and some Jamaica men heard some of them say there, that if the Scotch had not gone and taken Darien, they would have been there. They are gone to the River Mesehisippy about a month agoe, but the Spaniards having some notice of it, have sent four shippes from the Havanna to intercept the French. Since the Spaniard lays claim to the whole mainland of America, they have as much reason to find fault with the French

<sup>1</sup> 'The Scotch fleet are arrived at Darien, into which Bay one of our sloopes saw them sayle, but we have no farther news of them yet. If they fix there and are healthy the noise of Gold (of which here is greate Plenty in those Parts) will carry away all our Servants, Debtors, and ordinary people in hopes of mending their fortunes and thereby will very much weaken the small strength we have.'—Extract from Dispatch of Sir William Beeston, dated from Jamaica, Dec. 5, 1698. Public Record Office, C.O., 137/4, No. 102.

for settling in that river that leads to their mines in the kingdome of Mexico, as they have with the English and Scotch in Darien. I beleive the Spaniards are like the Jews, who were and are determined to keep the holy land for ever.<sup>1</sup>

*E.—First News of the Colony*

*March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1699.*—The Company's Secretary signifying that the occasion of calling this meeting was because of an express arrived by the hands of Mr. Alexander Hamilton from the Council of the Company's Colony in America. Whereupon the said Mr. Hamilton being immediately called in he was very joyfully received by the Court and delivered at the same time a large seal'd packet directed to the said Court. There was contained therein a letter signed by the whole Council together with a complete journal of their voyage and proceedings since their landing in Darien upon the Continent over against Golden Island, as also a list of the Men, Women, and Boyes that died during their voyage, and since their landing in the said place (now called New Edinburgh in Caledonia) with an account of their qualities, the several days of their deaths and the respective distempers or accidents of which they died, as also a declaration which the said Council intend to publish in these parts narrating the heads of their Charter and Constitutions and likewise a list of such provisions, stores, merchants' goods and other necessarys which they desire may be transmitted to them in due time, all which being severally read over :—

Resolved (*nemine contradicente*) that this Court is of opinion that no time should be lost in sending the needful supplies to the said Colony. Resolved that this Court shall order a compliment to the said Mr. Alexander Hamilton as being the first person who has brought the welcome news from the said Colony, and the rather as having behaved in the Trust repos'd in him with abundance of care, prudence, and circumspection. Resolved

<sup>1</sup> From a transcript in the Darien collection of Mr. J. J. Spencer.

that the Ministers of this city and suburbs thereof be acquainted with the said good news to the end that they may in their discretion return public and hearty thanks to Almighty God upon this occasion.

*March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1699.*—The Minutes of last Court being read over, the particular Committee therein appointed reported that upon reconsidering the severall papers therein mentioned, they were so well satisfied with the contents thereof that they thought fit to appoint severalls of their number to wait upon the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Leven, as Governour of the Castle of Edinburgh and the Lord Provost of the City to acquaint them of the welcomc news that the Company has got from their Colony, to the end that their Lordships might as they should think fit in their discretion, order some demonstrations of joy on this occasion.

Resolved that as a testimony of this Court's satisfaction in the Premises a warrant shall be signed to the Company's Cashier for paying one hundred guineas to the said Mr. Hamilton as a Compliment for being the first that brought the good news of the Settlement in America.<sup>1</sup>

### *F.—The Abandonment of the First Colony*

#### I

*October 12<sup>th</sup> (1699).*—We sett sail in the ship *Caledonia* from Sandy Hooke, neare New Yorke, and after a tempestuous stormy passage, although but little contrary winds, we made the West coast of Ireland Saturday November 11<sup>th</sup>, and by reasone of the mists and currents, we were in great danger off the rocks of Ferney, November 13<sup>th</sup>, about 10 at night. After that, the wind coming short and exceeding stormy, after no small danger, we were obliged to come to an anchore at the northerly entrance of the Sound of Isla, and there we road it out in most violent stormes, till Monday 20<sup>th</sup> November, when we gott into the Sound, and came to anchor in a safe place. . . . Upon the ships arryveall in the Sound, Captain Drummond immediately despatched the Captains William Murray and Laurence Drummond express to Edinburgh, to acquaint the Company with our arryveall.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Royal Bank : Instructions of the Court of Directors.

<sup>2</sup> 'Report of Matters relating to the Collony of Caledonia.' By William Paterson. *Darien Papers*, pp. 197, 198.

28<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1699.—Capt. Robert Drummond's letter from on board the Company's ship the *Caledonia* in Isla Sound being read over, and the said letter referring chiefly for particular information to the Bearers, Capt. William Murray and Capt. Lawrence Drummond they were both called in and the Sevrall Directors present putting such questions to them as they thought fit by the mouth of the President concerning the Colony, the time and manner of their coming away, the occasion of it, the wholesomeness of the climate, the numbers of their dead, the state of their provisions and other goods, the goodness of the soil, the natural strength of the place, etc. They answered that they weighed anchor the 19<sup>th</sup> and set sail the 21<sup>st</sup> day of July. That for near about two months before they came away, Officers, Seamen and Planters were seized with a severe sickness of Fever, Ague, and Flux. That near about 200 persons died before they came away. That their sickness and mortality happened through want of fresh provisions and strong liquors, which they said was the occasion of their coming away. That the scarcity of fresh provisions and strong liquors was occasioned by the Proclamations published against them in Jamaica and the other English Plantations, which hindered several ships and brigantines that were desyned to come and others acoming to them till the Proclamations stopped them. That they had an account of the Proclamations about the middle of May by the Captain of a sloop who going from Jamaica to Carthagena or Portobello, gave a copy of the Jamaica Proclamation to Capt. Henderson, who being in a Periago upon the coast met the said sloop and brought the said copy immediately to the Colony. That Cap<sup>t</sup> Pilkington who had commission from the Colony and served them actually for above two months and was resolved to bring his whole family to live in Caledonia, went to Jamaica with his Sloop with design to return with her full freight of provisions to the Colony, but the Proclamations stopt him. That Alexander Burnet was sent with a sloop full of goods to Jamaica for provisions, but that by reason of the Proclamations he

could have none. That they did not remember which of the two, Pilkington or Burnet, went first. That the men kept all their health very well as long as they had fresh provisions and strong liquors, for that climate was undoubtedly as wholesome as any in America and that water singularly good ; that the Indians were very angry at their coming away.

That they spent their time while there mostly in fortifying and building. That they had neither time nor hands enough to plant, but only some few things for experiment, such as yams, Indian corn, and Jamaica Pease, which they said came to perfection in five weeks time. That while they continued there the seamen on board the ships were healthier than the landsmen ashore, because they said the seamen having pay got credit and made shift to buy Rum and strong Liquors, but that the landsmen having no pay nor credit must content themselves with water. There was a sutlery set up by order of the Council in the month of March, which they said helped to destroy the liquors too soon, without doing that Service to the Colony that they might have done by an equal distribution.

That many of the landsmen seemed willing rather to stay than come away as dreading the danger and tediousness of a long voyage, but that the generality they believed were willing to come away by reason they had not heard one word from Scotland all the time they were there, and believed that by reason of the severity of the Proclamations none would be allowed to be sent to them, which put them, they said in a kind of despair that the Company was wholly crushed at home. That the Council never intimated their intention of coming away forty eight hours before they weighed anchor, but concealed their intentions from Several of the Colony who questioned them upon it some time before. That no Assembly was called upon this occasion, tho' Cap<sup>t</sup> Forbes proposed it to Mr. Paterson and Mr. Paterson said it was most reasonable but they heard no more of it.

That about the time they came away they were not in a condition to attack the Spaniards by land or to defend



themselves vigorously, but that before the sickness came on they were in condition to do either, but had no orders to make any attempt against the Spaniards. That Cap<sup>t</sup> Pilkington and Capt. Sands went upon reprisals by commission from the Council, but that as to any of their own ships, none of them was ever ordered to go upon any such account and that without order they could do nothing, as being subject to command and obliged to give a blind obedience to the Council.

That thirty seamen were detached out of every Ship to work upon the fortifications, but were not concerned about clearing of the ground. That by order of the Council and assembly all the provisions on board of the *Unicorn* were sent ashore, but that Cap<sup>t</sup> Pennicuk refused to send ashore the provisions that were aboard his ship [the *St. Andrew*] and that Cap<sup>t</sup> Drummond [of the *Caledonia*] declared his willingness to send his provisions ashore when it came to his turn, but that in the mean time they both sent some provisions ashore from time to time by parcels as there was occasion to spend them.

That 18 or 20 men were left upon the place of their own choice but not by appointment. That the *Pink* lost her main mast and sprung a leak in a storm at sea and sunk soon thereafter, but that all the men were saved by the *Caledonia* and brought aboard of her. That the *Unicorn* was likewise in great distress at sea after having lost some of her masts, and made signals to the *St. Andrew* who was near, to help them, and that no regard being made to their signals, Anderson, commander of the *Unicorn* went in a sloop on board the *St. Andrew* and prayed Capt. Pennicuk to lend him a rope to tow them from the lee shore, but that Capt. Pennicuk positively refused to give them any help. That Anderson put up Jury-masts on board the *Unicorn* and behaved with a great deal of rare courage and resolution and was inclined to sail directly for Scotland if he had a sufficient number of sound seamen on board. That the *Caledonia* and *Unicorn* arrived at Sandyhook in New York within ten days of each other.

That they applied to the Government of New York

for an allowance to buy provisions with their goods as being in great want of them, but that for several weeks together they were put off with Shifting answers, and at last with an absolute refusal. That the Government there demanded to have a Spanish prisoner that was aboard the *Caledonia* put ashore and at liberty, but that Capt. [Robert] Drummond refused. That they bought a sloop freighted with provisions, which sailed back to the Colony with Capt. Thos. Drummond and Lieut. Turnbull and 32 chosen men and arms and working tools. That they were filling the *Caledonia* in order to return likewise to the Colony till that several of the seamen had deserted and that 12 of them ran away with the Pinnacle of the *Unicorn* to Philadelphia, and Capt. Robert Drummond finding most part of the remaining seamen weakly and many of them insufficient sailors thought it dangerous to return to the South for fear of losing the ship in case of a storm upon a lee shore, with so few good hands and that therefore it was thought advisable to come to Scotland. That the *Unicorn* is put up at Amboyna in East Jersey, and Capt. Anderson with about half a score seamen left to look after her. That all the guns are left mounted on her, but all the goods taken out of her, and the best of all the iron tools that were aboard of both ships sent back to *Caledonia* with Capt. Thos. Drummond.

That there are 88 Seamen and about 45 Landmen (officers included) come on board the *Caledonia*; that they lost not one man in their voyage from New York to Scotland. That they sailed from New York the 12<sup>th</sup> day of October last. That there is some quantity of iron work, tyking, and powder on board the *Caledonia* with all the great and small guns belonging to the ship: that they had about six weeks provisions aboard when they came to Isla or upwards.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Royal Bank, Darien Manuscripts.

## II

THE ' CALEDONIA'S ' VOYAGE FROM DARIEN TO NEW  
YORK

## (a) Warrant to Proceed :

You shall set sail with the ship under your Command out of the Bay of Caledonia with all possible speed in order to proceed your voyage conform to such further sailing orders as you shall receive from time to time from the said council, for doing wherof these shall be a sufficient warrant. Given on board the *St. Andrew* riding in the said bay of Caledonia, the nynteenth day of June 1699.

THOS. DRUMMOND.  
COLLIN CAMPBELL.  
SAM. VETCH.  
ROBT. PENNECUIK.

Captain Robert Drummond,  
Commander of the *Caledonia*.<sup>1</sup>

## (b) Sailing Directions :

You shall make the best of your way in company with the rest of the Ships, and tuch at New England or any other convenient place where the Ships may be supplied with provisions. And in case of Separation You shall make streight to Carriekfergus in the kingdom of Ireland, but if the wind should not serve for that port you shall steer streight for Lochryan in Galloway in the West of Scotland. And if your ship be the first that arrives at any of the said places, then that there be an express imediatly dispatched to the Court of Directors at Edinburgh giving an account of your arrival there and of the rest of the ships being on their way thither and to demand their commands anent what shall be done with the ship and men and to receive and obey their orders thereanent. And likewise at whatsoever of the saids places you shall arrive you shall then send letters to be left at some convenient house, at, or nearby the other place you arrive not at, to give

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Colonel Leven's *Darien Papers*.

Information to the rest of the ships where you are, for which these shall be sufficient warrant. Given on board the *St. Andrew* riding in Caledonia Bay the twentieth day of June 1699.

ROBT. PENNECUIK.  
COLLIN CAMPBELL.  
THO. DRUMMOND.  
THO. FORBES.  
WM. PATERSON.  
SAM VETCH.

To Captain Robert Drummond,  
Commander of the *Caledonia*.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The Voyage to New York.

In our sad and lamentable condition, we all imbarqued upon the 19<sup>th</sup> day of June; Having equally divided our people and Small Stock of provisions we had: with orders from our Council to make the best of our way for new-England, or any wher else upon the Main, where we might have provision to gett home to Scotland: The 22<sup>d</sup> of the said Month wee all sett sail and gott out of the Harbour; and with much a doe I and the *Endeavour pink* gott of to sea. The other two, the *St. Andrew* and the *Unicorn* being obleidged to come to anc Anchor without the Golden Island; so I have neither see'd nor hear'd of them since. I arriv'd here the 3<sup>d</sup> of August: and in our passage from Caledonia hither our Sickness being so universal aboard, and Mortality so great that I have hove overboard 105 Corps. The Sickness and Mortality continues still aboard. I have buried 11 since I came heire already. We have never hear'd so much as one silible eithor by word or writing from any in Scotland since we were come from thence. I am afraid I shall have a hard pull to gett the Ship home for my people are still Dying, being all weak: and Men is very Scarce heire to be had. Upon the first day of July in the latitude of 16 degrees the *Endeavour Pink* was deserted by the Commander and whole Crew:

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Colonel Leven's *Darien Papers*.

By reason of her proving so laky and Springing ther mainmast; they made Signalls to me for saving of ther men which I did. With Gods healp flourteen days or three weeks hence I designe to putt to sea. I shall be obleidged to pay Extravagant Wages for what men I ship heire, and at this time I have not ten men in perfect health.

Sir, I am not capable by wryting to give Yow ane account of the Miserable condition we have undergone first before we came off from Caledonia, being Starved and abandoned by the World. As also the great difficulty of getting the ship to this place. So that I shall reffer the particulars untill meeling which is all from him who is

Sir,  
Your very humble Servant,  
ROBT. DRUMMOND.

New York,  
August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1699.

Sir, Since wryting of this viz. August the 14<sup>th</sup> came in heir the *Unicorn* having lost all her topmasts save the main topmast and buried 150 Corps by the way.

Sir, I wrote by the way of New England before this to Mr. M'Kenzie, Secretary, much to the same nature of this at our first coming heir.

To Mr. Hugh Montgomerie,  
Merchant In Glasgow,  
Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

*G.—The Darien Ships at New York*

I

Unto the hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Nanfan Lieutenant Governor of New York the humble request of the Scotts Gentlemen belonging to the Colony of Caledonia humbly sheweth:

That whereas the want of provisions and sickness of their people haveing obliged them to abandon the same

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Colonel Leven's *Darien Papers*.

and return home to Scotland and being putt in here in the most miserable can be expressed thro' sickness and famine they not having money to purchase provisions for victualling them for their voyage, begg they may have liberty to dispose of as much of their stores which they have aboard as will purchase provisions for two hundred men for ten or eleven weeks and they shall ever acknowledge the singular obligation done to y<sup>r</sup> humble Servants :

SAM VETCH.

ROBT. DRUMMOND.

THO. DRUMMOND.

At a Councell held at ffort W<sup>m</sup> Henry this 5<sup>th</sup> day of August 1699.

President the Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Nanfan Esq.

Hugh Courtland	}	Esqrs.	Sam <sup>l</sup> Root	}	Esqrs.
James Graham		Rob <sup>t</sup> Walker			

The rest out of Towne.

The memoriall of Sam<sup>l</sup> Vetch, Robert Drummond and Thomas Drummond, Gentlemen, on behalfe of themselves and their whole Ships crew read and in regard that they have abandoned Caledonia and in their returne to Scotland were forced into this port for want of provisions, It is ordered that they have liberty to purchase provisions for the support and sustenance of their ships crew until his Lordships pleasure be further knowne.

Vera Copia.

By Order of Council

B. COSENS Cl. Council.

Rec<sup>d</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1699/1700.<sup>1</sup>

II

EXTRACT of the LT. GOVERNOR OF N. YORKS  
LETTER of the 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1699

To the Earle of Bellomont.

On Friday arriv'd here the *Caledonia* of 60 guns, one of

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xxiv. and xxv.

the Scotch ships went downe thither. They have been forced to abandon the Settlement being reduced to the Extreame of famine and buried a great part of their men. They upon their leaving the place divided equally in their three great ships of like Force their well and sick men, provisions, etc. This ship was bound to Boston, the Cap<sup>t</sup> whose name is Drummond being acquainted there, but by Contrary winds and the necessity they were forced to by the weaknesse of their men and the Scantinesse of their provisions, which at short allowance would not have lasted them more than five dayes, they put into Sandy Hook. They brought 300 and odd men out of Caledonia and in their voyage have thrown over 103 men and the remaining 200 so weak (not with any contagious distemper as I am inform'd by Coll. Morris who has been on board, but pure fatigue and famine, they haveing been forced to short allowance only of salt provisions since they left Scotland) they are not able to get up their small bower anchor. I send your Lords<sup>p</sup> their Memoriall to me Signed by One of their Councill, the Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Ship and his Brother who is a Cap<sup>tn</sup> and Ingineer among 'em as alsoe the Minute of Councill made on the same. They have no money therefore I desire your Lo<sup>p</sup> will let me know by thi first opportunity how far the Law will allow me in this their necessity which is very miserable, the Barter of Stores of war, arms, and powder, Instruments for Labour etc. for provisions, with a direction how to act therein. I have been very cautious in the Minute of Councill, but their miserable condition and their now haveing abandoned their settlement and returning home is enough to raise Compassion if the Law will allow it, but I will do nothing further till your Lord<sup>ps</sup> order. The other Two Ships he left in the Mouth of the Bay, not being then able to get out to sea, the wind blowing four months in the year directly North into the Bay, and this the season; they are bound for the first port they can fetch for refreshment in order to Scotland, but this Cap<sup>t</sup> seems to be in pain for them and beleives the ffrench will soon be in possession of their forsaken fortifications, they not haveing time

I beleive, or else not have been able to demolish them.<sup>1</sup>

## III

Minute of Council 15 August 1697.—The Petition of Jasper Schowrman reand and ordered that the said J. S. being a passenger in the Scotts Ship lately arrived in Distress into this Port, have liberty to bring his wearing Cloaths and other necessarys from on board the same into his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s Custom House.<sup>2</sup>

Petition of Richard Veizy, rec<sup>d</sup> in Council 18<sup>th</sup> Aug. [Had gone to Caledonia to await the arrival of a trading sloop belonging to him. At desertion went on board the *Caledonia* to work for his passage to some of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s plantations] w<sup>ch</sup> your Petitioner hath accordingly done to his ability to this place, and hath been very much abused and beat as your Petitioner can prove.

May it please y<sup>or</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> ye sd. Master not only refuseth to Lett y<sup>or</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup> go on shoar and have his Liberty, but threatens to sell y<sup>or</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup> for his passage or carry him to Scotland.

Y<sup>or</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup> humbly prostrates himself at y<sup>or</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup> foot praying y<sup>or</sup> hon<sup>r</sup> to take his deplorable Condition into your Consideration, that he may be releived from his bondage.

18<sup>th</sup> Aug.—Petition of Richard Veizy read, and ordered that Cap<sup>t</sup> Robert Drummond be served with a copy thereof and that ye petitioner himself with ye sd. Captain Drummond do appear before this Court on Wednesday Next.<sup>3</sup>

Petition of William Paterson  
Sheweth

That being come to this place in the ship *Unicorne* lately arrived from Caledonia, and not being of Intention to part from hence in the said ship or in any other for Scotland, but to take same occasion for England directly.

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xxvii. and xxviii.



He therefore humbly prays that your hon<sup>rs</sup> will permitt him on the Security of an officer to bring ashore his Baggage Consisting of wearing Cloaths and Linnen, Household Linnen, and goods, with some books.

New York, 23 Aug. 1699.

[Granted by the Council, 23 Aug. 1699.]<sup>1</sup>

The humble Petition of John Grenada, a Spaniard [23 Aug. 1699] . . . a Spanishman born but did ship himselfe as a Sailor in the English service aboard a sloop belonging to Jamaica, Captain Matthias Commander. When trading along the coast, Captain Robert Drummond with three pinaizes well man'd forced y<sup>or</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup> and one man more from on board with what money and other things as Cloaths they had on board, althô the King of England's Collour was flying aboard the sloop and the Captain of the Sloop denying the Surrender of y<sup>or</sup> Pet<sup>r</sup>.

23<sup>rd</sup> Aug.—The Petition of John Grenada, a Spaniard, read and ordered that Capt<sup>n</sup> Robert Drummond be served with a copy thereof and that he appear before this Board on Wednesday next and that he bring the said Spaniard with him.<sup>2</sup>

23 Aug.—Pursuant to an order of this Board of the 18<sup>th</sup> Instant Captain Thomas Drummond on behalfe of his Bro<sup>r</sup> Captain Rob<sup>t</sup> Drummond and Richard Veizy appeared, and the Petition of the sd. Veizy being againe Read and the said Capt. Drummond and Veizy with the said Veizy's witnesses being heard, This board are of opinion that the sd. Richard Veizy ought to be discharged from the said Scotts ship and do therefore order the same accordingly.<sup>3</sup>

Petition of W<sup>m</sup> Murray and David Munro  
Humbly sheweth

That being come to this place with the ship the *Unicorne*

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xxix. and xxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xxxi. and xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xxxiii.

lately arrived from Caledonia and she not being in a Condition to go from hence in a considerable time

Do therefore pray y<sup>or</sup> hon<sup>bles</sup> to permitt them to bring on shoar their wearing Cloaths and other necessarys.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ev<sup>r</sup> pray etc.

30<sup>th</sup> Aug.—Permission to bring their wearing cloaths and other necessarys from on board the Scotts ship *Unicorne* into his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s Custom House, and that the Captain of the sd. ship do deliver the sd. goods to the sd. persons in order thereinto.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

(a) Deposition of Peter Wessel, 12<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1699.

. . . on the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant boarded a sloop, John Howell Master, brought the sd ship in and anchored near the two Scotch Shippes at the Watering Place. On ye eleventh following Captain Drummond, commander of ye *Caledonia*, sent his boat on board the said ship to invite ye Master to Dinner on board his Ship who went accordingly. Some time after ye sd. Captain Drummonds boat came on board ye sd Ship againe, then under the care of the deponent (who was then preparing to carry her into the road) and with armed force their Cutlasses drawne in their hands Commanded this Dep<sup>t</sup> to bring the sd. ship under the reach of their Guns, who refusing they weighed the anchor of ye sd. ship themselves and brought her under the Sterne of ye said Ship *Caladonia*, afterwards this Dep<sup>t</sup> went on board the *Caladonia* til the Bro<sup>r</sup> of Capt. Drummond bid him goe about his businesse : and further this dep<sup>t</sup> saith not

PETER WESSEL.

Sworne before me the day and year afors<sup>d</sup>

JOHN NANFAN.<sup>2</sup>

(b) John Howell, Master of the Ship *Adventure* being sworne upon the holy Evangelists of Almighty God deposeth and saith That the fifth day of August last past he

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xxxiv. and xxxv.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xxxvi.

the dep<sup>t</sup> sailed in the sd. ship from the Island of St. Eustacia on an intended voyage to Glasgow in Scotland, that some small time after his being at Sea Six of the Mariners of the said Ship dyed by which the dep<sup>t</sup> was disabled to proceed the said voyage and therefore endeavoured to gaine ye first Porte he could and accordingly came into the Port of New York on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the Instant month of September in order to gett men to navigate his said Ship on his said intended voyage. That the dep<sup>t</sup> bro<sup>t</sup> the sd ship up as far as the watering place and there left her and came to New Yorke and applyed himselfe to the hon<sup>ble</sup> John Nanfan Esq<sup>r</sup> Lt. Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Province of New Yorke, for liberty to bring up his said Ship higher in order to supply her with necessary provisions and reparation, which was accordingly granted upon which the dep<sup>t</sup> took a pylate with him and went on board of his sd. ship. That soon after he was on board Capt. Drummonds boat came on board the dep<sup>ts</sup> ship and a Message was told the dep<sup>t</sup> that Capt. Drummond would desire him to dine aboard the *Caladonia* and accordingly the dep<sup>t</sup> went on board where he saw severall gentlemen and after he had drunk a glass a wine Capt. Drummond asked the Dep<sup>t</sup> where he bilonged who answered to Glascow in Scotland, upon which the sd. Capt. Drummond and two other gentlemen with him sd, Then you belong to us : we seize you and you are our prize, and accordingly they called out for an order of Council to seize the ship and bring her under the command of their guns, and accordingly the boat of the Ship *Caladonia* was fill'd with armed men and sent on board the Dep<sup>ts</sup> ship and took her into their Possession and forced the Pylate to weigh the Anchor and bring her under the lee of the *Caladonia*. And the dep<sup>t</sup> further saith that the sd Capt. Drummond, Commander of the *Caladonia*, kept him a prisoner on board the sd. ship *Caladonia* for the space of Tenn hours or more and afterwards went with the dep<sup>t</sup> on board the ship *Adventure* whereof the dep<sup>t</sup> was Master and kept the dep<sup>t</sup> Prisoner all night, having posted several Centinells armed with drawn swords in his ship. That the next morning the dep<sup>t</sup> was sent for on board the

*Caladonia* when the saw Capt. Drummond and severall other Gentlemen, who asked the Dep<sup>t</sup> what he thought of it, or whether he would goe to town: that he answered Yes, very willingly; and accordingly came up with them. And the dep<sup>t</sup> also saith that among severall other violenees offered to him, the sd. Capt. Drummond and others aboard his ship detained severall papers which were clearings and the depon<sup>ts</sup> Instructions for navigating the said ship. And further the dept. said not.

JOHN HOWELL.

Sworne in Council the 13<sup>th</sup> day of  
Sep<sup>r</sup> Anno Dei 1699.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Fort William Henry, 13<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1699.—Ordered that Capt. Robt. Drummond, Capt. Thomas Drummond and Capt. Samuel Vetch do personally appear before the board to-morrow morning a tenn of ye clock (all excuses laid aside) to answer to such things as on his Majesty's behalf shall be objected against them, and that ye door keeper of ye Councill do serve them with this order.<sup>2</sup>

(d) Unto the Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Nanfen Lieutenant Gov<sup>r</sup> and the rest of the Members of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council of the State of New York this memoriall humbly sheweth

That whereas we are informed that either by misrepresentation or misunderstanding the said hon<sup>ble</sup> Council have conceived an opinion that we should have seized a Scotts ship within their harbour w<sup>ch</sup> was coming up to towne and that it was done either by assumeing to ourselves an unlawfull power or to affront the Govern<sup>t</sup>, Wee therefore do hereby declare upon honour that we never had any designe either to seize ye ship (but only to delay her coming up until we should give the Master and Captain advice who was incapable of it by reason of his drunkenesse) far lesse to affront y<sup>r</sup> gov<sup>mt</sup> under whose proteciou we at present are and from w<sup>ch</sup> we have received so many favours and do stil expect more, therefore as we extreamply regret there should ever have happen'd any thing that

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xxxviii.

should have given the least umbrage to a misunderstanding betwixt us and the Governm<sup>t</sup> for w<sup>ch</sup> (as our duty is) we have all the respectfull deference imaginable so do hereby declare our Innocence in this affair whatever rudenesse might have happened thro<sup>t</sup> the indiscretion of sailors and in testimony of the truth and sincerity of the same have subscribed this at New York Sept. 13<sup>th</sup>, 1699.

SAM VETCH.

Altho I was not present upon the occasion yet I fully consent and agree to this submission.

WILL<sup>m</sup> PATERSON.<sup>1</sup>

V

Unto the hon<sup>bl</sup> John Nanfen Esq<sup>r</sup> Lieut. Governor and to the Hon<sup>bl</sup> Council of New York.

This Memoriall of the Gentlemen of the Council of Caledonia humbly sheweth

That whereas since our arrival in this Port Severall as well Saylor as Planters have run away and deserted the Company's service, and ships to which they belonged, by which and the great mortality which was among us, the ships are so disabled that scarce remains of what was in both so many as will be able to carry home one, and wherefore our request is that it would please the hon<sup>ble</sup> Council to give out an order unto all their Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, or any other of their Magistrates to send, apprehend, and secure in word any such deserters as shall come within their respective bounds and send to acquaint us of the same, and all expenses shall be thankfully refunded by us, So wishing that all prosperity and happinesse may soc attend the govern<sup>t</sup> we subscribe ourselves y<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup> humblest servants

New York, *Sept.* 22.

SAM VETCH.

WILL<sup>m</sup> PATERSON.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 2, xl.

## VI

EARL OF BELLOMONT'S DISPATCH to the Lords  
Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*Boston, 26<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1699.*

The two Scotch Ships call'd the *Caledonia* and the *Unicorn* came to N. York. They [were] in a miserable Condition having lost a great number of people on their voyage from Caledonia by famine and sickness. Upon their first arrivall at N. York they applied to the Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governor for leave to buy provisions as appears by their Memorial and the minute of council thereupon, both contain'd in one paper, and the Lieut. Governor's Letters to them (at least an extract of all that has relation to those ships and people) defining my Instructions how far he should proceed in complying with their Memorial, together with my answers alternately shown, all contain'd in the same paper. I am the more particular in this account of the ships from Caledonia, because I apprehened the Scotch that came in them, from a starving condition they were in at their first coming, grew very insolent while they were at N. York. That which gives me a Jealousy that it is so, is what Mr. Parmiter writes in the Postscript of his above-mentioned letter,<sup>1</sup> but the Lt. Governor has not as yet taken the pains to inform me of their behaviour particularly, and only gives me a hint in the last extract

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Paroculus Parmiter to the Earl of Bellomont:—

' . . . P.S. The *Callidonia* is gone, the officer's whereof before she Departed at N. York man'd out a sloop in the face of the Government (I hear two sloops) and granted Letters of Mart and Reprizall against the Spaniards.

' And whilst in our harbour decoyed a Gentleman on board against whom they had a prejudice, and there kept him, and I think hath carried him away prisoner.

' Also coming hither took a Spaniard from on board an English vessel and kept him prisoner by way of Reprizall. He petitioned our Councill here for Releise against an Act done in Violation of the Laws of Peace and of Nations. An Order of Councill was made for the Capt. to appear and produce prisoner next Councill day, but it was with defiance and contempt disobeyed, and after above a month's time to no purpose, the Spaniard carried off. More of this if your Lordship commands it.' Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, vii.

set down in the above-mentioned paper. I have writ to the Lt. Governor to Informe me exactly about those Scotch, and to explain the hint he has last given me and which is last shown in the said paper of extracts, viz. : Their not playing fair with him : and the next post I expect his answer. Your Lordships will see that I have been cautious enough in my orders to the Lt. Governor of N. York not to suffer the Scotch to buy more provisions than would serve to carry them home to Scotland, and if he have suffer'd them to exceed that he is to blame. And for any Insolenees committed by them, it had been easy, I should thinke, to have put a cheek to that, by Committing the officers and principall passengers belonging to those ships, till such time as they had made satisfaction for any Irregularities done by them, and till they had given security to the Government for their good behaviour. There are Scotch enough there to have been sureties for them.

I beg Leave to observe to your Lordships that in the news paper called the *flying Post* and in that which bears date the first day of Last August from London, there is an article of News which if it were true would be a reflection on me. It says that there went five ships at once from hence laden with provisions to the Scotch at Darien. I have Inquired of the officers of the Custom house here and find it was only one Brigantine belonging to one Steel, a Marchand in this town, that went to Nevis with provisions, but not finding a market there to his liking, he went from thence to Caledonia, but this was before my coming hither and before the king's pleasure was known in that matter. . . .<sup>1</sup>

vi(a)

EXTRACT of the LT. GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK'S  
LETTER of the 14<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> 1699

To the Earle of Bellomont.

There is another Caledonian arriv'd, lost his Masts and half starv'd ; he has thrown over 160 men since he came out.

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2.

EXTRACT of the EARL OF BELLOMONT'S LETTER  
of the 21<sup>st</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1699

To the Lt. Governor of N. York.

You know how strict my orders are against furnishing the Caledonians with provisions, yet if you can be thoroughly well assured that these ships will go directly for Scotland and not return any more to the place whence they now come (called Caledonia by them) without doubt you may safely furnish them with just provisions enough for their voyages but no more.

EXTRACT of the LT. GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK'S  
LETTER of the 28<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> 1699

To the Earle of Bellomont.

I wish your Lordship had been more plain about the Scotch ships, but I will advise with the Councill and take all safe measures possible.

EXTRACT of the EARLE OF BELLOMONT'S LETTER  
of the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1699

To the Lt. Governor of N. York.

I wonder what I writ about your furnishing the Scotch ships with provisions should puzzle you, for I thought I expressed myselfe in plain termes enough that I would have you suffer them to buy provisions enough for their voyage to Scotland but not to carry them back to Caledonia; which latter was the thing I apprehended if you let them take away abundance of provisions, especially upon the Newes of the Recruit sent them from Scotland of men, armes, and all other provisions.

EXTRACT of the LT. GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK'S  
LETTER of the 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1699

To the Earle of Bellomont.

The Caledonians by and with the advice and assistance of their Countrymen etc. have plaid us not fair, but your Lordship in a little while shall have the particulars.



EXTRACT of the EARLE OF BELLOMONT'S LETTER  
of the 16 of October 1699

To the Lt. Governor of New York.

I wonder how you could pretermitt the account of the behaviour of those Scotch from Caledonia, which is of more moment than all the rest you have writ of, ten times told : pray faile not to give me a perticular Relation of them and what you mean by saying that by the assistance of their Countrymen they have not plaid you fair. I wish you have not burnt your fingers with them, and broke the instructions I sent you from the Secretary of State. Pray doe not fail to write me all the particulars about them next post.

EXTRACT of the EARLE OF BELLOMONT'S LETTER  
of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 1699

To the Lt. Governor of New York.

I wonder you have omitted send me word what the misbehaviour of the Scotch from Caledonia at N. York has been. 'Twas worth all other advices you have given me ten times over.<sup>1</sup>

## VII

EXTRACT of the GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK'S  
LETTER of the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1699

To the Earl of Bellomont.

By the Inclosed papers from No. 1 to 37 inclusive your Lordship will see every particular that happened from the arrival of the Scots from Caledonia, as they call it, to their leaving us, as far as I am acquainted with the matter or which has been brought before me. There are two things that I need not aggravate ; the one was in contempt of our order in not bringing ashore the Spaniard but carrying him off as they say in a sloop they brought of Delaney, wherein they shipt a great Deal of Provisions as I am informed, with Capt. Thomas Drummond brother to

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xii.

Capt. Robert Drummond, Commander of the Ship *Calladonia*: though the Captain of the Ship writes positively to town to his friend Capt. Vetch, who brought me the letter, that the Spaniard with ten men more Run away with the *Unicorn's* pinnace and were escaped as his sloop cleared out to the Island of St. Thomas. I cannot tell as yet who pretended to own her here but I was surprized when I heard she was gone and he gone in her: it is supposed that they are returned from whence they came; their Countrymen and our merchants in generall have lent them their assistance, however fair they have carried it.

The next is their manner of proceeding with a Scotch merchant ship called the *Adventure* as your Lordship will see by the two Depositions of the Master and Pilate. Your Lordship will also see the Scotch Memoriall. Indeed if I had had force I would have scotched him out of his ship, and made him an example. But I had it not nor could get the Attorney to give me any advice. All he would say was that it was no better than felony and he was sorry his Countrymen should be so Imprudent, but no advice how to act or what to do, although I prest him as Earnestly as I could possible. The late maior and Secretary were both on board at that time: I called them before the Counsell but they told me that they were not upon deck when this happened, so know not anything of the matter: the Captain came not on shore this six weeks as I know off before he went, or I would have given him his Desert. My Lord, I have done what I have been able to my utmost: the *Adventure* now lyes in the Road; the *Caledonia* kept her but one night; their ship the *Unicorn* is laid up in East Jersey. Here is Capt. Vetch of their Counsell now in town; and some others that have been sick and left behind. I verily beleive they have bartered for provisions and sold all the goods and stores they had in their ships to our Merchants here, but I cannot as yet prove it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1043, 2, xxii.

## H.—The 'Caledonia' in the Clyde

## I

Edinburgh, the first of December 1699.

Captain Robert Drummond.

SIR,

We received yours of the 20<sup>th</sup> instant by Captains William Murray and Lawrence Drummond, concerning which we have written to the Glasgow Directors and Sir John Shaw to be aiding and assisting to you in all matters relating to the Companys ship the *Caledonia* under your Command, as also with relation to all the Goods on board thereof. We would have the men carefully maintained on board of the ship till you hear further from us. And if you be come into Roseneth before this come to hand we would have all the goods on board brought in Gaberts to Greenock and there laid up carefully in the Glasgow Ware-house. But if this come to hand before you get in to Roseneth, we would have you sail directly to the Tail of the Bank of Greenock and there unload your goods as aforesaid and then carry in the ship to Roseneth, and advise us accordingly, that we may send such further Directions as shall be thought necessary upon this Occasion. We are, notwithstanding whats premised, of opinion that you are not to look on the same as positive, but to follow what the Directors at Glasgow shall in their prudence and discretion advise. We are Sir,

Your affectionat Friends and humble Servants

FRAN. SCOTT.

J. HALDANE.

D. DRUMMOND.

You should have heard from us if we had not been delayed by waiting for orders from the Court of Directors. You are to consider where the *Caledonia* will be safest in order to be careen'd, according as the Glasgow Directors shall advise you.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library. Colonel Leven's *Darien Papers*.

## II

*Edinburgh, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Sepr. 1700.*

Captain Robert Drummond.

SIR,

Yours of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant came to my hand but yesterday. We have had no Court of Directors as yet ; however, I communicated your said letter to the Committee, who are it seems resolved not to give any such orders as you desire for bringing the *Caledonia* upon dry ground, as being persuaded that it cannot be done without danger of hurt to so big a Ship etc. They think withall that if she was to be brought upon the Carin it must be upon some other sort of ground than where it would be thought fit to let her lie during the winter Season, and that her lying dry would be a mean of embezling her stores etc. : all which considerations, together with their not hearing from the Glasgow Directors (to whom they wrote concerning her), seems to prevail with them to be of opinion and think it safer and cheaper to hazard the spoiling of all her Cables by riding during the winter Season, than to bring her into Dock in that river—unless that you first consult and get the opinion of other Ship-masters and Carpenters upon Clyde and the Glasgow Directors upon that head. I'm heartily sorry for Francis Duncan's illness, and shall be glad to hear of his recovery. The Magistrates of Edinburgh have been exercising their Jurisdiction over me at a pretty arbitrary rate since I saw you ; but a short period of time has given them the opportunity of being convinced that they had the wrong Sow by the lug and that they had as good have let me alone; for tho' they were in a great deal of heat, yet they soon began to find frost in it. Your Brother Thomas is very well and I hope will be in Clyde about Martinmass next. I am,

Sir, Your most humble Servant,

ROD. MACKENZIE.

Endorsed : For Captain Robert Drummond  
on board of the *Caledonia* or  
somewhere thereabouts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library. Colonel Leven's *Darien Papers*.

## III

The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies do hereby give notice to all and sundry whom these presents do or may concern, that the said company's ship the CALEDONIA of six hundred tons burden and upwards, having been mounted with Fifty Great Guns (of which some of the smaller sort that were on the Quarter Deck are otherways disposed of) with small arms of several sorts, Storcs, Rigging and whole Furniture of the said Ship now lying in good Condition at Port Glasgow, is to be sold by a voluntary Roup at the said Company's House in Edinburgh upon the first Tuesday of May next in this instant year of God 1706. The Inventaries of the said ship and whole pertinents with the conditions of sale to be seen at the said Company's House aforesaid, and at John Vass's house in Port Glasgow at any time after the first Day of Mareh next.

By order and warrant of the said Court,  
 ROD. MACKENZIE, Secy.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

This being the day appointed for rousing the Arms, and other things belonging to the African Company lying at Port Glasgow, none appeared to offer except Mr. Arbuckle and Mr. Maekenzie who bought the *Caledonia*. They offered nothing near the value which we concluded these goods might be worth: we have therefore come to the resolution to keep them at Port Glasgow, being of opinion that if they be sold by parcels upon the place where they lay, the country people may buy them at a greater advantage. One doubt remains, which is, that in a public roup some persons may offer for the

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Royal Bank: *Darien Papers*.

arms who are disaffected to the Government, which case if it occur we desire your advice. J. A. SMOLLETT.

There are at Port Glasgow 400 fire-locks, 800 pistolls, 500 swords, besides some other goods.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Edinburgh to the Commissioners for the Union at London. Archives of the Royal Bank: *Darien Papers*.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND EXPEDITION, 1699-1700





A

LEGER KEPT AT GLASGOW BY PETER  
MURDOCH FOR AFRICAN COMP<sup>A</sup>



A	G	N
B	Guns 1 Groats 2 Gun covers 11 Glass Granados 15 Gunners Instruments 16 Gravats 17 Glases 19	Nails 3 Nidles 12 Napkins 18
C	H	O
Brimstone 2 Bee Wax 2 Beams 4 Biskets 5 & 18 Ships Beir 6 Bangall 8 Base 9 Buter 10 Bagenets 13 Bonats 17	Harnes Blew 2 Hyds 6 Harnes Grein 7 Harnes Whyt 8 Humock Houks 9 Harn Hose 10 Hair 14 Hair Covrings 16 Hemp 17	Pipes 2 Peas 2 Puder 6 Parchments 9 Puder Horns 12 Pans of Bras 13 Plyding 19 Iron plats 15 Paper of al sorts 15 & 19 Pens 19
D	I	R
Candles 1 Cheese 1 Water Casks 4 Cordage 2 Combs 4 Craips 8 Calf Skins 11 Cartrage Boxes & Belts 12 Coton Weck 12 Coper Work 14 Cloaths 16 Cabage 19	Iron Work Whyt 13 & 19 Iron shets 13	Raisens 19
E	K	S
Drogats 8 Drums 9  Elsins & Hafts 13	Knives 11	Black Soap 2 Whit Soap 2 Spoons 3 Skales 4 Steel 9 Stockfish 10 Shables 10 & 20 Sheepskins 11 Sterch 12 Shires 16 Seeds 17 Sugar Loaf 18 Spiceries 19
F	L	T
Flint stons 11 Fishing lines 11 Flower 18	Lead of al sorts 3 & 4 Linings old 11 Leather Guns 12 Locks 12 Lanterns 14 Leases 15 Lining Servets and Towlls 20 lantern Horns 3 Meass Cans 9 Meall 19	Twelen grein 7 Twelen whyt 7 Tykings 8 Thread 9 Twyn 12 & 19 Tobacco 17 Tools for Cupers 11
		W
		Weights 4 Woden dishes 13 Weafers 13 Wolen yarn 16 Sealing Wax 19

Folio 1

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

			boxes of candle	
May	18	Received in Storehouse above the new Weighous . . . . .	44	
		Received from John Lang Candle maker . . . . .	06	
		Received in Storehouse of Alexander Archers making . . . . .	20	
	22	Received from Alexander Archer . . . . .	05	
	25	Received from John Lang . . . . .	18	
	27	Received from John Lang . . . . .	2	
	29	Received from Alexander Archer . . . . .	8	
			103	
<hr/>				
			chees	lb
May	18	Received in Storehouse above new Weighous . . . . .	77	940
<hr/>				
			ps	ells
May	18	Received in Storehouse above new Weighous of Kinghorn canvas	12	1036
June	13	Received from William M'Kuen & partners . . . . .	4	303
July	10	Received from James Wotherspoon . . . . .	2	195
	14	Received from Christian Michel . . . . .	16	1298½
			34	2832½
<hr/>				
			Guns	
May	18	Received in Storehouse above new Weighous . . . . .	60	
May	26	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	48	
June	8	Received from William Waterstoun . . . . .	100	
	10	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	40	
	12	Received from John M'arther & John Archbald Stirling . . . . .	40	
July	4	Received from William Waterstoun . . . . .	125	
	8	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	40	
	13	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	10	
	18	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	15	
	20	Received from William Waterston . . . . .	75	
		Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	22	
	28	Received from William Baxter . . . . .	18	
		Received from William Waterstoun . . . . .	26	
August	1	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	25	
	7	Received from John Sumervil & John Munro . . . . .	101	
		Received from William Waterston . . . . .	62	
	8	Received from Andrew Marshal . . . . .	64	
		Received from William Waterston . . . . .	8	
			879	

Folio 1

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Candle		boxes of Candle	
June	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	1	
	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	12	
	20	Sent to Ship Hope	.	48	
July	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	12	
		Sent to Dito	.	12	
	20	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	18	
				103	
<hr/>					
				cheeses	lb
August	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	77	940
<hr/>					
				ps	ells
May	30	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	Kinghorn canvas	9	797
July	14	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	6	480
		Sent to Dito	.	9	709 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Sent to Dito	.	8	684 $\frac{1}{2}$
	25	Sent to Dito	.	2	151 $\frac{1}{2}$
				2832 $\frac{1}{2}$	
<hr/>					
				Chests	Guns
June	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	9	225
July	4	Sent to Dito	.	8	200
	17	Sent to Ship Hope	.	2	50
	20	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.	4	100
August	2	Sent to Ship Hope	.	1	25
	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun of Eden guns	.	2	101
		to Dito of Stirling & W <sup>m</sup> Baxter	.	1	53
		to Dito of Glasgow Guns	.	3	75
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton 5 guns W. B.	.	2	50

Folio 2

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

			Cask gros	lb gros
May	18	Received from Thomas Calder Merch <sup>t</sup> in Glasgow of brimstone	1	226
		Received from William Blackburn Merch <sup>t</sup> ther of dito	1	149
		Received from Jeunet Gow Relict of John Gray Merch <sup>t</sup> y <sup>r</sup>	1	080
		Received from Patrick Gow Merch <sup>t</sup> y <sup>r</sup>	1	109
				566
June	30	Received from Barrowstounes pr James Gemmil Carter	2	1788
				2354
				Firkins
May	18	Received from Thomas Calder Merch <sup>t</sup> there of soap		2
		Blew Harns		Ells
May	18	Received from Dying from John Lining litster in Glasgow		447
	23	Received from Dying from John Linning		187
June	7	Received from David Muirhead from Deying		313
	30	Received from David Muirhead from Daying		495
July	15	Received from David Muirhead from Daying		379
	22	Received from John Young, Litster from Daying		683
				2506
		Pipes	Casks	gros
May	23	Received from William Hyndshaw	1	
		Received from James Colkoun	7	109
		from Dito Long pipes	1	20
		Bees Wax	Caiks	lb
May	23	Received out of the Company's siller in Stockwall	1	75
		Groats	Casks	pcks
May	24	Received from John Peadie Merch <sup>t</sup>	2	
June	26	Received from David M <sup>c</sup> Knight of groats	1	27
July	10	Received from James Park Merch <sup>t</sup>	1	28
			4	55
		Peas	Casks	
May	24	Received from John Peadie Merch <sup>t</sup>	1	
		Cordage	Coils	Spun yarn balls lb
May	24	Received from Roaperie of 2 inch Cordage	1	
	30	Received from Dito		36 191
		Whit Soap	boxes	lb gros
June	30	Received from Barowstounes per James Gemmil and other	4	1303

THE SECOND EXPEDITION, 1699-1700 141

Folio 2

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Brimstone		Casks	lb
May	23	Sent to Company's ships Rising Sun and Hope . . . . .		4	566 $\frac{3}{4}$
July	4	Sent to ship Rising Sun . . . . .		2	1788
2354 $\frac{3}{4}$					
		black Soap		Firkens	
May	23	Sent to Company's Ships Rising Sun and Hope . . . . .		2	
		Baels		ells	
July	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun 1 ba . . . . .		1	584
	20	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton No 19 . . . . .		1	600
	24	Sent to Ship Hope No 45 . . . . .			202 $\frac{3}{4}$
	25	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton No 46 . . . . .			516
August	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes No 26 . . . . .		1	603
2506					
		Pipes		Casks	gros
July	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		7	109
		Sent to Dito . . . . .		1	20
	24	Sent to Dito . . . . .		1	
		Beewax			lb
May	23	Delivred John Lang Candlemaker . . . . .			32 $\frac{3}{4}$
August	7	Delivred John Jaffrays . . . . .			42 $\frac{1}{4}$
75					
		Groats		Casks	peks
May	24	Sent to Port Glasgow . . . . .		2	
June	26	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		1	27
July	11	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		1	28
4					
55					
		Peas		Casks	
May	24	Sent to Port Glasgow . . . . .		1	
		Cordage		Coils	Spnyarn balls lb
May	24	Sent to Port Glasgow of 2 inch Cordage . . . . .		1	
	30	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun . . . . .			36 191
		Whit Soap		boxes	lb gros
July	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		4	1303







Folio 4

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

			Timber beams	skales pairs	weights lb				
May	27	Received from Stephen Crawford . . . . .	2	2	16				
	30	Received from Stephen Crawford . . . . .	—	—	16				
			2	2	32				
<hr/>									
May	29	William Craig from him one small cask . . . . .				Reid Leid lb	73		
<hr/>									
Box Wood combs									
June	1	Received from James Witherspon . . . . .					dis	144	
<hr/>									
		Water Casks	Wyn Hodget	Rubers for oyl	Brandie Hodgets	Buts	Terses	Tubs	Rinlets
May	23	Received from George Govan . . . . .	26		5	3			
		Received from Patrik Urie . . . . .	18		3	7			
		John Young from him . . . . .	19		6	3			
	24	Received from George Govan . . . . .	12						
July	19	Received from Dito . . . . .							30
	21	Received from Dito . . . . .	14		6	5	12		
		Received from Patrick Urie . . . . .	6			6	10		
		Received from John Young . . . . .	65			5			
August	1	Received from Dito . . . . .	14		11	13	2		
		Received from George Govan . . . . .	—			3			
	8	Received from Dito . . . . .	—	16				2	
			174	16	31	45	24	2	30



Folio 5

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Bisket	lbs	
May	22	Received from James Muirhead Baxter in Glasgow . . .	2724	30685
		Received from William M'Rae Baxter these . . .	2773	
		Received from Alexander Thomson Baxter these . . .	3707	
June	23	Received from James Balinie Baxter these . . .	4419	
		Received from Andrew Grot Baxter these . . .	2071	
		Received from Mathew Hamilton and Thomas Findlay . . .	1934	
June	5	Received from William M'Rae Baxter these . . .	4307	
		Received from James Crauford Baxter these . . .	2653	
		Received from James Morrison . . . 1366 $\frac{1}{2}$		
		Received from Stephen Rowan pro dito . . . 845 $\frac{1}{2}$	2212	
		Received from Alexander Thomson . . .	2096 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Received from James Balinie Baxter . . .	1788 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Received from John Grot for James Morison . . .	1680	
		Received from James Morison . . . 481	1051	
		Received from Stephen Rowan pro dito . . . 570		
		June	14	
June	15	Received from Mathew Hamilton and Thomas Findlay . . .	2069	
June	16	Received from William M'Rae Baxter . . .	2757 $\frac{1}{2}$	
June		Received from James Crawford . . .	1523	
June	17	Received from James Baliney . . .	2886	
June		Received from James Muirhead . . .	0918	
June	19	Received from Andrew Grot Baxter . . .	3424	
June		Received from Alexander Thomson . . .	2724 $\frac{1}{2}$	
June	26	Received from William M'Rae . . .	2443	
June		Received from Mathew Hamilton and Thomas Findlay . . .	1170	
June	30	Received from James Muirhead . . .	2725	
July	1	Received from James Morison Baxter . . . <sup>st</sup> 570		
		Received from John Grot pro Dito . . . 938-6		
		Received from Stephen Rowan pro Dito . . . 180-10		
			1689	
		Received from James Baliney Baxter . . .	2026 $\frac{1}{2}$	
July	3	Received from James Crauford . . . 1190		
		Received from John Crauford pro Dito . . . 1375		
		Received from Andrew Scot . . .	2565	
July		Received from Andrew Scot . . .	2070 $\frac{1}{2}$	
July	14	Received from James Muirhead . . .	2755	
July	17	Received from James Baliney Baxter . . .	1372	
July		Received from James Morison and John Grot pro dito . . .	1503	
July		Received from William M'Rae . . .	954	
July		Received from Alexander Thomsons . . .	3051 $\frac{1}{2}$	
July	19	Received from James Crawford Baxter . . .	1098 $\frac{1}{2}$	
July		Received from Mathew Hamilton and Thomas Findlay . . .	2115 $\frac{1}{2}$	
August	2	Received from James Baliney . . .	1440	
		Received from Alexander Thomson . . .	1096 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Received from Thomas Findlay and Mathew Hamilton mistake . . .	000	
		Received from James Morison . . .	128	
August		Received from John Grot for Andrew Scot . . .	938	
August	4	Received from William M'Rae . . .	839	
				2951 $\frac{1}{2}$
				84810

Folio 5

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Bisket	Casks	bags	lbs	
May	30	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	2		1038 $\frac{1}{2}$	
June	12	Sent to Ship R. Sun . . . . .	2		782	
	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		49	11800	
		Sent to Dito . . . . .	4		556 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	20	Sent to Ship Hoop . . . . .	40		13708	
	26	Sent to . . . . .	2		966	
	30	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	6		1406	
						30257
July	3	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	7		3043 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		54	12820	
		Sent to Dito . . . . .		69	16380	
	11	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	10		2128 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		18	4342	
		Sent to Dito . . . . .		36	8500	
	24	Sent to Dito . . . . .	1		487	
	26	Given the servants at Marking . . . . .			144	
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		16	4183	
						52028
		Ballance Carried to Folio 18 . . . . .				2525

Folio 6

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

				Hyds	lb
May	24	Received from John Wodrop tauer of Horss Hyds.		1	
	26	Received from James Robb of Dublin bark		$\frac{1}{2}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$
June	2	Received from John Wodrop of Hors Hyds		4	
July	3	Received from John Wodrop of Hors Hyds		2	
	13	Received from Thomas Gilchrist of Dublin bark		4	135
				11 $\frac{1}{2}$	166 $\frac{1}{2}$
Puder					
				firkens	barels
May	26	Received pr George Rae Carter from Leith		8	
	27	Received pr James Gemill & Thomas Pollok		16	
		Received pr John Logan Carter		3	
	30	Received pr William Sym and William Low Carter		23	
	31	Received pr William Andrew Carter		16	
		Received pr Thomas Shield Carter		24	
June	1	Received pr George Rae & Robert Rankine Carters		20	
	12	Received pr Robert Rankine & James Pollock		18	
	14	Received pr William Sym Carter		26	
		Received pr Daniel Lauder		30	
	28	Received pr William Andrew Carter		16	
		Received pr William Sym & others		48	
		Received pr Daniel Lauder		8	
					256
August	1	Received from Peter Murdoch		2	
	10	Received from Leith pr sundry cartes		50	
		Received from Leith of English puder		50	100
				2	356
Ships Beir					
				Casks	galons
May	27	Received out of the Companys seller in Stock Well.		5	
June	8	Received from James Bogle & partners		12	368
	15	Received from James Bogle & partners		12	332
	19	Received from Dito		13	411
	21	Received from Dito		23	407
	26	Received from Dito		28	486
	28	Received from Dito		22	462
July	3	Received from Dito		14	273

Folio 6

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

			Hyds	lb
May	24	Sent to Port Glasgow of taned Hors Hyds . . . . .	1	
	27	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun of Dublin bark . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$
June	2	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun of Hors Hyds . . . . .	4	
July	3	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	2	
	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun of Dublin bark . . . . .	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	87
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	48
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			11 $\frac{1}{2}$	166 $\frac{1}{2}$
Puder				
			firkens	barels
July	3	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		10
	21	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		78
		Sent to Dito . . . . .		24
	24	Sent to Dito . . . . .		60
		Sent to Dito . . . . .		49
	25	Sent to Dito . . . . .		35
				<hr/>
				256
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	2	
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		34
		Sent to Walter Duncan . . . . .		6
		Stored in Port Glasgow . . . . .		60
				<hr/>
				100
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			2	356
Ships beir				
			Casks	
May	27	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		5
June	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		3
	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		3
	26	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		2
	28	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		20
	30	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		2
July	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		43
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		20
	11	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		8
	18	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		4
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		5
	20	Sent to Dito . . . . .		7
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		5
	24	Sent to Dito . . . . .		2
				<hr/>
				129

Folio 7

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Grein Twylen	pees		ells	
May	29	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	29		634 $\frac{1}{2}$	
June	7	Received from William Clark . . . . .	07		136 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	10	Received from Archibald Anderson 746 ells is				
		error	00	error	000	
	12	Received from William Lokie . . . . .	9		214	
	26	Received from John Birkmayers . . . . .	34		647	
July	1	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	1		48	
	13	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	32		695	
		Received from Robert Rodger and partners . . . . .			464 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	19	Received from John Birkmayers . . . . .	57		1062	
						3901 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Whit Twylen	ps		ells	
July	8	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	2		21 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	11	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	4		40	
		Taken out of Twylen Grein . . . . .	1		15 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Taken out of Whit Harns . . . . .	1		18 $\frac{3}{4}$	
		Taken out of Robert Dinwidies Harns Grein . . . . .	1		14	
						109 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Grein Harns	pees		ells	
June	10	Received from Archibald Andersoun . . . . .	21		746	
	24	Received from Patrick Johnstoun . . . . .	25		420	
	30	Received from Archibald Andersone . . . . .	17		449	
		Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	2		42	
July	1	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	28		1033	
						2690
		Received from Patrick Johnstoun . . . . .	53		830	
	11	Received from Archibald Andersone . . . . .	26		745	
		Received from Patrick Johnstoun . . . . .	25		527	
		Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	15		383	
	13	Received from Robert Rodger & partners . . . . .			1612 $\frac{3}{4}$	
	17	Received from Robert Dinwidie . . . . .	7		148 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	20	Received from Robert Dinwidie . . . . .	2		66	
						4312 $\frac{1}{4}$
	21	Received from Archibald Andersone . . . . .	14		314 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Received from Patrick Johnstoun . . . . .	3		40	
	28	Received from Dito . . . . .	4		85	
		Received from William Gilchrist . . . . .			26	
August	2	Received from Patrick Johnston . . . . .	7		127	
		Received from John Peady . . . . .	13		544	
						1136 $\frac{1}{2}$
						8138 $\frac{3}{4}$



Folio 7

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Grein Twylen		pces	ells	
May	30	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		29	634 $\frac{1}{2}$	
June	26	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		24	425	
July	14	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		27	482 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	17	Sent to Dito . . . . .		37	738 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	19	Sent to Dito . . . . .		57	1062	
	25	Sent to Dito . . . . .		2	47	
		Sent to Dito . . . . .		5	45 $\frac{3}{4}$	
						3435 $\frac{1}{2}$
Taken out and put into whit twyllen . . . . .				1		15 $\frac{1}{2}$
Made use of for Bags for Bisket etc . . . . .						450 $\frac{1}{2}$
						<hr/>
						3901 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>						
		Whit Twylen		pces	ells	
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in Bael No. 57 . . . . .		9	100 $\frac{3}{4}$	
<hr/>						
		Grein Harnes		pces	ells	
June	30	Delivred John Young to be Dayed blew . . . . .		28	683	
July	1	Delivred David Muirhead to be Dayed blew . . . . .		11	372	
	11	Delivred John Kelie to make Hose . . . . .		12	284	
	14	Sent to Ship Rising Sun No. 17, 20 & 22 . . . . .	3	59	1426 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	17	Sent to Dito No. 25 . . . . .	1	23	586	
	20	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton No. 21 & 24 . . . . .	2		1254	
	25	Sent to Dito . . . . . No. 53 . . . . .	1	25	600 $\frac{1}{2}$	
						5206
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in bael No. 57 . . . . .		21	395 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes No. 20 . . . . .	1	24	624	
	8	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . . No. 22 . . . . .	1	19	618 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	11	Delivred Capt. Miller of the Hope . . . . .		4	188	
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in bael . . . . .		10	378	
						2292
Taken out and put in Whit Harnes . . . . .						14
Made up for pake shets wrappes and bags for Drums . . . . .						626 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>						
						8138 $\frac{3}{4}$

## Whit Harns

				ells
July	17	Received from Robert Dinwidie . . . . .		601 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Received from Robert Tunock . . . . .		213
	20	Received from Robert Dinwidie . . . . .		33
	21	Received from Patrick Johnston . . . . .		237
				1084 $\frac{1}{4}$

## Tikings

		Pces	ells
July	8	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	899
	14	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	200
	17	Received from John Birkmayer . . . . .	175
	21	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	210
	24	Received from John Cairnie . . . . .	232
	25	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	295
			2011

## Bangal

		pces	ells
July	8	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	23

## Drogats

		pces	ells
July	8	Received from Mungo Cochran . . . . .	35 $\frac{1}{2}$
	11	Received from Archibald Anderson . . . . .	63
	21	Received from Dito . . . . .	161
			259 $\frac{1}{2}$

## Craips

		blew		incarnat		whit		
		ps	ells	ps	ells	ps	ells	
June	28	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	5	273	5	294	2	126
August	9	Received from Dito . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	84
		5	273	5	294	3	210	

Folio 8

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Whit Harns		ells
July	24	Sent to Ship Hope in bael No. 45	.	143 $\frac{1}{2}$
	25	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton in bael No. 46	.	79
		Sent to Dito 1 bael No. 51	.	612 $\frac{1}{2}$
August	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes in bael No. 58	.	230 $\frac{1}{2}$
				1065 $\frac{1}{2}$
Put in to Whit Harns				18 $\frac{3}{4}$
				1084 $\frac{1}{4}$

		Tikings		Pces	ells
July	14	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	13	740
	20	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton No. 12	.	6	359
	24	Sent to Ship Hope in bael No. 45	.	2	110
	25	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton No. 52	.	9	507
August	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes in bael No 58	.	6	295
					2011

		Bangall		pces	ells
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	1	23

		Drogats		pces	ells
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in Bael No. 57	.	10	259 $\frac{1}{2}$

		Craips							
		blew		incarnat		whit			
		ps	ells	ps	ells	ps	ells		
July	20	Delivred Capt. John Hodge for Hope	.	1	63	2	126	1	63
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	4	210	3	168	1	63
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	...	...	...	...	1	84
		5	273	5	294	3	210		

		Parchments				Skins				
June	5	Received from John Mill	.	.	.	.	100			
July	28	Received from Dito	.	.	.	.	100			
							200			
		Drums		Snares pair		Drums				
July	28	Received from John Mill	.	.	.	.	18			
		Steel		Kits						
June	6	Received from James Johnstoun	.	.	.	.	11			
		Base		Nails		ps		ells base		Skin
June	6	Received from James Witherspon	bras	and	iron .	2000	2	54	1	
		Thread				lb				
June	6	Received from James Witherspoun	.	.	.	.	.	100		
July	14	Received from Patrick Johnston	.	.	.	.	.	003		
	20	Received from Robert Litlejohn	.	.	.	.	.	22		
	21	Received from James Witherspoon	.	.	.	.	.	165		
							300			
						Humock Houks				
June	8	Received from John Black	.	.	.	.	.	1200		
						Meass Cans				
June	8	Received from Patrick Urie	.	.	.	.	.	13		
	17	Received from Dito	.	.	.	.	.	44		
July	5	Received from Dito	.	.	.	.	.	68		
	15	Received from Dito	.	.	.	.	.	40		
							165			

Folio 9

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Parchments				Skins		
August	8	Sent in box No. 4 to Ship Hope . . . . .				200		
<hr/>								
		Drums		Snares pair	Drums			
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		12	3			
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .			6			
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .			6			
	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes . . . . .			3			
	8	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		12				
				<hr/>	18			
<hr/>								
		Steel		Kits				
June	30	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		11				
<hr/>								
		Base		Nails	ps	ells base	Skin	
August	1	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in bael No. 62 . . . . .		2000	2	54	1	
<hr/>								
		Thread					lbs	
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .					3	
	24	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun . . . . .					40	
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .					15	
	25	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .					30	
August	1	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in bael No. 62 . . . . .					182	
	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes . . . . .					30	
						<hr/>	300	
<hr/>								
		Humock Hooks						
June	26	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .						900
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .						300
						<hr/>	1200	
<hr/>								
		Meass Cans						
June	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .						13
July	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .						96
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .						30
		In Store Hous . . . . .						26
						<hr/>	165	

		Stock fish	lbs		
June	5	Received from John Graham . . . . .	233		
	23	Received from Borrowstounes per Edward Alexander . . . . .	1063		
	24	Received pr John Jarvie and several Cartes . . . . .	7340		
	26	Received pr Mathew & Robert Jameson Cariers . . . . .	1787		
	28	Received pr James Make and others . . . . .	5000		
	30	Received pr Mathew Jameson Carier . . . . .	1296 $\frac{1}{2}$		
July	1	Received pr James Struthers Carier . . . . .	252		
	29	Received pr John Buchanan & John Jarvie . . . . .	500		16738 $\frac{1}{2}$
	31	Received pr Michael Wat and others . . . . .	3450		
August	1	Received pr John Johnstoun & others . . . . .	1338		
	2	Received pr William Cousland . . . . .	600		
					5838
					22626 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Oyl	Casks		
June	8	Received from John Young & John Dick from Leith . . . . .	2		
	10	Received from John Bonner Carter from Leith . . . . .	1		
		Nota: the said Casks is buts and one of them put in 2 Hodgets	1		4
		Mounted Shables	shables		
June	9	Received from John Simpson & John Davidson . . . . .	250		
		Shables	boxes	blades	
August	4	Received from Barowstounes pr Patrick Colhoun . . . . .	2	600	
		Harn	Hose Diss		
July	26	Received from Making from John Kellie . . . . .		23 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Buter	Firkens	stone	lb
June	12	Received from William M <sup>c</sup> Kuen & partners . . . . .	...	5	3
July	4	Received from John Whit & partners . . . . .	2		
	17	Received from William M <sup>c</sup> Kuen & partners . . . . .	1		
			3	5	3

Folio 10

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Stockfish		lbs
June	5	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun	.	233
June	30	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	275
July	4	Sent to Dito	.	614
		Sent to Dito	.	4633
		Sent to Dito	.	2280
	18	Sent to Ship Hope	.	1397
		Sent to Dito	.	1235
	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	2801
	20	Sent to Ship Hope	.	924
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	3119
				16283
August	8	Delivred William Marshal for the use of Ship Duke Hamilton	.	1534
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	2903
		Sent to Ship Hope	.	1451
				5888
Dryed of the first fish				455½
				22626½
		Oyl		Casks
June	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	3
		Sent to Ship Hope	.	1
				4
		Mounted		boxes shables
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope	.	1 88
	25	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.	1 87
August	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes	.	1 75
				250
		Shables		blades
August	4	Delivred John Davidson to Mount	.	200
		Delivred John Simpson	.	200
		Delivred John Scot	.	100
		Delivred Archibald Simpson	.	100
				600
		Harn		Hose Diss
July	28	Given Alex. Chisholm & Peter Derham in Capt. Grants Coy	.	1½
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope	.	4
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	7
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.	6
	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Barowstones	.	6
				23½
		Buter		Firkins stone lb
June	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	... 5 3
July	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	2
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope	.	1
				3 5 3







Folio 12

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

June	23	Twyn		Mats	gross lbs
		Received from Borrowstounes pr James Wilson . . . . .		2	603
		Received pr Edward Alexander Carier . . . . .		2	630
				4	
July	14	Nidles			
		Received from Patrick Johnstoun . . . . .		100	
	24	Bought in Town of flems nidles . . . . .		400	
				500	
June	17	Cartrages		Boxes	Belts
		Received from Archibald Simpson . . . . .		362	362
July	8	Puder		Horns	Diss
		Received from William Park . . . . .		1	
July	14	Sterch		lbs	
		Received from Patrick Johnston . . . . .		1	
July	26	Received from Leith or Ed <sup>r</sup> pr. William Cathes . . . . .		Leather Guns	14
July	18	Taylors		Shires	pairs
		Received from Simon Tenent . . . . .		12	
July	19	Hanging Locks			
		Received from John Black . . . . .		1	
		Received from William Berrie . . . . .		...	$\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Received from John Black . . . . .		1	
			2	$\frac{1}{2}$	
July	25	Coton Weck		lbs	
		Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .		30	

		Twyn				Mats		
July	14	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	.	2	
	17	Sent to Dito	.	.	.	.	1	
		Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	1	
							4	
						Nidles		
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	100	
	24	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	.	110	
		Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	70	
August	4	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.	.	.	.	110	
		Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes	.	.	.	.	110	
							500	
		Cartrages				Boxes	Belts	
July	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	100	100	
	20	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	60	60	
August	4	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.	.	.	100	100	
		Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes	.	.	.	102	102	
							362	362
		Puder				Horns Diss		
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	1	
		Sterch				lbs		
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	1	
		Leather				Leather Guns		
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	.	14	
		Taylors Shires				pairs		
July	20	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	2	
	24	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	.	4	
August	4	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.	.	.	.	3	
		Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes	.	.	.	.	3	
							12	
						Hangin Locks Diss	Amric Locks Diss	
July	20	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	1	1	
	24	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	1	1	
							2	2
		Coton Weck				lbs		
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope	.	.	.	.	9	
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	.	.	.	21	
							30	

		Woden bowls and platers		trenchers diss	tumblers
June	26	Received from Jennet Weir . . .	140	30	166
Weafers					
July	26	Received from Leith or Ede . . . . .			Casks 1
July	28	Received from William Baxter . . . . .			Bagonets 245
August	8	Received from Thomas Gilchrist . . . . .		Elsins 100	Hafts Diss 2
Whitiron Work					
June	12	Received from John Robertson . . . . .	<sup>3</sup> muskin pans diss 12	<sup>2</sup> muskin pans diss 12	<sup>1½</sup> muskin pans diss 12
		Received from George Bunters . . . . .	12	12	12
			24	24	24
June	12	Received from John Robertson . . . . .		Whitiron Lamps 80	Coper Lamps
	22	Received from Stephen Crawford . . . . .			20
June	17	Received from John Robertson . . . . .		diss 4	kits
	26	Received from Dito . . . . .		6	
July	25	Received from John Robertson . . . . .		4	
August	1	Received from Peter Murdoch . . . . .		14	1
June	28	Received from John Robertson . . . . .			diss 3
June	21	Received from Barrowstounes pr James Carss		Mats 3	lbs 300

		Woden bowls and platers		trenchers diss	tumblers	
July	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .	76	20	121	
		Sent to Ship Hope . . .	60	10	30	
August	8	Sent to Dito in box No. 10 . . .			15	
			136	30	166	
		Storehous	4			
			140			
		Weafers			Casks	
August	1	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .			1	
					Boxes Bagonets	
August	2	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . .		2	245	
					Elsins Hafts Diss	
August	8	Sent to Ship Hope in box No. 10 . . .			2	
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .		100		
		Whitiron Work				
		Cask	3 muskin diss	Pans 2 muskin diss	1 1/2 muskin diss	1 muskin diss
July	17	Sent to Rising Sun . . .	1 12	12	12	12
		Sent to Ship Hope in box No. 5 . . .	2 1/4	2 1/4	2 1/4	2 1/4
		Sent to Dito for Ships use . . .	4	4	4	4
August	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .	8 1/4	8 1/4	8 1/4	8 1/4
		Sent to Ship Hope in box No. 9 . . .	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4
			24	24	24	24
		Whitiron Lamps		Coper Lamps		
July	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in Cask No. 1. . .	20			
		Sent to Dito Lous . . .	12			
		Sent to Ship Hope . . .	4		20	
		Sent to Dito in a box No. 4 . . .	24			
		Sent to Dito in a box No. 5 . . .	20			
			80			
		Shets of Whitiron plet		diss	kips	
June	17	Sent to Ship Hope . . .	4			
	26	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .	4			
		Sent to Ship Hope . . .	2			
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope . . .	4			
	2	Sent to Ship Hope . . .	14		1	
		Whitiron fillers			diss	
July	17	Sent to Dito in a box No. 5 . . .			3	
		Bras pans		Mats	lbs	
July	11	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .		3	300	

		Lanterns Dark Lanterns sevrals pup Lanterns			
June	12	Received from John Robertson . . . . .		60	
July	17	Received from Dito . . . . .	1		
	22	Received from Dito . . . . .			1
July	31	Received from Dito . . . . .	1		
			2	60	1

		Meall			
		Loads		Bolls	
June	13	Received from Ava pr James Jarvie etc . . . . .	19	38	
	14	Received pr John Godwyn & others . . . . .	18	36	
		Received pr James Bankes & others . . . . .	9	18	
	15	Received pr William Sword & others . . . . .	22	44	
	16	Received pr Robert Goodwyn . . . . .	4	08	
		Received pr John Walker . . . . .	3	6	
			75	150	

		Hair	
		Stons	
July	22	Received from William Berie . . . . .	3

		Coper Work					
		pots	lbs	Ketells	lbs	plets	lbs
June	22	Received from Stephen Crawford . . . . .	141	173	—	—	—
July	3	Received from Dito . . . . .	—	—	3	127 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 33
			141	173	3	127 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 33

		Whitiron		
		Measurs		
		pumps		
July	24	Received from John Robertson . . . . .	26	2

		Plyding	
		ells	
June	21	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	2113 $\frac{1}{2}$
July	14	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	1025 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	164
	21	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .	309
	21	Received from Dito . . . . .	544

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Folio 14

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

			Lanterns Dark	Lanterns sevrals	pup	Lanterns
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	1		6	
		Sent to Ship Hope in a box No. 4 . . . . .			32	
		Sent to Dito in a box No. 5 . . . . .			10	
	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .			12	
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	1			1
			2		60	1

		Meall	Hodgets	Bolls
June	17	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	34	111
July	3	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	4	13
	6	Sent to Dito . . . . .	8	26
				150

		Hair	Stons
July	24	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	3

		Coper Work					
		pots	lbs	Ketels	lds	plets	lbs
July	3	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .			3	127½	1 33
	17	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	141	173			
			141	173	3	127½	1 33

		Whitiron Work			Measures	Pumps
July	24	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .			13	1
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .			13	1
					26	2

		Plyding	
		baels	ells
July	20	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .	4 806½
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	2 403
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	6 1209½
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .	2 403
	25	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	125½
August	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes . . . . .	6 1209
			4156¼

		Iron		potts	lbs			
June	27	Received from Barrowstounes pr James Wilson .		115	2675			
	23	Received from Dito . . . . .		5	97			
	21	Received from Robert Case . . . . .		11	1265			
				131	3087			
<hr/>								
		Glass	Hampers	Granados				
July	28	Received from Leith pr John Dick Carter .	2	493				
<hr/>								
		Gray Paper Rims	Course Carriage Paper Rims	lbs	Carriage Paper Largest Rims	Carriage Paper Second Rims	Carriage Paper Smallest Rims	
July	3	Received from John Canpell of Woodsyde	40	...	...	...	...	
	4	Received from Dito . . . . .	25	...	...	...	...	
	13	Received from Nicolas Dechamp . . . . .	...	...	...	2	15½	6
	14	Received from Dito . . . . .	27	...	...	...	...	
	17	Received from Dito . . . . .	12	...	...	...	...	
		Received from John Campbell . . . . .	...	...	...	...	3¼	
	22	Received from Dito . . . . .	...	12	498	...	...	
	24	Received from Dito . . . . .	...	16-5	675	...	...	
			104	28-5	1173	2	15½	9¼
<hr/>								
		Whit Carriage Paper					Rims	
July	17	Received from Margaret Gemmil . . . . .					8	
<hr/>								
		Blew Leather Laces					Grosses	
August	3	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .					20	



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FOLIO 15

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

July	11	Iron		potts	lbs				
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		131		3037			
<hr/>									
August	1 2	Glass		Granadoes					
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun in a Hamper . . . . .		192					
		Sent to Dito in a Hamper . . . . .		301					
				493					
<hr/>									
July	14 17 20 24 25	Basels		Cours Cartrage Paper Rims	lbs	Cartrage Paper Largest Rims	Cartrage Paper Second Rims	Cartrage Paper Smallest Rims	
		Sent to Rising Sun . . . . .	6	37	...	...	...	8	5
		Sent to Dito . . . . .	5	48	...	...	...	4	...
		Sent to Ship Hope Lous . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	1½	½
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	1	12	...	...	...	...	...
		Sent to Rising Sun No. 54 . . . . .	1	...	12	...	...	...	...
		No. 56 . . . . .	1	7	4-5	...	...	...	3¼
		Sent to Dito No. 55 . . . . .	1	...	12	1173	2	...	...
		Sent to Ship D. Hamilton No. 44 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	2	½
				104	28-5	1173	2	15½	9¼
<hr/>									
Whit Cartrage Paper									
July	17 19	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .					Rims	2	
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .						4	
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .						1	
Aug.	11	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes . . . . .						1	
									8
<hr/>									
Blew Leather Laces									
August	8 11	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .						Grosses	7
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .							3
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .							5
		Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes . . . . .							5
								20	



		Cloaths		Breches Lined Pairs	Breches Unlined Pairs	Rid Coats	Whit Coats	Capes	
August	2	Sent to Rising Sun . . . . .	bael No. 59	—	—	33	4	119	
		Sent to Dito . . . . .	No. 60	12	60	—	15	—	
				12	60	33	19	119	
		Guners Instruments		ripers and hoovers	handvice	silkers	genlets	Gravers	Sun screws
July	17	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		8	1	6	6	6	6
	19	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		—	—	18	18	36	18
	25	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .		—	—	—	—	3	6
August	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes . . . . .		—	—	—	—	3	6
	8	Sent to Ship Hope in Box No. 10 . . . . .		—	—	—	—	92	311
				8	1	24	24	140	347
		Wolen Yairn		lbs					
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		10					
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		31½					
				41½					
		Hair Coverings		Coverings					
July	20	Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton in 4 Baels . . . . .		80					
		Sent to Ship Hope in 2 Baels . . . . .		40					
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun in 6 Baels . . . . .		120					
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton in 2 Baels . . . . .		40					
August	25	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		1					
	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes in 6 Baels . . . . .		120					
	7	Delivred John Jafrays Ingenior . . . . .		48					
	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		10					
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .		32					
				491					
		Showes		Hodgetts		pairs			
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .		2	286				
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		4	673				
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . . . .		3	564				
	8	Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes . . . . .		1	216				
	11	Sent to Dito . . . . .		1	073				
						1812			
						98			

		Three Head Mats	Hemp lb	Steil Hemp Mats	lb		
August	1	Received from Peter Murdoch . . . . .	...	1	50		
	8	Received from Thomas Gilchrist . . . . .	1	80	...		
			1	80	1 50		
Bonats							
July	28	Received from Margaret Gemmil . . . . .			Diss 55		
August	8	Received from Dito . . . . .			12		
					67		
Tobaco							
August	1	Received from William Sandes . . . . .	Casks 4	Rolls 96	lbs		
		Lous . . . . .		5	1261		
			4	101	1261		
Gravats							
July	28	Received from James Andersone . . . . .		pices 12	gravats 134		
August	3	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .		28	277		
	4	Received from William Robertson . . . . .		26	255		
		Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .		18	179		
	7	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .		18	153		
		Received from Robert Dinwidie . . . . .		27	282		
		Received from Alexander Michell . . . . .		11	120		
		Received from Margrat Murdoch . . . . .		3	50		
	8	Received from James Hunter . . . . .		21	198		
		Received from John Graham . . . . .		7	72		
	9	Received from Laurence Dinwidie . . . . .		9	90		
		Received from John Graham . . . . .		5	42		
	10	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .		15	179		
					2039		
August	8	Lintseed pecks	Onionseed unces	Leekseed unces	Lettuce unces	beetraes unces	cabage unces
		1/4	4	8	4	4	5

FOLIO 17

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

			Three Head Mats	Hemp lb	Steil Hemp Mats	Hemp lb
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	...	...	1	150
	8	Sent to Ship Hope	1	80	...	...

Bonats							Diss
August	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	1	bael			55
	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun					9
	8	Sent to Ship Hope					3

Tobaco							Casks	Rolls	lbs
August	1	Sent to Ship Hope					1	16	207
		Lous					...	1	...
	2	Sent to Ship Rising Sun					1	33	...
		Lous					...	3	453
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton					1	27	...
		Lous					...	1	349
	4	Sent to Ship Hope of Barrowstounes					1	20	252
							4	101	1261

Gravats							pices	gravats
August	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun					65	701
	8	Sent to Ship Hope					31	296
		Sent to Duke Hamilton					54	500
	11	Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstounes					...	445
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun					8	97

2039

		Lintseed pecks	Onionseed unces	Leekseed unces	Letuce unces	beetraes unces	cabage unces
Aug.	8	Sent to Ship Hope	1/4	4	8	4	5

Folio 18

GLASGOW ANNO 1689

		Bisket	lbs	
		Brought from folio 5	2525	
August	4	Received from James Muirhead Baxter	473	
August	5	Received from James Crauford	474	
		from John Crauford pro Dito	189	
	7	Received from Andrew Scot Baxter	928	
		from Stephen Rawan pro Dito	472	
		from John Scot pro Dito	2047	
		Received from Thomas Findlay	313 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Received from Mathew Hamilton	986 $\frac{1}{2}$	8408
	11	Received from Alexander Thomsone	1000	
		Received from Walter Buchanan	5235	
	12	Received from James Muirhead	1177	
		Received from Andrew Scot	1395 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		from John Scot pro Dito	642 $\frac{1}{2}$	9450
	15	Received of fine bisket from Alexander Thomsone	235	
		Received from James Balinie	230	
		Received from James Morison	276	
		Received from James Muirhead	501	
		Received from Andrew Scot	376	1618
				19476
		Mistake in sending over	427 $\frac{1}{2}$	
				19903 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Flower	lbs	
August	3	Received from Mathew Hamilton and Thomas Findlay	562	
	3	Received from James Morison	550	
	4	Received from James Crauford	580	
	11	Received from Alexander Thomsone	738 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Received from James Baliney Baxter	4906	
		Received from William McRae	547	
		Received from Thomas Findlay	330 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	12	Received from James Muirhead	647	
		Received from Andrew Scot	886	
		Received from Walter Buchanan	3720	13467
August	9	Received from William Robertson	38	
		loaf sugar	lbs	
August	10	Received from James Blair	250	

Folio 18

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Bysket		bags	lbs	
August	8	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	36	8835½	19903½
	11	Sent to Ship Hope	.	10	2000	
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	34	7450	
	15	Sent to Ship Rising Sun fine	.	5	1117	
		Sent to Ship Hope	.	3	501	
						19903½
		Flower		Casks	lbs	
August	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	5	1070	13467
	8	Sent to Dito	.	3	622	
	11	Sent to Ship Hope	.	10	1917	
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.	21	4776	
		Sent to Dito	.	28	5082	
						13467
		Napkins			diss.	
August	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in bael	✕		28	38
		Sent to Dito in a small bael	.		10	
						38
		loaf sugar			lbs	
August	11	Delivred Capt. Miller for Ship Hope	.		50	250
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton	.		50	
		Sent to Hope of Borrowstounes	.		50	
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun	.		100	
						250

Folio 19

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Spiceries					Meace		Nutmegs		
		Spice	Cannel	Cloves		unce draps		lb	unce		
		lb	lb	lb	unces						
August	9	Received from Alex Brownlie . . . . .								8	—
	10	R. from Jo. & Pat Buchanan . . . . .								—	—
		R. from Peter Murdoch . . . . .								—	7
		20	2	2	5	14	14	8	7		
		Rasins					Casks	lbs			
							gross	net			
August	10	Received from John Peady . . . . .					5	1028	—		
		less						93	—		
								935			
		Glases					Glases				
August	10	Received from John Peady . . . . .					48				
		sealing Wax					lbs				
August	10	Received from John Peady . . . . .					10				
		Twyn			Makrael	fyne sail	course saill				
					Hanks	Hanks	Hanks				
August	10				12	24	12				
							pens				
August	9	Received from James Witherspoon . . . . .					1900				
		Guilded Paper					Rims				
August	12	Received from William Dikie . . . . .					1				
		Demey					paper				
							quairs				
August	7	Received from John Buchanan . . . . .					10				



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Folio 19

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Spiceries						
		Spice lbs	Canell lbs unces	Cloves lbs unces	Meace unce drap	Nutmegs lbs unces		
August	11	Delivred Capt. Miller . . .	3	— 3	— 2	2	—	1 1 1 1
		Sent to Duke Hamilton . . .	3	— 3	— 2	2	—	
		Sent to Hope of Borrowsto . . .	3	— 3	— 2	2	—	
	12	Sent to Rising Sun . . .	11	1 7	1 15	8	14	6 15
			20	2 —	2 5	14	14	8 7
		Rasins					Casks lbs	
August	11	Delivred Capt. Miller for Hope . . .				No. 2	1	174
		Sent to Ship Duke Hamilton . . .				No. 3	1	167
		Sent to Ship Hope of Borrowstones . . .				No. 1	1	172
	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .				No. 4 & No. 5	2	515
						less		1028
						net		93
								935
		Glases					Glases	
Aug	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . .						48
		sealing Wax					lbs	
August	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in a box . . .						10
		Twyn			Makrael Hanks	fyne sail Hanks	course sail Hanks	
August	11	Delivred Capt. Miller for Hope . . .			12	24	12	
August	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in a bael . . .						pens 1900
August	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in bael ✱ . . .						Rims 1
		Demey paper					Quairs	
August	8	Delivred John Jafreys . . .						10

		Shables Mounted					
August	12	Received from Mounling . . . . .					25
		Received from John Davidson . . . . .					25
		Received from John Scot . . . . .					25
		Received from Archbald Simpson . . . . .					20
						—	95
//							
		Cabage					Skors
August	15	Received from sevrall gardiners . . . . .					36
//							
August Greenock	19	Received from Patrick Johnsto <sup>n</sup> . . . . .				Lining servets diss 2	towil 1
//							

Septe	1	Received from William Wadel painter of small brushes . . . . .						11
Thread								
Septe	1	Received from James Witherspon of Gray . . . . .						lb 30
Septe	1 4	Received from John Robertson . from Dito	puder diss	pletts diss	Trenchers diss	Spouns diss	bras chandlers	
			1 ...	2 ...	1 ...	... 2		
Septe	4	Received from William Craig .	Linsed oyl pints	birses lb.	yellow paint lbs	White Lead lbs	Rd Lead lbs	bleck boxes diss
			30 <sup>oz</sup>	2	20	20	20	3 <sup>oz</sup>

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FOLIO 20

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Shables Mounted	
August	12	Sent to Ship Rising Sun in box . . . . .	95
		Cabage Stock	
August	15	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	26
		Sent to Ship Hope . . . . .	10
			36
August	19	Delivred Patricks Pack aboard Rising Sun . . . . .	Lining servets diss 2 1

FOLIO 21

GLASGOW ANNO 1699

		Paint Brushes						
Septe	4	Sent to Companys Ship Rising Sun . . . . .				11		
		Thread						
Sept	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .				30 lbs		
Sept	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	Puder plaits diss 1	Trenchers diss 2	spouns diss 1	bras chandlers 2		
Septe	4	Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .	Unseed oyl pints 30 <sup>1/2</sup>	birses lbs 2	yellow paint lbs 20	Whit lead lbs 20	Rid Lead lbs 20	black boxes diss 3 <sup>1/2</sup>

		Muscavado sugar	Casks	lbs	
Septe	4	Received from William Chives . . . . .	1	50	
<hr/>					
		Lime juce	Casks	pints	
Septe	4	Received from Thomas Aniges . . . . .	1	18	
<hr/>					
		Bisket	lbs		
Septe	4	Received from James Muirhead Baxter . . . . .		815	
		Received from Walter Buchanan . . . . .		3185	
		Received from James Ballinie . . . . .		735	
		Received from Andrew Scot . . . . .		568	
		Received from Stephen Rowan pro dito . . . . .		259	
			Received from Robert Buchanan . . . . .		761
					6323
	18		Received from James Ballinie . . . . .		2000
			Received from Walter Buchanan . . . . .		1881
			Received from James Muirhead . . . . .		1553
		Received from Andrew Scot . . . . .		1049	
				6483	
				12806	

Septe	4	Muscavado sugar		Casks	lbs
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		1	50
Septe	4	Lime juce		Casks	pints
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		1	18
Sept	4 18	Bisket		bags	lbs
		Sent to Ship Rising Sun . . . . .		29	6323
		Sent to Dito which went to Port Glasgow and since pr Capt. Baylie )		30	6483
12806					



B

THE SAILING OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION

1699





## I

INSTRUCTIONS from the Court of Directors to Mr. James Byres, one of the Councillors, Capt. William Vetch, Capt. James Gibson, and Major John Lindsay.

## GENTLEMEN :

You are, pursuant to your commission from this Court bearing equal date with these presents, to go jointly with all convenient speed on board of the Company's proper ships the RISING SUN and the HOPE and their hired ships the HOPE of Borrowstouness and the DUKE OF HAMILTON, and after having taken an exact survey of their several conveniences for accommodating the men etc., you are to place and dispose of yourselves, either jointly or separately as in your discretion you shall think most advisable for the better direction of all the needful matters during your voyage.

You are during your voyage to be careful in seeing good order kept on board of all the said ships, and that the Landmen be trained in the exercise of their arms, and that the Chyrurgeons be diligent in looking after such as at any time happen to fall sick or receive any hurt.

You are to take care that a strict eye be kept on the stewards of the said several ships, that they give in forthwith a particular inventory of what goods belong properly to themselves, that none of the Company's goods be disposed of under pretence of goods belonging to them, and that neither the stewards nor any other officer whatsoever be allowed the privilege to retail brandy on board with special regard to the stewards of the two hired ships above-mentioned, and that all the Company's men be well looked after during the voyage and maintained in the terms of Capt. Daling's and Capt. Duncan's Charter Parties with the Company and Bills of Fare relating thereunto, of all which you have herewith true copies delivered unto you for your information : And in regard that the daily allowances mentioned in the said Bill of Fare are by some

persons supposed to be too large, we leave it to your discretion to retrench the same if so you think fit, and to observe the remainder of what the said Captains are obliged to give to the Colony.

If during your voyage you happen to meet with any ships belonging to such as you can reasonably believe to be no enemies to our Company, you are to send us advices of your state and condition and of the most material occurrences you meet with in the voyage.

Upon the appearance of any fleet or numbers of ships whom you apprehend to be no friends, you are to call the Captains of the several ships to concert the manner of fighting in case of any attack.

At Greenock the 17<sup>th</sup> day of August, 1699.<sup>1</sup>

## II

### SAILING ORDERS for the RISING SUN, now riding in Clyde

When you make Golden Island and come within a convenient distance of the said Company's settlement, you are to open and use the enclosed signals, and if you should happen not to be duly and exactly answered as the said signals do prescribe, then you are to spread the Company's colours and come to an anchor about the middle of the Bay opposite to the body of the said Island, and at the same time you are to give a signal to them ashore by firing of a gun and making of a wheef with your ensign for a pilot to conduct you into the harbour, or send your boat well manned into the harbour. And upon your arrival safe within the harbour you are forthwith to wait upon the Council of Caledonia and deliver the herewith-enclosed letter as directed to them, the said ship and cargo committed to your charge being also consigned to them, and you are to follow their orders until your return into Clyde or Forth with such returns as they shall please to put on board of you ; so wishing you a happy voyage and a safe

<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives, Royal Bank.

return, we bid you heartily farewell. In testimony of all which these presents are given under our hands at Greenock the 17<sup>th</sup> day of August, 1699.<sup>1</sup>

## III

## DIRECTIONS AND ADVICE to Captain James Gibson

That after the ships are got clear of the land the sea and land officers should endeavour to show all men the use of both great and small guns, and that every man on board belonging either to sea or shore be allotted a quarter where he is to fight if need be, and a fighting order, with the name of each man belonging to the quarter be placed on each quarter of the ship, without which there must unavoidably be confusion in case they engage; this is fit to be done as soon as conveniently may be after you are got twenty-five leagues to the westward of Ireland if you go north about, which the Committee inclines you should; but if the winds oblige you to go through St. George's Channel, it may be thought time to affix those orders and assign those stations to the men when you are about twenty-five leagues to the westward of the southwesternmost land of Ireland, and in case the ships under your command should happen to be separated, if you go north about, it may be advisable to lie seven leagues off the northernmost land of Ireland, standing in within four leagues of the shore.

Except the necessity of watering oblige, it were to be wished that you did not land a man before you came to Caledonia; and in case you do take water you had best not use any of it for drink because of the season, but only as need requires for the boiling of victuals.

When you make the Island of Monseratt, you are to lie off to the windward, standing in in sight of the Island at night, and off in the morning, so as not to be seen from the shore, where the Company's proper ship the HOPE may be sent off towards Caledonia, you still standing off and on or lying by for three days thereafter. She had best

<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives, Royal Bank.

stand towards Curasao and make the little Island if the weather be clear, and then steer away for the coast of Darien.

You are carefully to observe whenever you come up with any English ship of war not to wear any other than the Company's own colours.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

MEMORANDUM that Mr. Daniel Mackay, one of the Councillors of Caledonia, arriving here while the RISING SUN and other ships in company were lying in the Bay of Bute waiting for a fair wind; and about the same time, it being surmised by reports from London that the Company's Colony had deserted their settlement, and thereupon the said Mr. Mackay having frankly offered his service to return immediately along with the RISING SUN to Caledonia, the Court of Directors thought fit to add him in Commission to the Council-General on board the RISING SUN by a special letter, of which the copy follows.

*Edinburgh, the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, 1699.*

GENTLEMEN :

Whereas by commission and instructions from our Court of Directors bearing date at Greenock 17<sup>th</sup> August last, the chief command and government of your now intended expedition was committed to you, and Mr. Daniel Mackay, one of the Councillors of Caledonia, being since that time arrived here per express from the Council of the said Colony to negotiate their affairs here, and he being now willing and desirous to return forthwith with an account of his negotiations, and we being well satisfied in his fidelity, capacity, courage and good conduct, do therefore hereby nominate and appoint him to be added to your number in the said commission. Requiring you to consult and act jointly with him in all matters relating to the said expedition :

<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives, Royal Bank.

for which end we herewith send you by him some further instructions, and have also appointed some of our number at Glasgow to give you and him a credit of two hundred pounds upon some or other of their correspondents in any of the Leeward Islands for freighting a sloop to Scotland with advice of what account you may have there concerning the Colony and of what may happen to yourselves before then, so referring you to Mr. Mackay as to what further accounts he may give you concerning the state of the Colony when he parted from thence and his negotiations since that time, we wish you a happy and prosperous voyage.<sup>1</sup>

## v

INSTRUCTIONS to Mr. James Byres, Mr. Daniel Mackay, and Capt. William Vetch, Capt. James Gibson and Major John Lindsay, Trustees for the Company's particular interest upon the said Colony.

## GENTLEMEN :

You are, pursuant to your commission and instructions bearing date at Greenock the 17<sup>th</sup> of August last, to proceed your intended voyage to Caledonia with the very first fair wind, and to regulate yourselves accordingly.

And whereas we have received information from London of a very improbable story that those of the said Colony have wholly deserted their settlement there, for fear of the preparations that were making against them at Carthagea, and gone where nobody can give any account of them, we can give no manner of credit to the said story, all circumstances relating to it appearing so very inconsistent and fabulous that we can believe no set of men in the world of any reasonable measures of discretion and resolution, and much less those in whose fidelity and courage we have placed such an entire confidence, could be guilty of so much groundless cowardice, folly and treachery. Yet in case it should happen that through any unforeseen and

<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives, Royal Bank.

unexpected accident you find the Colony removed from their said settlement (which we cannot suffer ourselves to believe upon any account), then you are to use all means possible for re-possessing yourselves (even by force of arms if need be), and to proceed in the government of the Colony according to the fundamental constitutions thereof until further advice from the Council-General or Court of Directors of our Company.

Edinburgh, 20<sup>th</sup> of September, 1699.<sup>1</sup>

MEMORANDUM that in the meantime an Express was despatched to those on board the RISING SUN to acquaint them that Mr. Mackay would be with them in a few days, and ordering them not to sail tho the wind should happen to prove fair, until his arrival ; yet so infatuated were they, that tho' this Express came to their hands on Saturday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September, yet they sailed the very next morning by nine a'clock, leaving Mr. Mackay and several boatsful of provisions which were then on the water behind them ; to which unaccountable act may be justly attributed at least a great deal of the misfortunes that afterwards attended them ; however, in about two weeks thereafter the Court of Directors getting positive information of the Colony's desertion despatched advices immediately by several ships sent per express after the deserters, as well as after those who went with the RISING SUN.<sup>2</sup>

#### VI

INSTRUCTIONS to Mr. Daniel Mackay, Captain William Vetch, Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonabb, and Mr. Alexander Hamilton, appointed to have the government of the Company's Colony of Caledonia on the Continent of America.

GENTLEMEN :

In regard that Captain Robert Pennicuik, one of the former Councillors, has not only all along since his first

<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives, Royal Bank.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*

going to the said Colony, held an undue correspondence with several persons, both here and in England, concerning the Colony's proceedings and circumstances, to the manifest prejudice and discredit of both the Company and the Colony, but did also, as we are positively informed, presumptuously and arrogantly take upon him to do many things in opposition to the Council and Constitutions of the Colony, and impudently pretended to have a special warrant from the Directors here for so doing; you are hereby ordered upon meeting with him, on the Colony or elsewhere, to turn him out of all his offices and commands, both by sea and land, with disgrace and infamy; and punish him otherwise as upon examination you shall find his crimes deserve.

And whereas we understand that the ships sent upon the first expedition for settling of the said Colony were after their arrival there all along kept wholly idle and useless, and not employed as they ought to have been in making reprisals upon the persons and goods of the Spaniards after that they broke out in acts of hostility against the said Colony; you are therefore hereby ordered to take care not to fall in the like error and neglect, but as soon as conveniently you can to order and employ the ships and vessels under your command in making reprisals upon the said Spaniards for the damages by them done upon the persons, goods, and effects of several officers and others belonging to the said Colony.

At Edinburgh, the 20<sup>th</sup> day of October, 1699.<sup>1</sup>

## VII

From the COURT OF DIRECTORS to Mr. James Byres, Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Vetch, Capt. Jas. Gibson, and Major John Lindsay.

*Edinburgh, 24<sup>th</sup> of October, 1699.*

GENTLEMEN :

The last we had from you was of the 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo, dated on board of the *Rising Sun* Sunday morning by 9 a clock, the

<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives, Royal Bank.

ship being then (as you write) getting under sail. We cannot but say that the strain of the said letter was very Short and Supercilious, considering it was written in return to a letter which you had received the night before under the hands of John Shaw of Greenock, John Graham of Dougalston, and Baillie William Woodrop, three of our number, intimating to you that they had per express received Orders from our Court [of Directors] to stop your sailing (even if the wind should prove fair) till Mr. Mackay's arrival on board of you with such further Orders and Instructions as we thought fit to send you, upon the news we had then received of our Colony's desertion tho' by an uncertain hand; Certainly you could not have imagined that these three Directors would have written such a letter to you and sent Dougalston's brother along with it, if they had not sufficient ground and warrant so to do; and whether they had or not, their said letter was a sufficient warrant and vindication on your behalf, in all Events whatsoever, for waiting till Mr. Mackay should come up; Especially they giving you a plain hint of the news we had received. . . . But as the Colony's Desertion through their Temerity and fear of the effects of these Proclamations that were issued furth against them in all his Majesties Plantations of America has put both us and you upon playing an after-game which we hope may be more Successful and be of greater duration than the first, So your precipitant sailing after having received the letter abovementioned, has put us to a great deal of Trouble and Charge in despatching Mr. Mackay after you with a Ship from the Clyde, as also Captain Campbell of Fonabb by another vessel from London for the greater security . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library: Colonel Leven's *Darien Papers*.



C

ACCOMPT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES OF  
OUTRICK PROVISIONS & CARGO ON BOARD  
THE INDIAN AND AFRICAN COMPANY'S SHIP  
THE 'SPEEDY RETURN' FOR CALEDONIA  
CAPT JOHN BAILLIE COMMANDER DIS-  
BURSED BY WILLIAM ARBUCKLE MER-  
CHANT IN GLASGOW, FOR ACCO<sup>TT</sup> OF THE  
SAID COMPANY.

1699.



ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 193

1

PORT GLASGOW THE 20<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1699

ACCOUNT of PRIME COST and CHARGES of Outrick Provisions And Cargo On board The Indian and African Companys Ship The Speedy Return Cap<sup>t</sup> John Baillie Commander, For Caledonia, Disbursed by William Arbuckle Merch<sup>t</sup> in Glasgow For acco<sup>t</sup> of said Company Viz<sup>t</sup>—

	No. of Acco <sup>t</sup> s & Receipts		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Paid for Leading of 30 Water Casque to the Water . . . . .	"	1	"			
		Paid for Filling ye said Casque . . . . .	"	1	3			
Oct. 28		Paid to John Marshall Meason for setting up ye Camboos . . . . .	"	"	"	"	2	3
		Paid in Arnest to fifteen Seamen at shipping of them . . . . .	"	"	"	"	1	8
Ditto 30		Paid for a Quaire of paper . . . . .	"	"	"	"	2	4½
Novem <sup>r</sup> 2		Paid to Colin Campbell for 4 pump Baskets . . . . .	"	"	"	"	"	6
6		Paid to William Glen for his pains and boat freight for fetching two Water Caske That was taken away by a high Tyde . . . . .	"	"	"	"	"	8
8	1	Paid to George Dalling for a pool to be a mast to ye Lang boat . . . . .	"	"	"	"	1	4
		Paid to John Crauford for 19 Bolls & 6 pecks pease at 20s. p. boll . . . . .	"	"	"	19	7	6
		Paid to William Rodger for two Dozen of Brooms . . . . .	"	"	"	"	"	8
9	3	Paid to Robert Rodger for his acco <sup>t</sup> & Receipt viz <sup>t</sup>						
		14 Long boats oars at 13 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	15	2			
		6 Hoyskelies at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	1	6			
		Two freights of his boat to the Hill of Ardmor to Look for, and bring over the Water Casque that was taken away with a high Tyde in the Night Time . . . . .	"	5	6			
	4	Paid to John Lylie for six Fathom of Firewood . . . . .	"	"	"	1	1	8
	5	Paid to John Gay p. his acco <sup>t</sup> viz <sup>t</sup>				1	10	"
	5	69 ston weight of Butter at 6s. 6 <sup>d</sup> ster. p. ston . . . . .	22	8	6			
		5 barrels & 4 halfe ones to hold the same in . . . . .	"	16	1½			
						23	4	7½

Novem <sup>r</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Paid to Porters for Carrying Empty Casque to Pack Pease and Bread in, with fetching Spailles to burn them	"	"	"	"	1	4
		Paid for 2 Quair of Paper with ane Express to Greenock	"	"	"	"	1	3
10	6	Paid to Thomas Main for 16 Barrells Beeffe at 25s. p. Barr <sup>ll</sup>	"	"	"	20	"	"
	7	Paid William Bryce for Glaseing & dresing y <sup>e</sup> binnacle Glass	"	"	"	"	1	11 <sup>½</sup>
		Paid for fraighting of Ten barrells of Poudre aboard	"	"	3			
		— Carriage of Ditto Poudre from ye Poudre house to ye shore	"	"	5			
		Paid to 2 Expresses for going to Greenock	"	"	"	"	"	8
	8	Paid to John Miller boatman, for two fraights of his boat from Crawfordsyde & Greenock to Port Glasgow with Ten barrells of meall & twelve ditto oat bisket & 16 barrells beef	"	"	"	"	3	8
		Paid to Duncan Morison for freight of Twelve barrells oat bisket, from aboard ye ship to Greenock to be Dryed	"	"	"	"	1	2
	9	Paid to John Scot Carpenter p. acco <sup>tt</sup> viz <sup>t</sup>	"	10	—			
		5 hear Pumpes at 2s. ster. p. pss.	"	"	2			
		one sheave to ye Long boats mast	"	2	—			
			"	12	2			
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup>	"	0	6			
		Paid p. Receipt	"	11	8	"	11	8
	10	Paid to James Parker for 13 Ells Harden at 5 <sup>½</sup> <sup>d</sup> p. Ell for mending Saills p. Receipt	"	"	"	"	5	11 <sup>½</sup>
11	11	Paid to Gilbert Wilson for a Cross cut saw p. Receipt	"	3	—			
	12	Paid to Matthew Scot Carpenter for 6 Days work aboard at 18 <sup>d</sup> p. Day p. Receipt	"	9	—			
	13	Paid to Margraet Johnston for two weeks and two days Dyet of James Watson Cook at 4s. p. week p. Receipt	"	9	—			

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 195

Novem <sup>r</sup> 13	No. 4		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		Paid to James Lyell for a new hand saw to the Carpenter . . . . .	"	4	"	1	5	"
		Carried over to Page the 2 <sup>nd</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	68	9	0½

2 GREENOCK THE 14<sup>TH</sup> OF NOVEMBER 1699

Novem <sup>r</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		Brought over from Page the 1 <sup>st</sup> the Sum of . . . . .	"	"	"	68	9	0½
	15	Paid to Mr. Walter Dog Chirurgion for his Expences in Going to Glasgow, to see the Chist of Medicemnts made up . . . . .	"	"	"	"	13	4
	16	Paid to Janet Love for 12 hand-specks at 4½ <sup>d</sup> p. pss. p. Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	4	6
Nov <sup>r</sup> 15	17	Paid to James Boyd p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> viz <sup>t</sup> 341 lb. weight floor Bisket at 1£ ster: p. 100 . . . . . 3 new barrells at 2s. 2¾ <sup>d</sup> p. pss. to hold the same . . . . .	3	8	2	"	"	"
			"	6	8	3	14	10
	18	Paid to Rob <sup>t</sup> Arthur for 3 hogheads for Water Casque . . . . .	"	"	"	"	7	6
	19	Paid to Arthur Park p. his accomp <sup>t</sup> viz <sup>t</sup> 96 New barrells at 2s. 2¾ <sup>d</sup> p. pss. to pack 141½ boalls oatmeall . . . . . halfe a hunder hoopes for hooping the said barrells . . . . .	10	13	4	"	"	"
			"	1	8	10	15	—
		Paid for 100 nails to nail bread hogheads & barrells . . . . .	"	"	"	"	"	5
	20	Paid to Capt. John Baillie for his Expences & attendance p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> viz. Horce hyre to Port Glasgow & three nightes he stayed there . . . . . Horce hyre & one night . . . . . Paid for a boat to look after ye water Casque when a Drift . . . . . — Two Dozon of hens . . . . . — 21 Ditto Eges . . . . .	"	8	—	"	"	"
			"	4	8	"	"	"
			"	2	5	"	"	"
			"	14	—	"	"	"
			"	5	3	"	"	"

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		— Attendance from ye 18 <sup>th</sup> of October to the 16 <sup>th</sup> of November which is 18 Dayes att 3s. 4 <sup>d</sup> p. Day	3	—	—	4	14	4
	21	Paid to Heugh Mackenny Boatman for freight of 18 barrells beeff & 24 barrells oat meall (which is 3½ Lasts) Att 10 <sup>d</sup> p. Last from Greenock to Craufordsdyk road	"	"	"	"	2	11
	22	Paid to William Holmes Cooper p. his Acco <sup>tt</sup> viz <sup>t</sup> 24 hoghead hoopes . . . . . 1½ ston of Chalk . . . . . one bung boarer . . . . . 6 gemlets . . . . .	"	1	"	"		
			"	2	"			
			"	1	5			
			"	"	10			
16	23	Paid to John Mackintosh boatman for Freight of three Last of oat meal from Greenock to Craufordsdyk Road.	"	"	"	"	5	3
	24	Paid to John Stivenson baxter in Greenock for Drying & firing 12 barrells oat bisket which was Repacked in Ten barrells with damnified & Small for Hens	"	"	"	"	2	6
	25	Paid to Sir John Selaw of Greenock for meall & beeff vizt. 82 bolls oat meall at 16s. p. boll . 59½ bolls ditto at 16s. 6d. p. boll . Duty of the forsaid 82 bolls meall . 18 Barrells Beeff at 24s. p. barrell	58	15	4			
			48	17	7½			
			6	16	8			
			21	12	—	136	1	7½
17	26	Paid to Neill Mackneill boatman for freight of 14 barrells floor & oat bisket & 2 hogheads meall from Greenock aboard the ship in Craufordsdyk Road . . . . . — Ditto Mackneill for his boats Load of Mr. Mackays Goods from Glasgow to Port Glasgow . . . . .	"	1	3	"		
			"	5	—	"	6	3
	27	Paid to Archibald Mitchell boatman for freight of 3 Last of oatmeal from Greenock aboard of the Ship in the Road of Craufordsdyk . . . . . Ditto Mitchell for Going three Times off to the ship with his boat & took some hogheads from aboard, till the Ship was Stowed . . . . .	"	2	6	"		
			"	2	6	"	5	—

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 197

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	28	Paid to Mr. Daniel Mackay for a stock to ye ship p. Receipt . . .	"	"	"	10	—	—
	29	Paid to James Mackenny Carpenter for four pound weight of Yarn to be mapes . . . . .	"	"	"	"	5	—
	30	Paid to John Hunter for Nails p. his acco <sup>t</sup> viz <sup>t</sup> 3900 Pump nails at 2½ <sup>d</sup> p. 100 . . . . .	"	8	1½			
		400 Clap nails at 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	"	1	—			
		1400 Scubert nails at 5 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	"	5	10			
	31	Paid to Janet Bannentain for three Weeks Dyet to Thomas Fouller Sailer, from the 20 of october to the 11 of November at 4s. ster. p. Week . . . . .	"	"	"	"	14	11½
		Paid tuo Expresses for Going from Greenock to Pt. Glasgow ab <sup>t</sup> the meall sufferance etc. . . . .	"	"	"	"	12	—
		Carried forward to Page ye 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	238	2	1½

3 PORT GLASGOW THE 17<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1699

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	32	Brought over from Page the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Paid to Francis Duncan for the following Necessarys and Depursements by him p. his acco <sup>p<sup>t</sup></sup> viz <sup>t</sup> Spent when agreeing the bargain about the Meall . . . . .	"	"	"	238	2	1½
		Cooperage packing & portage of 82 bolls Meall . . . . .	"	6	9			
		Carriage eooperage portage & package of 59½ bolls Meall . . . . .	"	6	6			
		Cairrage of the Meall from the Celler to the boat . . . . .	"	2	4			
		Dressing of 2 Water Caskes with Hoopes . . . . .	"	"	10			
		One hoghead for a Water Caske . . . . .	"	4	—			
		Celler Rent for the Meall . . . . .	"	3	9			
		Cooperage and Nails to bread Caske . . . . .	"	"	7½			
		Porters for Pulling ye bread Caske to the boat . . . . .	"	"	7			
		Paid to ane Express from Air About M <sup>r</sup> Mackay . . . . .	"	3	4			

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		— Savinge tuo of the Shipes Water Caske that was Taken away by ane high Tyde in the Night Time . . . . .	"	1	—			
		Three pecks of Salt for Pickle to 18 Barrells beeffe . . . . .	"	2	6			
		One Pint of Sweet Oyl & tuo bottles to hold it in for Mr Mackays use . . . . .	"	3	8			
		Two Sheep at 6s. 8d. p. pss. which went aboard for Dittos use . . . . .	"	13	4			
						2	10	— $\frac{1}{2}$
		Paid for ale to the Seamen at Francis Duncans, when stormsted, & when they came ashoar Severall Times to get Necessarys, & filling of some Water Caske with Corn to the hens . . . . .	"	"	"	"	4	7
	33	Paid to John Baillie which he paid for Piloting the Ship from Port Glasgow to Greenock p. his Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	4	10
	34	Paid to John Scot Carpenter for tuo Log Realls p. his Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	3	—
	35	Paid to James Watson Carpenter p. his Receipt viz <sup>t</sup> 22 foot of tuo Inch Plank at 6 <sup>d</sup> p. foot . . . . .	"	11	—			
		halfe a days work helping to make a fore top mast to ye ship . . . . .	"	1	—			
						"	12	—
	36	Paid to John Graham & James Hunter sailmakers there acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. Making a foretop sail 97 ells at 2 <sup>d</sup> p. Ell is . . . . .	"	16	2			
		Nine Days Work mending Sails at 18 <sup>d</sup> p. Day . . . . .	"	13	6			
		One & a halfe ells French Dook . . . . .	"	1	6			
			1	11	2			
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	"	1	2			
		Payed p. Receipt . . . . .	1	10	—	1	10	—
	37	Paid to Rob <sup>t</sup> Doby Smith his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. 1 hinging Lock to the Stearage Door . . . . .	"	1	—			



ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 199

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		1 Lock for the Cabin Door . . . . .	"	1	2			
		Dighting 6 firelocks & one Blunderbush belonging to ye Ship . . . . .	"	8	2			
		One Lock, one foot and spring . . . . .	"	"	8			
		One Lock & 2 nails . . . . .	"	"	4			
		Two Gaurds to Two Guns . . . . .	"	"	8			
		Mending of tuo Stocks . . . . .	"	1	—			
		Ane nettorte to the Blunderbush . . . . .	"	"	2			
		Ane bouse to ane touch Hooll . . . . .	"	"	6			
		Two Grapes to ane Ratch . . . . .	"	"	8			
		Ane back Warren & Nails . . . . .	"	"	6			
		12 Hooks for Small Armes . . . . .	"	2	—			
		Mending of a pare of hand screws . . . . .	"	5	"			
		One shark Hook . . . . .	"	2	6			
		One fish Geeg with Nine prangs . . . . .	"	5	—			
		One Harpoun . . . . .	"	3	4			
		Ane Kelder Door Lock . . . . .	"	"	10			
		Ane Marlin Speck . . . . .	"	"	4			
			1	17	10			
		Deduced of the above acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	"	9	6			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	1	8	4	1	8	4
38		Paid to Andrew Ker for 2½ hunder of Hoghead hoopes at 5s. p. hunder p. his Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	12	6
		Carried over to Page the 4 <sup>th</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	245	7	4½

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PORT GLASGOW THE 18<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1699

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		Brought over from Page the 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	245	7	4½
39		Paid to Robert Lang Cooper for Dressing ye Water Caske p. acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. . . . .						
		Nine score Butt Hoopes upon Water Butts . . . . .	1	2	6			
		Four score & 13 hoopes upon Hogheads . . . . .	"	7	9			
		— Heading 25 hogheads bread with 25 hoopes on them . . . . .	"	4	2			
		Four score & six Hoopes upon Water Barrells . . . . .	"	4	9			

	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Nov <sup>e</sup>		— Heading of Ten hogheads of pease with 10 hoopoes to them .	"	1	8			
		— Ditto of five barrels of salt with 30 hoopoes to them .	"	1	8			
		One Pump Stoup and Making .	"	"	10			
		Making tuo Buckats .	"	1	4			
		115 Cast of Hoopoes and Working them . . . . .	"	9	2			
			2	13	10			
		Deducted of the above acco <sup>tt</sup> .	"	3	10			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	2	10	0	2	10	—
Nov <sup>r</sup> 8	40	Paid The Officers and Seamen of the Ship Speedy Return There tuo Moneths Advanee Wadges Viz <sup>t</sup> John Baillie Captain . . . . .	14	"	"			
		Patrick Montgomerie first mate .	6	"	"			
		Thomas Cuning Second Mate .	5	"	"			
		James Mackenny Carpenter .	6	"	"			
		William Wilkin Boatswain .	3	"	"			
		M <sup>r</sup> Walter Dog Chirurgion .	3	"	"			
		William Holmes Cooper . . . . .	2	12	"			
		James Kell Sailler . . . . .	2	6	"			
		James Montgomerie Ditto . . . . .	2	6	"			
		John Bog Ditto . . . . .	2	6	"			
		John Mackdougall . . . . .	2	6	"			
		John Barclay . . . . .	2	6	"			
		John White . . . . .	2	6	"			
		Thomas Fouller . . . . .	2	6	"			
		James Watson Cook . . . . .	2	10	"			
		Robert Sheerer Sailler . . . . .	2	6	"			
		James Risk Captains Servant . . . . .	1	16	"			
		Israel Phipenny Sailler . . . . .	1	16	"			
						64	2	—
18		Paid to Patt. Proudies wiffe for tuo days dyet to Robert Neasmith when he came Down to go one of the Mates & to Jno White & Jno Barclay Saillers tuo Daysdyet in all	"	"	"		4	4
20	41	Paid to George Raulands Boatman for his boats freight of three fathom of Firewood 13 sawen Deall & nine spares from Port Glasgow aboard the ship in the Road of Craufordsdyke . . . . .	"	"	"	"	3	—
	42	Paid to John Vass for ye tuo Mates Dyet & tuo of the Seamen with Drink to the Seamen at severall						

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 201

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Times & to Carpenters & wrights when working aboard p. his Particular acco <sup>tt</sup>	"	"	"	5	10	6
		Paid to William Gordon for making tuo Veans	"	"	"	"	"	5
		Paid to William Semple for Burning Carrying & filling the bread & peasc Casque being tuo full Days	"	"	"	"	1	8
43		Paid to John Hill Merchant in Greenock for 12 hanks sail Twine and six sail needles p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt	"	"	"	"	3	10
44		Paid to Robert Whitehill his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. 88 lb. weight of Tallow at 1£ 10s. p. 100	1	6	4 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>			
		2½ lb. weight of Candle	"	"	10			
		One halfe Barrell to hold the Tallow	"	1	3			
			1	8	5 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>			
		Deducted of said acco <sup>tt</sup>	"	"	1 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>			
						1	8	4
45		Paid to John Reid Wright for 15 Dayswork of himselfe and servants p. his Receipts	"	"	"	"	16	8
46		Paid to James Parker p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt vizt. 65 Ells harden at 5½ <sup>d</sup> p. ell for small sails	1	9	9½			
		20 skeens Twine at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. skeen	"	5	—			
						1	14	9½
		Carried Forward to Page the 5 <sup>th</sup>				322	2	11½

5 PORT GLASGOW THE 20<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER 1699

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Brought over from Page the 4 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	322	2	11½
47		Paid to Alex <sup>r</sup> Watson Carpenter his Acco <sup>tt</sup> of Blocks Vizt. 4½ foot of dead Eyes at 8 <sup>d</sup> p. foot	"	3	"			
		2 Takle blocks 13 Inches p. pss.	"	6	8			
		1 Spanish Takle block	"	4	"			
		2 Main Top sheet Blocks	"	5	"			
		2 Fore Top sheet Blocks	"	4	"			

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		4 Quarter Blocks 9 Inches p. pss. .	"	5	"			
		26 foot of small Blocks . . . . .	1	1	8			
		12 Dead Eyes for ye Muzin Sherouds . . . . .	"	12	"			
		4 Dead Eyes for the Muzin Sherouds . . . . .	"	2	8			
		3 Crofeet blocks. . . . .	"	2	"			
		Shave and Pin to ane Tap block .	"	"	7			
		One Quarter Block pin . . . . .	"	"	1			
		Two Dozon of Pins . . . . .	"	1	"			
		One Dead Eye to the Muzin Tross	"	"	6			
		6 Shaves and Pins . . . . .	"	2	"			
		10 foot of blocks . . . . .	"	8	4			
		— Hassing of the Pumps . . . . .	"	4	"			
		12 dead Eyes to the fore shrouds .	"	2	8			
		4 foot & 7 Inch of Small Dead Eyes . . . . .	"	3	"			
		6 Stand of Pump feet . . . . .	"	10	"			
		Putting in a shave in ye top mast, and cutting out the Mortise .	"	1	"			
			5	11	2			
		Deduced of the above acco <sup>tt</sup> .	0	4	6			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	5	6	8	5	6	8
48		Paid to John Crauford for ye Par- ticulars underwritten of his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt.						
		100 of 20s. nails . . . . .	"	1	6			
		54 lbs. weight net brumston at 3½ p. lb. . . . .	"	15	9			
		one keg to put the same in . . . . .	"	1	"			
		one barrell of Crown pitch . . . . .	1	6	8			
		4 halfe barrells Stockholm Tar . .	2	"	"			
		600 of 40s. nails at 3s. ster. p. 100	"	18	"			
		1500 of 20s. nails at 1s. 6 <sup>d</sup> p. 100	1	2	6			
		400 of nails at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. 100 . . . . .	"	4	"			
		1500 ditto at 8 <sup>d</sup> p. 100 . . . . .	"	10	"			
		500 ditto at 10 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	"	4	2			
		600 scubert nails at 5 <sup>d</sup> p. 100 . . .	"	2	6			
		500 five shill. nails . . . . .	"	2	1			
		600 nails at 6 <sup>d</sup> p. 100 . . . . .	"	3	"			
		One Tree, for a spare for top Mast	1	"	"			
		2 poulls for stutting booms . . . .	"	2	"			
		2 Norroway Planks att 2s. 4d. p. pss. . . . .	"	4	8			
		100 Double Trimmalls . . . . .	"	6	8			
		5½ Pints of oyl with a Keg to Put in	"	6	6			

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 203

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		A pice of timber to make Borvies, with tuo hoyskellies . . . . .	"	4	"			
		24 Thick Chossen Deals for Sawing at 12d. p. pss. . . . .	1	4	"			
		55 Norroway Deals at 9½ p. pss. . . . .	2	3	6½			
		9 small Poulls 16 foot long p. pss. at 8 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	"	6	"			
		18 hanks Sall Twine at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. hank . . . . .	"	4	6			
		6 skeens of Marlin at 4 <sup>d</sup> p. skeen . . . . .	"	2	"			
		4 barrells of white Herring att 18s. 4d. p. barrell . . . . .	3	13	4			
		3 fathom of Firewood at 6s. 8d. p. fathom . . . . .	1	"	"			
		Porters for carrying the Firewood to the boat . . . . .	"	"	6			
		Paid for ten foulls which went to Greenock for the ships use . . . . .	"	5	10			
		12 hanks saill twine p. Jno Grahanne & Ja. Hunter sailmakers ther Receipt . . . . .	"	3	"			
		One skeen of marlin . . . . .	"	"	4			
		15½ lbs. weight of bolt rope at 4 <sup>d</sup> per lb. . . . .	"	5	2			
		97 Ells French Canvas att 12 <sup>d</sup> p. ell . . . . .	4	17	"			
		2 Double staved Caske to be Iron bound . . . . .	"	16	5½			
						24	16	8
		Carried over to Page the 6 <sup>th</sup> . . . . .				352	6	3½

6 PORT GLASGOW THE 22<sup>ND</sup> OF NOVEMBER 1699

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		Brought over from page the 5 <sup>th</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	352	6	3½
	49	Paid to John Vass for tuo Water Bells Lisbon Salt at 1£ 5s. p. boll . . . . .	"	"	"	2	10	"
	50	Paid to Mathew Eduard for 2 Doz. of saill Needles p. his Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	2	4
		Paid to Magnas Goodman for his boat from Port Glasgow aboard of the Ship in Craufordsdyke Rood, with Iron Work and severall other Thinges . . . . .	"	"	"	"	1	6

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
	51	Paid to Jean Armor for Dyet to Ten of ye Seamen vizt.						
		James Montgomerie from ye 17 <sup>th</sup> of October to the 10 of November which is 3 weeks & three Days at 4s. p. week . . . .	"	13	9			
		James Kell Ditto . . . . .	"	13	9			
		John White Ditto . . . . .	"	13	9			
		John Bog Ditto . . . . .	"	13	9			
		John Mackdougall Ditto . . . .	"	13	9			
		William Wilkin Ditto . . . . .	"	13	9			
		James Maekenny Carpenter from ye 24 of october to the 10 of November which is 2 weeks & 4 days at 4s. p. week . . . .	"	9	9			
		John Barelay from ye 23 of October to ye 10 of November which is two weeks & four Days . . . . .	"	10	4			
		Robert Sheerer from ye 31 of October to the 10 of November which is one week and 3 days . . . . .	"	5	9			
		William Holmes Ditto . . . . .	"	5	9			
		All the above named Seamen were one day more to the 11 of november y <sup>t</sup> ye ship went Down to Greenock rod . . . . .	"	5	10			
			5	19	11			
		Deducted of above acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . .	"	4	11			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	5	15	—	5	15	"
		Paid to John Edie in Craufordsdyk for a ston of occom . . . . .	"	"	"	"	2	6
		Paid to Francis Duncan for a barrell to hold the Doctors Teeing Drink . . . . .	"	"	"	"	2	3
23	52	Paid to William Miller Smith for Iron work p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt.						
		Strapes for Dead ston. lb.						
		Eyes weighting 12 6½						
		Top chain plates weighting . 1 3						
		Ane Grader to the Camboos . 2 12½						
		One Pump hook & ane Ditto speer . . . . . 1 5						
		Asses weighting 4 3						

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 205

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Chaineboltes with 2 Axes & Marlin Specks weighting . . . . . 4 6						
		Small bolts & 2 can hooks . . . . . 4 6						
		Ringes Steeples & forelocks . . . . . 1 3						
		Iron work to 2 buckats & a pump can weighting . . . . . 2 1						
		Specks weighting . . . . . 5 1						
		38 15 at 3s. 8d. p. ston.	7	2	9½			
		Ironing six Pump boxes at 5 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	2	6			
		Six strakers at 2½ <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	1	3			
		100 fine Groat naills at 18 <sup>d</sup> p. 100	"	1	6			
		36 Thumbells at 1 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	3	"			
		121 ft. of Plate at 2 <sup>d</sup> p. foot . . . . .	1	—	2			
		900 and ten of sixpence naills w <sup>ch</sup> was Received for bread & pease Caske . . . . .	"	4	7½			
		Mending of tuo pump Speers . . . . .	"	"	6			
		One brander . . . . .	"	"	8			
						8	16	11½
		To horce hyre dqun ye water, and iny oun and Servants Expences from the 13 of October, I went Down, to the 24 of November I came up, being 41 days in fitting out the Ship Speedy Return, and hiring Seamen to her, And buying Pro- visions, And Clearing all acco <sup>tt</sup> s Doun the Water &c. . . . .	"	"	"	7	18	9
		Carried forward to page the 7 . . . . .	"	"	"	377	15	7

7

GLASGOW THE 24 OF NOVEMBER 1699

Nov <sup>e</sup>	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	53	Brought over from Page the 6 <sup>th</sup> Paid to Magnas Goodman for freight of 24 Barrells Beeff from Glasgow to Port Glasgow p. his Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	377	15	7
			"	6	"			

	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
Nov <sup>e</sup>	54	Paid to John Taylour for his boat Load of 7 hoghead & a Ruber of Ryce, 2 Barrells of Brandy, four bags & a small cask Naiells, 13 balls Marlin, one Great Chist of Smithes Instruments & 2 pare of Cams from Glasgow to Port Glasgow p. Receipt . . . . .	"	7	6	"	13	6
28	55	Paid to Andrew Marshall Smith in Gorbals for Threety howes and tuo Axes at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. p. Receipt .	"	"	"	1	12	"
29	56	Paid to John Wotherspoon & James Fleming Smithes in Rutherglen There acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. 25 Iron Spades at 2s. ster. p. pss. 26 Shovell Irons at 5 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. .	2	10	"	"	"	"
			"	10	10			
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> ye goods being delivered at Glasgow . . . . .	3	"	10			
			"	2	6			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	2	18	4	2	18	4
		Paid for tuo books to write the acco <sup>tt</sup> of ye Cost of Ship & Cargo	"	"	"	"	3	4
Dec. 1	57	Paid to James Thomson for Crannage of seaven hogheads of Ryce and one Chist of Guns p. his Receipt .	"	"	"	"	1	5
	58	Paid David Donald Smith his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. 14 Carpenter Axes at 3s. ster. p. pss. 40 Pitching Axes att 16 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. .	2	2	"			
			2	13	4			
			4	15	4			
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> for Each of ye Carpenters Axes 4 <sup>d</sup> , is . . . . .	"	4	8			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	4	10	8	4	10	8
	59	Paid to William Waterstoun Smith his Acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. 27 Guns at 15s. ster. p. pss. . 7 Ditto at 10s. p. pss. . . . . 2 lb. Weight of Poulder for Proving the Guns . . . . . 2 lb. weight of Ball at 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> p. lb. .	20	5	"			
			3	10	"			
			"	1	6			
			"	"	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>			



ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 207

Dec.	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
		2 pare cams for casting small shote at 14 <sup>d</sup> p. pare . . . . .	"	2	4			
		116 Howes at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	5	16	"			
		1 pare new bellowses . . . . .	2	16	8			
		One Anvill (or smiths Studdy) weighting 7 ston & 12 lb at 10s. 10 <sup>d</sup> ster. p. ston . . . . .	4	3	11½			
		2 fore & 2 hand hammers, 2 pare of Tonges, & one Ten Iron weighting in all 2 ston & 12 lb. at 4½ p. lb. is . . . . .	"	16	6			
		One Threav of stra to pack the work Looms . . . . .	"	"	6			
		42 fyles of severall Sortes p. Simon Tennents acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	1	2	6			
			38	15	6½			
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	1	"	6½			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	37	15	—	37	15	—
2	60	Paid to John Robertson p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt vizt. 24 Sheets double white Iron at 5 <sup>d</sup> p. sheet . . . . .	"	10	"			
		1 Double dark Lantrin . . . . .	"	3	"			
		2 Sauce pans att 6 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	1	"			
		2 English peuther plates weight- ing 5 lb. 15 oz. at 15 <sup>d</sup> per lb. . . . .	"	7	5			
		1 Deep Peuther boull weighting 3 lb. 11 oz. at 18 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. . . . .	"	5	6			
		12 English peuther Trinchers at 14 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	14	"			
		2 White Iron Fillers . . . . .	"	"	9			
		A dip Sea Lead weighting 18 lb. 6 oz. at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. . . . .	"	4	7			
		A hand Lead weighting 8 lb. at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. . . . .	"	2	"			
		One large Lantrin . . . . .	"	5	"			
		One small Ditto . . . . .	"	2	"			
		One pare of Large Bellowses . . . . .	"	3	"			
		One bar Rugh Lead weighting 6½ stones at 2s. 8d. p. ston . . . . .	"	8	"			
		Mending of two Lantrins . . . . .	"	1	6			
						3	17	9
	61	Paid to Thomas Gilchrist for 12½ lb. Pump Lather at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. p. his Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	12	6
		Carried over to Page the 8 <sup>th</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	£430	"	1

8

GLASGOW THE 5 OF DECEMBER 1699

Dec.	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
	62	Brought over from page the 7 <sup>th</sup> Paid to Andrew Scot for Sand Glasses & Dressing the Com- pases p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt.	"	"	"	430	"	1
		One Watch Glass . . . . .	"	3	4			
		One halfe Watch Ditto . . . . .	"	1	8			
		2 halfe Minuat Ditto . . . . .	"	1	8			
		2 halfe hour & ane hour Ditto . . . . .	"	2	6			
		Dressing 5 Compases with a New Glase put in one of them . . . . .	"	3	10			
			"	13	"			
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	"	"	11			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	"	12	1	"	12	1
	63	Paid to James Lees Mert in Glasgow for acco <sup>tt</sup> of Ninian Rodger Mer <sup>t</sup> in Greenock for a Jeck & pennat to ye ship p. his Acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt.						
		11 Ells $\frac{3}{4}$ blue Sey at 14 <sup>d</sup> p. Ell . . . . .	"	13	8 $\frac{1}{2}$			
		1 Ell $\frac{1}{2}$ Reid Ditto at 16 <sup>d</sup> p. ell . . . . .	"	2	"			
		Making of ye Jeck & pennat with Threed . . . . .	"	3	"			
		halfe a quarter Stinten for ye head of ye pennat . . . . .	"	"	1			
						"	18	9
	64	Paid to John Haw Vintener for severall Necessariys he furnished for the use of Mr. Daniel Mackay for Cabin stores p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt vizt.						
		4 Gall, 6 pints & $\frac{1}{2}$ of Cherrie Seck at 1£ ster. p. Gallon . . . . .	4	16	3			
		2 Gall. Cannary att Ditto . . . . .	2	"	"			
		8 Dozon of bottles at 3s. 4d. p. Doz.	1	6	8			
		2 hampers at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. . . . .	"	2	"			
		8 Dozon of Corks at 2 <sup>d</sup> p. Doz. . . . .	"	1	4			
		16 Gallons $\frac{1}{2}$ of Ale at 2s. 6d. p. Gall	2	1	3			
		8 Dozon of bottles at 3s. 4d. p. Doz. . . . .	1	6	8			
		8 Doz. of Corks . . . . .	"	1	4			
		One pound of Rasiens . . . . .	"	"	6			
		30 hens at 10 p. pss. . . . .	1	5	"			
		A Casque holding 8 Gallons $\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .	"	4	"			
						13	5	"

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 209

Dec.	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	65	Paid to Mungo Cochran for seuerall Necessariys he furnished for ye use of said Mackay for Cabin stores p. acco <sup>th</sup> vizt.						
		6 ounce of Cinamon at 1s. ster. p. ounce	"	6	"			
		8 Ditto Nutmegs at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>d</sup> p. ounce	"	5	6			
		2 Ditto Mease at 2s. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>d</sup> p. ounce	"	4	5 $\frac{1}{3}$			
		3 Do. Cloves at 9 <sup>d</sup> p. ounce	"	2	3			
		3 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. weight of Pepper at 1s. 6 <sup>d</sup> p. lb.	"	4	10			
		59 lb. of Currans at 5 <sup>d</sup> p. lb.	1	4	7			
		20 lb. of proons at 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ <sup>d</sup> p. lb.	"	3	10 $\frac{2}{3}$			
		25 lb. of Refineado Sugar at 14 <sup>d</sup> p. lb.	1	9	2			
		25 lb. of Common Loaf Sugar at 9 <sup>d</sup> p. lb.	"	18	9			
		12 wine Glases at 7 <sup>d</sup> p. pss.	"	7	"			
		12 Brandy Ditto at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. pss.	"	3	"			
		203 lb. Cheise at 1£ 5s. ster. p. 100	2	10	9			
		3 bolls & 3 pecks floor at 1s. 6 <sup>d</sup> p. peck	3	16	6			
		142 lb. weight of Rasiens at 2£ ster. p. 100 is	3	16	6			
		80 lb. of Muscovado Sugar at 6 <sup>d</sup> p. lb.	2	"	"			
		To Partis for Carring the Goodes	"	"	9	16	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec. 6	66	Paid to John Garnar for 2 horce hides at 6s. 8d. p. pss. p. Receipt	"	"	"	"	13	4
	67	Paid to Arthur Mackarneck Boatman for freight of The Compases, Sand Glases, three bags of shote Lead, Two horce hides, and halfe a hide of pump Lather from Glasgow to Greenock aboard ye ship There	"	"	"	"	1	8
		Carried forward to Page the 9 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	£462	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dec.	No.		£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
	68	Brought over from Page the 8 <sup>th</sup> Paid to William Berrie for Nails Locks & bands p. acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. One Ston & a halfe of Great Nails at 5s. ster. p. ston . . . . .	"	"	"	462	5	1
		600 Ten Groat nails at 3s. p. 100 1000 five Groat nails at 1s. 3d. p. 100 . . . . .	"	7	6			
		6000 Tenpence Ditto at 7s. 6d. p. 1000 . . . . .	"	18	"			
		7000 Eightpence Ditto at 6s. 3d. p. Ditto . . . . .	"	12	6			
		5000 four pence Ditto at 3s. p. Ditto . . . . .	2	5	"			
		3500 six pence Ditto at 4s. 7d. p. Do . . . . .	2	3	9			
		5000 Hoghead Ditto at 3s. p. Do. 6000 Scubert Ditto at 3s. 4d. p. Ditto . . . . .	"	15	"			
		2000 Taketts Do at 1s. 4d. p. Ditto 5 Ells & $\frac{1}{2}$ of harden at 4 <sup>d</sup> p. Ell to put some of ye Nails in . . . . .	1	"	"			
		A firken to put them in . . . . .	"	2	8			
		100 hoghead Nails Received be Alex <sup>r</sup> Brycc . . . . .	"	1	10			
		halfe a hunder Planchers Received be Ditto . . . . .	"	"	4			
		Two Chamber Door Locks at 10 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. and 2 Amrie Door Ditto at 8 <sup>d</sup> p. pss., 4 pare door bandes at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. and 4 pare Dove- tailled bands at 4 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. & 200 shorte Scelet Nails at 6 <sup>d</sup> p. 100 is in all . . . . .	"	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3			
			10	7	6 $\frac{1}{3}$			
		Deducted of the above acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	"	"	10 $\frac{1}{3}$			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	10	6	8	10	6	8
7	69	Paid to James Stirling for 75 lb. weight of shote Lead at 20s. 10 <sup>d</sup> ster. p. 100 p. Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	15	5
8	70	Paid to Mr. Henry Marshall Chirur- gion Apothecary for Drogs p. his Acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	7	15	"

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 211

	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 11	71	Paid to William Walkinshaw for the following Ropes p. his Acco <sup>tt</sup> and Receipt Vizt. 1688½ lb. weight Tarred Ropes of Seuerall Sorts att 1£ 8s. 4d. ster. p. 100 is 194 „ white Turtle Line at 2£ p. 100 . . . . . 17 „ Dip Sea Line at 8 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. . . . . 5 hand Line at 5 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. . . . .	23	18	5			
			3	17	6			
			„	11	4			
			„	2	1			
		1904½ lb. weight of Ropes.				28	9	4
	72	Paid to Adam Nisbet Clerk to the Brewery for Three Tun and tuo Gallons Shipes Bear at 3£ 12s. ster. p. Tun is 10£ 18s. 3d. Deduced of ye same for the od tuo Gallons 2s. 3d. Paid p. Receipt .	„	„	„	10	16	„
	73	Paid to Stephen Crauford Copper-smith p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. Ane Copper Pote weighting 4 lb. 2 oz. at 2s. 3d. p. lb. . . . . Ane Iron boull to it . . . . . 50½ lb. sheet Lead at 3 <sup>d</sup> p. lb. . . . .	„	8	7			
			„	„	4			
			„	12	7			
						1	1	6
12	74	Paid to Andrew Walles for 12 Ells Reed & 12 Ells blue Sey for Mending the shipes Collours at 6 <sup>d</sup> p. Ell p. Receipt . . . . .	„	„	„	„	12	„
	75	Paid to James Morise Smith in Craufordsdyk for 2 ston of Iron work he furnished to ye ship at 3s. 9d. p. ston p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt . . . . .	„	„	„	„	12	6
13	76	Paid to Alex <sup>r</sup> Bryce Depursed by him p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt <sup>t</sup> Cairtage of the beeffe to ye brumilaw . . . . . Crannage and Portage of the Same . . . . . William Moor for freight of his Gabart doun ye Water . . . . . Arthur Mack Corneck for freight of 24 barrells beeff from Glasgow to Port Glasgow . . . . .	„	2	4			
			„	„	9			
			1	„	„			
			„	8	„			
						2	2	1
		Carried to Page the 10 <sup>th</sup>				£524	10	7½

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GLASGOW THE 14<sup>TH</sup> OF DECEMBER 1699

Dec.	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.																														
		Brought over from Page the 9 <sup>th</sup>	"	"	"	524	10	7½																														
	77	Paid to John Buchanan for three Long hunder flint stoncs as p. his Receipt	"	"	"	"	3	4																														
	78	Paid to William Craig for a pint of Lintseed oyl p. Receipt	"	"	"	"	2	6½																														
	79	Paid to Janet Wair p. her acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt vitz. 2 boulls & 2 Platters at 6 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. 3 Dozon of Cow horn spoon at 12 <sup>d</sup> p. Dozon 3 Ladles at 2 <sup>d</sup> p. pss.	"	2	"	"																																
			"	3	"	"																																
			"	"	6	"	5	6																														
	80	Paid to John Peadie Depursed by him vitz. James Marshall for Iron work p. acco <sup>tt</sup> & Receipt Elezabeth Smith for the Dyet of Seaven Seamen that were Sent west to goe the Voyage Paid the said Seamen in Money p. Receipt James Simpson for 60 pecks Groats at 2s. 4 <sup>d</sup> p. peck 2 Gallons Lyme Joyce at 4s. p. pint for ye use of Mr. Mackay with a Caske to hold it in 16 <sup>d</sup> in both David Rob for horce hyre and his Expences in going Express to Edinburgh to the Directores There Bringing west the Seaven Sea- mens Cloaths that should have gone the Voyage and went not Cartarge of some of the becffe to the boat Ditto of the bear and other Goods to the boat Freight of the boats to the ship with Goodes Cartarge of goods to the boats And workmen to load the Cartes Paid anc boy to goe to Edin- burgh	2	18	4	1	13	"	1	1	11	7	"	"	3	5	4	"	13	4	"	6	6	"	2	8	"	5	"	"	11	8	"	8	"	"	2	5

ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 213

Dec.	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Robt. Neasmith in parte Due to him for Coming home Pilot with Mr. Mackay And was to have Gone Second Mate of the Ship Speedy Return . . .	2	"	"	20	8	2
	81	Paid to James Peadie Junior for Two Tearces Brandy p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. No. 1 89 Pintes 2 89 $\frac{3}{4}$ <u>178<math>\frac{3}{4}</math></u> Pintes Brandy att 2s. 6d. p. Pint . 2 Tearces to hold the Same .	22	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	82	Paid to John Lang Candlemaker for Candle p. acco <sup>tt</sup> vizt. 5 boxes Cotton weeked Candle qt 15 ston at 5s. 6d. p. ston . . . 2 Ditto tow weeked Ditto 6 ston at 4s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. p. ston . . .  Deduced of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> .  Paid p. Receipt . . .	4	2	6	5	10	10
			1	8	4	5	10	"
			"	"	"	1	"	"
	83	Paid to Heugh Montgomerie for his Expences in Riding Twice to Greenock . . . Paid to John Young Cooper for Caske vizt. 2 hogheads for Groats . . . 2 Barrells for holding Mr. Mackays Floor . . . One Ruber for holding Brandy . . . Nailling of tuo Boxes with six Hoopes on Them . . . Dressing one barrel and three hoopes to it . . .  Deduced of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> .  Paid p. Receipt . . .	"	5	"	"	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
			"	5	6 $\frac{1}{3}$	"	"	10 $\frac{1}{3}$
			"	2	4	"	13	4
			"	1	"	"	13	4
			"	"	"	"	13	4
			"	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	13	4
			"	"	"	"	13	4
	84	Paid to George Govan Cooper for 11 Empty hogheads and butts to hold Three Tun of Shipes bear at 5s. p. pss. p. Receipt . . .	"	"	"	2	15	—

Dec.	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	85	Paid to Robert Dickie Wright for Seaven Candle boxes att 12 <sup>d</sup> p. pss. p. Receipt . . . . .	"	"	"	"	7	"
		Carried forward to page the 11 <sup>th</sup> .	"	"	"	578	9	—

11

GLASGOW THE 15<sup>TH</sup> OF DECEMBER 1699

Dec.	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	86	Brought over from Page the 10 <sup>th</sup> Paid to Patrick Stewart Wright for three Boxes Vizt. One box for Holding Guns . . . . . One Ditto for Holding the Iron Work . . . . . One Do. for holding ye bellowses smithes stedly and other Instruments . . . . .	"	"	"	578	9	—
		Deducted of ye above acco <sup>tt</sup> .	1	12	8			
		Paid p. Receipt . . . . .	"	2	8			
			1	10	—	1	10	—
	87	Paid to John Spreull for Eight hog-heads and a Ruber of Ryce Weighting 5144 lb. net att 1£ 11s. 8d. ster p. 100 is 81£ 8s. 11d. ster: with a Ruber 2s. in both p. his acco <sup>tt</sup> . . . . .	"	"	"	81	10	11
* Note in different hand.	*	[is charged to Ship Rising Sun and pa by Dougalston coming to £9 18 2 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ]						
		Nota: one of ye forementioned hog-heads of Ryce was Bought for ye Ship Rising Sun, weighting 626 lbs. nett, which if charged to her acco <sup>tt</sup> most be credited by the Ship Speedy Return						
16	88	Paid to George Lockhart for Ninety Seaven Barrells of Beeffe at 1£ 6 8 ster. p. Barrell . . . . .	129	6	8			



ACCOUNT OF PRIME COST AND CHARGES 215

Dec.	No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		Ditto Lockhart for Depursements by him p. Particular acco <sup>t</sup> 71£ 5s. scotes is in Sterling . . . . .	5	18	9			
						135	5	5
	89	Paid to Mathew Campbell for 34 Pints Brandy at 3s. 4d. p. Pint . . . . .	0	0	0	5	13	4
		Paid to Ditto Campbell & prnrs for the Ship Marmaid, now the Speedy Return . . . . .	"	"	"	550	"	"
						£ 1352	8	8½
		Paid for 6639 lb. weight of Floor bisket at 23s. 4d ster: p. 100, bought for ye Rising Sun, But put aboard the ship ye Speedy Return . . . . .	"	"	"	77	9	1
		Postage of Letters anent ye ship Speedy Return . . . . .	"	"	"	"	3	8
						£ 4301	1	5½
		Deduce to be paid back by Richard Murray Clerk to the Custom house at Port Glasgow, as p. his obligation payable on demand for draw-back of 142 bolls meall bought from Sir John Schaw of Greenock at 1s. 8d. p. boll . . . . .	11	16	8			
		Ditto money received from Mathew Campbell for ane halfe worn fore top sail, Included in ye inventory and not aboard ye ship, so pd. back be do. Campbell . . . . .	2	10	"	14	6	8
						£ 1415	14	9½

The fore going and above written acco<sup>t</sup> Containing eleven pages Amounting to one Thousand four hundred and fifteen pound, fourteen shillings and nine pence and one third of a penny is given in by me to the Indian and African Company.

WILLIAM ARBUCKLE.

The foregoing and above written account is Exactly Calculated by me, Witness my hand at Edinburgh the Twenty Third of December 1699.

JAMES DUNLOP,  
Accomptant.

EDINBURGH THE 23<sup>RD</sup> OF DECEMBER 1699

We undersubscribers Members of the Committee of the Court of Directores of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, have perused the accompts in the foregoing Eleven pages Amounting to the sune of one Thousand four hundred and fifteen pound fourteen shillings Nine pence and one third sterling, And have seen the Instructions of the payment of the same, so far as is needfull. The which Instructions we have Delivered back to Mr. Arbuckle Excepting the Carpenters Bill of Sale and ane Vendition in favors of ye Court of Directors of ye Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, And the Bill of Loading for the Goods Shipped and the Invoyce of the same, and Mr. Mackays Receipt for Ten pounds ster: stock purse, and We Doe approve of the said accompt, Witness our hand Day aforsaid.

FRA: SCOTT.  
J. HALDANE.  
D. DRUMMOND.

CHAPTER IV  
TRADE WITH THE EAST



A

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARMENIAN  
MERCHANTS



1

LETTER : To Capt. JAMES GIBSON Commanding the ship  
Called the rising Son att Edenbourg

*Amsterdam, 13th February, 1699.*

Cap. James Gibson.

SIR :

j have never had the honnour to writt unto you for want of occasion, but without doubt itt will remember you that j had ye honnour to Speeke with you thro Mr. Stevenson att several times here, about an agreement with ye Lords Directors of ye african Company att Costy [Ecosse] for to transporte in their ships per Suratti great parcell of goods of great vallew and belonging to Armenian merchants, as also their proper Persones, and att that purpose wee had made up already a form of agreement, butt by want of a full resolution nott effected, having ye sd. Armenian merchants att London employed great Summs of moneȳ (weh. you can informe yourselfe off if please) and bȳ weh ye sd. Compan<sup>y</sup> hath a great proffit and advantage, and because itt is not permitted att London to enter in there those goods weh they desired to send from hence for ye indies, and that being free there att Costy [Ecosse], So j doo offer now againe that if in caise itt pleases ye sd Lords to permitt unto ye Armenian Merchants to transport their persons and Commodities in ye Ship of ye sd. most noble Company, for ye indies, then j pray, Sir, Lett me have your and their opinion how much Should be desired for every Last or else how much per cent of ye vallew, once for all, free to load at Costy and free to unloade at Suratti, and if an agreement<sup>t</sup> can be made about itt (as also the prefereing weh j desired for me), then j have now occasion again, to Load in ye sd Ships 4,000£ starling or thereabout—or more—butt for 4,000£ stg j am sure. So if in case ye sd. Lords does incline for itt, then please to send me your answer and advise, as also the conditions and the prices, and

finding itt reasonable j will upon your encouragement come over myself att Costy with ye first, to make an agreement thereof, and j could bring with me an Armenian merchant. Whereupon j expect your answer as soon as will be possible, for my Governo,<sup>1</sup> and for to shew j am inclined and affected to serve the sd. Company wheresoever I can. So I do offer my services; jea! if the sd. Lords think it fitt to lett me have any quality j will thin goo myself w<sup>th</sup> one of their ships for the indies, And in such a case a j being safe arrived att Suratti, j can assure my Lords, to cause there to be loaden and shipped off many goods and vallews for Armenian merchants, for as you know j know ye Languiteh and am known. All ye beginniings are diffieill but once being advanced wherefore shoud ye Company of Costy be lesser then of London, Seeing att Costy it is permitted to load all sorts of Commodities, jea! goods of England and here, So j think by time it is to become better. All w<sup>ch</sup> please to show to my Lords and so let me have your speedy answer for my Governo<sup>1</sup> and w<sup>th</sup> their Lords last resolution and if anything is to be done and if it comes to bee made an agreement what time we are to be there with our goods.

I doo writt you largely and pray answer me so again. W<sup>ch</sup> doeing j shall bee and Remaine

Sr. Yr. most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

MARTIN GREGORY.

I expect your answer Enelosed in a letter of Mr. Alexr. Henderson who has forward of this.

*Endorsement:*

Letter from Mr. Martin Gregory dated at Amsterdam on the 13<sup>th</sup> of Feby 1699.

Received here the 24<sup>th</sup> ditto.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guidance.

<sup>2</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. 1. 85.



## II

MARTIN GREGORY to Captain JAMES GIBSON

*Amsterdam, ye 26th June 1699.*

James Gibson.

SR :

j am very woundered j receive no answer from you on my severall Letters, so j do nott know how to direct business. Since my last the Armenians are arrived from Moscovia per via Nerva and Lübeck here in this city with their silk and precious stones ; amongst them are severall that inclines to go for Suratti with your Compagnies Ships, and if in case wee can make an agreem<sup>t</sup> with the honorable Lords Directors for their passage, then they should accept it :—inshort if we could come to an agriement then j am Sure of £10000 vallew of loading, and j do nott doubtt butt when there will be an agreement made, then there will be occasion of 11 or £12000 vallew of loading ; att present j understand of Mr. Peter Davidson that you should nott have received my letters of ye 11<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of Aprill and of ye 5<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of May last, ye reason whereof j can nott imagine myself ; likewise j am woundered your Ship goes for ye Westindies, j hope you will persuade ye honorable Lords to send nott that Ship thence, butt to make an agreement with us : j write this by the sd. Armenians order and by agreement they owe me already 10 p. cent therefore please to shew all this unto ye sd. honorable Lords, and that my brother is to come over with one of ye Principallys of ye Armenians (God willing), next Tuesday they are to depart from hence : in ye mean time be pleased to make my humble services to ye sd. Lords, and please tell their Lordships that if in case there is any thing to be done, that then j may have an answer on these Letters or after ye arrivall of my sd. brother, with ye resolution of ye sd. Honorable Lord Directors, and if there is any thing to be done therein thin j am to come over myself after advice come to my hand,—and be pleased to tell their Lordships

that j shall doo all what lyes in my power to have a beginning and j have a great opinion of ye good consequence thereof—and having once made a beginning and (God willing) one Voyadge, then j can nott see why your Company should be lesser than ye English: and for your governo that the Armenians make great Speculation and desire on your ship ye Rising Sun, and if perhaps ye Lords would send an other ship to ye Eastindies that was as good as your ship is, notwithstanding they would have better contentment in your ship, therefore please to persuade ye Honorable Lords to take a shore resolution if their Lordships inclines to an agreement.

Sr: Yr. humble Servant att Command

MARTIN GREGORY.

For Mr. James Gibson to be  
Left at ye house of Mr.  
Jas. Maclurg merchant,  
Edenburgh.<sup>1</sup>

III

*Amsterdam, ye 9<sup>th</sup> July 1699.*

HONORABLE LORDS DIRECTORS :

Never j have had th' honnour to writ unto your honorable Lordships, because formerly j have written and directed my Letters, hereabouts, unto Cap<sup>n</sup> James Gibson. Bringers of these are Mr. Gregory di Estephan, Armenian merchant, and Jonas Gregory my brother, for to speake with yr Lordships about an agreement betwixt Yr. Honor: Lords: and th' Armenian Merchants, whercabout j further remind Yr. Honor: Lords: to the inclosed Remonstrance which seemes a Little hard, because of the security they pretend, butt the Reason they have is, that there are not yet examples that yr. honor: Lords: ships have made some

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. 1. 135.

Voyadges to Suratti, and because itt is such a Considerable Stock that they should loade, so itt can nott be taken up so ill that they pretends to go sure in their trading, and yett they are strangers. Butt this honorable Company being a permitted Company, the same can have no enemies, and so it seemes a small thing to allow them that Security. Now it is butt to know Yr. Lords. inclination and to agree how much they shall give, and if yr. honor: Lordships incline for that tantum of ten pr. cent which they allow, however j thinke by treating they will come till twelf pr. ct. Therefore j pray the honor: Lords will bee pleased to come to a favourable resolution and agreement, and if in case Their Honor: Lords: doo's incline to itt, then j am to come att Costy on the first knowledge j shall have thereof, for to make up an agreement in good forme, butt in case their Lords: shall Judge this tantum Per cent to be to less, or that ye Stock would be nott great enough, then their Lords: bee pleased to consider that the first beginning never can be with that advantage as a thing w<sup>ch</sup> already is in full use, and j assure yr. honor: Lords: whence once (God willing) a Voyage shall be done, that then thir honor: Lords: shall have a full satisfaction and advantage, and thin their honor: Lordships will finde, that there shall be Loade and Shipped off twoo a three time hundred thousand Guilders Per Ann<sup>o</sup>. And hoping itt shall take or come to an effect to ye Profite of both sides, j will expeete an answer of yr. honor: Lordsh.

And in ye mean time Remain

Their honorable Lords Directors

Most humble Servant

MARTIN GREGORY.

To The Right Honorable  
Lords Directors of the  
African and Indian Com-  
pany of Scotland, Edin-  
burgh.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. 1, 138.

## IV

Martin Gregori of Amsterdam in Holland, in the name of Armenian Merchants att Present in Amsterdam Doth Shew unto the Honorable Lords Directors of ye african and india Company of Scotland—

That the said Armenian merchants inclines to load in the said Companies Ship or Ships, for Suratii in East indie the Vallev of one hundred thousand guilders provisionally, in several goods and merchandises, here under Specified, Viz.: Holland's cloth here in Amsterdam bought and made up; Amber and blood coralls worked and not worked, Cochenille, English cloth bought and made up in London or here, Severall Venetian and Neuremberger wares, Swords, and other small things, principally consisting in Clothes, Amber and blood Coralls and Cochenille being all goods that take little place or room, and of great vallev, item pigs of lead and what they further shall finde fitt for this trade; Now if so bee that the said Honorable Lords Directors does incline to lett ye said Armenians bee Transported with their Goods, then they offer the sd. Company to pay ten per Cent of ye Vallev of the goods, provided the goods which they shall bring in from abroad are to be free of charges as also att Bombay, and if in case there must bee paid any Charges att Bombay, that the said Company should satisfie them; Butt att Suratti the said Armenian merch<sup>ts</sup> are to pay the dew Custome-charges for their goods; however, they shall not be obliged to pay any other thing more butt the said 10 pr cent once for all after their arrivall at Suratti. and haveing received their goods. And because the said Armenian merchants are allways open and sure in their trade, so they would desire the said honor: Lords Directors to lett them have Securitie that they the said Armenians shall not be molested or troubled in their Persouns and goods by ye English Nation or Company, as well in carrying their goods from England for Scotland as in the way and at Suratti, and

likewise for dommadges or Wetness (w<sup>ch</sup> God forbid) and for all other Sorts of Claimes and dommadges w<sup>ch</sup> they should or might receave from English or others because of having made an agreement with the sd. Scotts Company. And if the said honor<sup>e</sup> Lords Directors now have no ships ready to transport the said Armenian merchants and their goods, then they would itt could bee in 5 or 6 moneths time, and in case of an agreement they will pay the Company according th' agreement eight Rroupi and a halfe for each pound Starl. after their arrivall at Suratti and haveing receaved their goods there. And the said honorable Lords Directors bee pleased to take these all in their Wise consideration, and likewise that itt is nott to bee once for one hundred thousand guilders, butt that afterwards it will grow till two or three times hundred thousand guilders. Therefore, hoping the said honorable Lords Directors shall incline to itt and favour ye said Martin Gregori with their Lordships favourable answer for th' advantage and profit of both sides.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. 1. 140.



B

THE VOYAGE OF THE 'SPEEDWELL'  
TO THE CHINA SEAS





## I

ARTICLES made and Agreed upon Between Mr. Robert Blackwood, Junior, Merchant of Edinburgh and Co., Proprietors of the ship *Speedwell* and Cargo, Captain John Campbell Commander and Robert Innes, First supra Cargoe for a Voyage intended with God's Permission for China and the East Indies.

1<sup>mo</sup> The Company are to fitt out the said Ship, Being of Burthen 250 Tunns or thereabout with all Necessaries and Accommodations proper for so great an Undertaking and is to depart from this for Scotland with all convenient speed (wind and weather permitting) where the said supra cargoe is to receive a New Commission from ye Company Trading to these parts.

2<sup>do</sup> The Company are to send a Cargoe in Said Ship of Plate and other Proper Commodities, which shall not be less in value than Eleven Thousand Pounds Sterling (The Ship fitted out to Sea not being Included) Prime Cost.

3<sup>o</sup> For the Incurragement of their Said Supra Cargoe the Company Shall be obliged to Pay unto him his heirs Exe<sup>rs</sup> etc. The Summ of Six hundred pounds sterling, And that within the space of two Months after the arryvall of the said Ship at the Port of her Delivery in Scotland.

4<sup>o</sup> For his Further Incurragement the Company allows him to carry with him in Said Ship as an Adventure The Sum of Six hundred and fifty pounds sterling, whereof five hundred Pounds is to be Carried out in Money, And the Remaining hundred and fiftie pounds in Stock with the Company, And the Return of the said five hundred pounds being part of the said Six hundred and fiftie pounds, Is to be free of freight, Customes, and all other Duties and Charges whatsoever.

5<sup>o</sup> The supra Cargoe is to be allowed a Table aboard and Ashoar Sutable to the Character with which the Company are pleased to honour him, which table is to be for himself and as many more as the Company shall think fitt to

nominatt. And he is to be allowed a Servant of his own choicing, The said Table to be Limited by the Company at their Diseretion.

6<sup>o</sup> In ease the Cargoe Outward Should Exceed the Summ of Elevin Thousand pounds Sterling in money and Goods (beside the Ship to Sea), In such Case the Supra Cargoe is to have Commission for the Superplus being agreed for at Three Per Cent.

7<sup>o</sup> In Case of the Death of the Supra Cargoe befor any Part of the Publick Stock after his Departure from Seotland is Invested, Then his heirs, Exee<sup>rs</sup> etc are ta have but one halfe of the forsaid Reward of Six Hundred Pounds. But if befor his Death he should finish his Contracts and Investments or contract for or invest any part of the Public Stock, in such ease his heirs Exee<sup>rs</sup> etc. shall have an undoubted Right to the whole Reward in ease the whole be invested or contracted for, or in proportion to that part of the Public Stock as shall be found by his Books to be contracted for or invested befor his Death.

8<sup>o</sup> The Company shall be oblidged that the Returns of the Supereargoes private Adventure of five hundred pounds forsaid and one hundred and fifty pounds in Stock Shall be made good to his heirs, Exee<sup>rs</sup> or Assignees, In case of his Death before the Returne of the Ship to the port of her discharge, And that within the Space of Therty Days after the Sealls of the Generall Cargoe are finisht, and the Effects Received.

9<sup>o</sup> The Supra Cargoe is not to Sell or dispose of any part of his Adventure of five hundred pounds in the Kingdom of Seotland untill the Sealls of the Generall Cargoe are over ; But hath the Liberty to sell with the Company or to Export any part of the sd. Adventure at any time after the unloading of the sd. Ship.

10<sup>o</sup> The said Supra Cargoe is oblidged to serve the forsaid Company faithfully to the best of his knowledge and use all possible eare and Dilligence in disposing of the Cargoe Consigned to him to the best advantage And to invest the produce thereof to the utmost of his Skill and Judgement for the use of the said Company and in all his

transactions and agreements in buying and selling to advise with the Second Supra Cargoe Walter Keir, and In case of his Death with such as the Company Shall appoint in their Instruction to Succeed him. And duly to observe all such Orders and Instructions as he shall Receive from the Company Relating Thereunto.

11<sup>o</sup> And for the well and True Performance of all the aforementioned Articles, The fors<sup>d</sup> Mr. Robert Blackwood for himselfe and Company And the sd. Robert Innes for himselfe, Doe heirby bind and oblidge themselves, Their heirs Exe<sup>crs</sup> etc In the penalty of One Thousand Pounds Sterling, To be duly and Truly payed by the Partie Breaking or failing in Performance, To the partie Performing or Willing to Performe all and Every one of the above Recited Articles, or to his heirs Exe<sup>crs</sup> etc, and that within the space of Two Months After non Performanc as aforesaid, The Partie failing being duely Required thereunto by the Partie Performing or Willing to Performe. In Wittnes Whereof both parties have Subscriybed these articles Att LONDON The Thertie day of September In the Year of our Lord One Thousand and Sevin Hundred Before these Witnesses, Cap<sup>t</sup> John Campbell Comāder as above and Stephen Grandell of London, Mariner.

RO. BLACKWOOD.

ROBT. INNES.

Jo. Campbell Witnes.

Ste. Grandell ,,

Endorsed :

Articles of Aggreement Between Mr. Robert Blackwood and Robert Innes, 1700.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. II. 329.

## II

INSTRUCTIONS to Mr. Robert Innes, Chief Super-Cargo of the Company's ship the SPEEDWELL for a voyage intended, with God's permission, for China and the East Indies.

Tho' we have given commission and instructions of the date of these presents to Captain John Campbell as Commander for navigating the said ship and for doing every-thing thereunto relating, yet in every other respect he is to take his orders and directions from you.

You are to take special care to maintain the service of God on board and to avoid trading on the Sabbath day.

In all matters of importanee, but especially in all your transactions and agreements in buying and selling, you are to advise with Mr. Walter Keir, the second super-cargo, and in case of his death (which God forbid) with such others as by the private instructions above-mentioned are appointed to succeed him.

In difficult points on shipboard you are to call consultations of officers, who are to give their opinions separately in writing signed by them to such queries as you shall find needful to state to them, and if in matters of considerable importance the second super-cargo should at any time in giving his advice happen to differ from you in point of opinion so far as not to be convinced one by the other, then, and in that case, we desire likeways that each of you commit the reasons of your different opinions to writing under your hands.

Our design is to make the voyage as short as possible, and if the men stand well in health we hope you will not need to touch anywhere for refreshment before you are past the Straits of Sunda and Bencha, to the northward of the last of which are the Islands Pollo Aur and Pollo Timon, both which afford very good refreshments, but in case you see it inconvenient you may touch at Batavia upon Java, and to take in money there from any that will come in as

Adventurers upon the same foot with us in the Joint Stock in any sum not exceeding Fifteen Thousand Pounds.

In your passage to China you have the liberty to call at any port you think convenient to take in pepper (providing you can do it without losing your monsoons), which is to be disposed of in China or brought home, as you shall find most advantageous for us.

You are to make the best of your way to Macow, where when it pleases God you arrive, dispatch your boat with some persons that can speak Spanish or Portuguese to the City of Canton to invite some merchants down in order to treat with the Mandarin to obtain trade, which if done to your satisfaction, we would have you to adjust the ship's measurement with the Chief Customer before you carry her into the River, but if you cannot settle with those people before the monsoon spends itself, you must then seek further north, either at Amoy or any other port where you can find the best encouragement.

You are to order the Captain to keep good order on board, that no sailor or any under him give any affront or abuse to the Chineses, they being a people that love respect, and therefore must be dealt with accordingly, the consequence thereof being of so great moment that we order you to take that matter into your own particular care.

Be very cautious in your Contracts, and trust neither Plate nor Goods without good security, as is usual in that country.

You are to invest your effects in the several goods mentioned in the annexed paper, to which you may add or diminish from any of them as you see reasonable.

You are to open all the pieces of wrought silk from end to end to see there be no remnants, as also to see all the raw silk examined and weighted, that you may be satisfied all things answer the samples by which you make your agreement.

You are to take extraordinary care in the choice of the silks, tea and china wares; the difference of those goods being chosen well or ill is beyond expression.

Observe in packing your raw silk that you put dry paper first and oyled paper next, and then your cotton and mats, which is to avoid damaging or discolouring, which will be done if the oyled paper be next the silk : pack up the raw silk not exceeding two Peculs in a bale, and your wrought silk in cases well papered with oyled paper over the other.

Pack up all your sugar in chests and your china likeways, except there be a place fit to put a tub of tea in.

Let there be a place between decks on purpose to stow the Tea in, that no other goods may be mixed with it, unless it be Canes, and as secure from the Pepper as possible.

In making your first presents, remember you may have occasion to repeat them ; for upon every application made by you, you must not come before the Mandarin empty-handed, which requires your consideration.

We do empower you to take down the partitions in the great cabin for the better accommodating the merchants, which we leave to your discretion.

It is our positive order that no person shall invest any of their private adventure in Canes, and that you take care the tunnage of other goods be not to our disadvantage ; when you have finished your investments you are to make a perfect invoice fore you set sail for Europe, and take bills of lading consigned to us.

You are to make a Journal of all the transactions of the whole voyage, and in case of your death to be continued by your successors.

If it should unfortunately happen that your monsoons for China are spent, you have the liberty to traffick in any other port which you think best for our advantage, and in all the ports where you happen to touch, be sure to inform yourself as well as you can of the properest place or places in which our Company may settle a Factory, and what conditions may be required.

You are to take special care that none of the officers or any others on board the ship do invest or cause to be invested, or contract for any part of their private before the contract of the general cargo be adjusted.

For fear of war in Europe, we will that you inform yourselves at the Cape, or anywhere else you shall think proper, and accordingly steer your course.

We having thought fit to send John Campbell, a youth of good capacity, along with you for instruction to qualify him in time for our service, we desire that he may be entertained at your own table, and do recommend it to you to carry him ashore along with you when you are about buying or selling of goods.

And to the end that no person on board may reckon himself unkindly used by not being allowed to have his diet constantly at the Captain's table, we do hereby signify our inclination to you in that matter, viz., that none have the privilege of sitting constantly at that table except the Captain himself, and his first mate, the chief and second super-cargo, and John Campbell above-designed; that the Captain's second and third mates, Robert Herriot, assistant to the super-cargo, and Nisbet, purser, or any one or more of them, may be called at your own and the Captain's discretion, together with any other person on board whose behaviour and merit may plead for more than ordinary favour and countenance.

And whereas there may several emergencies happen that are impossible for us to foresee, we do therefore notwithstanding the aforesaid instructions empower you hereby with advice foresaid, in such extraordinary cases or unforeseen contingencies to act to the best of your knowledge for the good of the concern; so wishing that God may direct you in a happy and prosperous voyage and a safe return, we bid you heartily farewele.

At Edinburgh the 12th day of December, 1700.

ROD: MACKENZIE, *Secretary*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Darien MSS., Archives of Royal Bank.

## III

ROBERT INNES, Supercargo of the *Speedwell*, to Captain  
ALEXANDER GAWNE

*Malacca, the 12th of January, 1701/2.*

HON. SR:

My last to the most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company of Scotland was of the 21<sup>st</sup> July, then sailing out of Batavia Road, which was under your cover. This being an accidentall opportunity and not very certain I shall not (for severall reasons not proper to insert heir) writ so large as I willingly wold doe. Wee had the fagg end of the Monsoons in our passage to China which afforded only cross and faint gales: on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August (O.S.) the westerly monsoons broke upon us, we being then off the northwest end of the Island of Aynam,<sup>1</sup> with a violent Storme, but that lasted only twelve hours; on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August we came to anchor near Land on the Coast of China, being drove to the westward beyond expectation which [we] could impute to nothing els than the sudden alteration of the winds, a month sooner than hath been known for many years past; however, we took hold of the land and tyded it up as the winds favor'd untill the 19<sup>th</sup> of September and beleived we were not then above 10 Leagues from Maccoa, my intended port: but to our great astonishment that night and the day following proved (and was lykely to prove worse) the most dismall time ever any of us beheld, for such a tempest on the new moon rose so suddenly on us that wee wer forced to cut off our Long Boat, leave two Anchors and Cables behind us and so drive to sea; [we] could not gett our unrully Shipp right befor the wind, so that her broad side lying exposed to the most dismall tempest (I believe) that ever was seen, about halfe an hour past 3 in the afternoon we were forced to cutt our main mast and mizain by the board; at the same time [we] had six foot and 8 inches

<sup>1</sup> Hai-nan.



water in the hould, and had almost given all over for lost. But the wonderful providence of Almighty God order'd it so, that when our masts were gone our Shipp that lay before us a wreck, the raging seas having advanced as far as the comings<sup>1</sup> of the hatches, presently righted and our punps began to gain on the water in the hould and at 7 at night we gott her before the wind, and next day gott into a deep bay near tha Shoals of Aynam where we fitt'd and rigg'd two spare Topmasts into Jury masts. Therafter making two desperat attempts to no purpose to gain our port, so on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October we wer forced to turn Taile and arrived in the River of Ishoor the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November wher we masted and fitted our ship with all expedition, as well as we could, it being the only place in these seas where we could mast. I cannot yet give a particular account of our Losses in the Storme. I hope it will not prove so much as I expected. We arrived in this port the 9<sup>th</sup> inst., our chief business being to refresh our fatigued men that hath eat salt fish for 2 months (being willing to spare our English beeff for our homeward voyage), to gett some cordage which we very much want and cannot goe to sea without, and also to lay our Ship ashoar to be satisfied of her condition, all which I hope we shall accomplish in a few days and then saile for Battavia, from which place (God willing) I shall writt at large, if an opportunity to my mind occurs. I shall not be slow in improving time and everything else to the best advantage, but fear you must dispense with our absence for a longer time than was at first proposed. We all are in good health, only burryed my poor boy the same day that we wer all lyke to ly in the same grave, and one of our sailers, Roderick Makenzie dyed when we lay in Ishoar River: he had been long sick of a Consumption. Pray lett the Company and my friends know what I writt, and if you please to order your Servant to writ the contents of this letter to my wife, I shall esteem the favour since my time only permitts me to let her know that I am well, referring the Rest to your letter. I

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<sup>1</sup> Coamings.

remain with due respects and humble services to yourselfe  
and Lady and wher els due.

H. S.

Yo<sup>r</sup> most ob. and most humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

R. INNES.

Mr. Keir gives his dutifull  
respects to you.

Pray give my services to Mr. Martins family and favor  
me to forward the enclosed. P.S. We hear the most of the  
English China Ships cannot be dispatched this year.  
Goods are scarce and dear. Gold is 10 touches dearer than  
last year. I hope the loss of our passage may prove to our  
advantage.

Sr, Since I wrot my letter Capt<sup>n</sup> Hosie in the China  
Merchant is come into this Road. He tells me that the  
news at Amoy (from which place he is come) are that all the  
English Shippes at Canton and Amoy will be disappointed  
this year and that Capt<sup>n</sup> Roberts of the *Sarah* Galley at  
Limpo cannot have his dispatch this year; he confirms  
the dearnes of Gold etc. To-morrow he sails for Surratt.  
Mr Martins son was at China along with Mr. Lock and hath  
passed this way. I was unfortunat in not seeing him.  
Capt<sup>n</sup> Hosie gives me an account of him very much to my  
satisfaction. Pray lett his relation know so much

Yrs etc. R. I.

Directed to Capt<sup>n</sup> Alexander Gawne.<sup>1</sup>

IV

ROBERT INNES to Captain ALEXANDER GAWNE

*Malacca, 24<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1702.*

H. S.

My last to you was of the 12<sup>th</sup> past in which I gave you  
an account of our disaster of lossing our Masts etc. on the  
Coast of China on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September last in a Violent  
Storme, when we judged our selves not to be above 10

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS, Misc., vol. II. 378,

Leagues from the Island Maccoa, and thereafter forced (by the Violence of that Storme which lasted 36 houres) so far to the Northward on that Coast notwithstanding of two Desperat attempts made to gain our Port, that on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October we wer obliged in a Lame condition to turn Tailc and make the best of our way for the river of Ichoar to Mast our Shipp, that being the only place in these seas where we could propose to doe itt; in which River we moored our ship the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November and compleated our designe so as to sail from thence the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January and arrived in the Road of this place the 9<sup>th</sup> ditto, our designe of touching here being (since we had time enough before the monsoons served for China) to refresh our much fatigued men, to purchase Cordage which we could not goe to Sea without, to buy the Caines ordered by the Company, and above all to lay our ship ashoar to be satisfied of her condition, as well as to have her clean'd which she very much wanted. In order to the last we had, at first asking, the permission of the Government to lay her ashoar on an Island fitt for that purpose, which was performed with all the success we could desire, and the ship gott off again and in safety moored in six fathom water: but to my great greiff the concerns of our Company and those concerned in itt, seemes to be so very unprosperous as if Fate had declared itselfe a Violent revengefull Enemy to itt. Our cheiff Mate being ashoar by the Captains order, our Ignorant selfe-willed and obstinat Commander, to have the Glory of bringing the Ship again into the Road without the assistance of his Cheiff mate (which was easie to be done by any of the meanest capacity that took the least observation of the place wher the shipp lay and the seen dangers about itt) gott the shipp under saile without the advice of his inferior Officers, and in an halfe hours time Runn her fairly on a Rock which every day was seen above water. This dismall sight obliged us to apply our silver again to the Government who unanimously resolved to assist us in all things in their power for the preservation of our Goods and Recovery of the shipp, by which seasonable assistance we have saved our treasure and goods and

all other things, except some piggs of lead that lay under the ballast which we hope still to purchase. We shall endeavour to gett off the hull of the ship and nothing shall be left undone for the good of the now almost ruined concern, that we can think on. My friends told me before I left London of the Qualifications of our Captain, which I was not wanting to communicate to you in good time. It grieves me that I who despised a better employment in hopes to doe something to raise the honour and Interest of my decay'd Country, should be made a sacrifice to a Beast, that was known by you to be so befor you imposed him on us.

We had lay'd a pallantine and taken such care as to have the ship laid new with pepper in due time at a Cheap rate, and did not doubt to have made up the losses of the last year and to have returned with profit and satisfaction to all concern'd with us. But now wee are at a stand what methods to take (if our shipp cannot serve) to return to the best advantage what's left of your effects. This is all at this time from

Your truly afflicted and most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

R. I.

Pray send the inclosed to my poor wife. I hope this bad newes will not lessen your kindness to her, since I cannot assist her at present.

Directed to Cap. Alexander Gawne.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. 11. 379.

C

THE VOYAGE OF THE 'CONTENT' AND THE  
'SPEEDY RETURN' TO MADAGASCAR



THE VOYAGE OF THE 'CONTENT' AND THE  
'SPEEDY RETURN' TO MADAGASCAR

OBLIGATION by the under-officers, mates, and Sailors of  
Brigantine the *Content* for performance of A Voyage  
in the said Brigantine to the Coast of Africa.

KNOW all men by these presents that whereas We the  
Several Subscribing under-officers mates and Sailors have  
agreed with Captain Alexander Stewart Commander of  
the Indian and African Company's Brigantine the *Content*  
to serve under him on board of the said Brigantine the  
*Content* For a Voyage Intended with God's permission from  
hence to the Coast of Africa and back again, In the Several  
Capacities and at the monthly wages annexed to our  
Respective names, To be paid us within Forteen days after  
the delivery of the Cargo in the Company's Warehouse  
upon the said Brigantine—the *Content's* [Return] to the  
port of her Delivery in Scotland, We therfor each of us for  
himsilf Do hereby bind and oblige us in the Penalty of one  
Hundred Pounds Sterling each to perform the said voyage  
And to be obedient to our said Commander, and all our  
other Superior Officers. And if it shall so happen that any  
one or more of us do desert the said Service before the  
Performance of the said Voyage, then and in that Case,  
We do hereby Covenant, agree and Declare that any  
person or persons so Deserting shall thereby forfitt all  
Right, tittle, claim, or demand which he or they might  
have had, or can pretend to have, either from the Company,  
the said Captain Steuart or any other person whatsoever,  
Consenting to the Registration hereof in the books of  
Council and Session, or any other Judges Court books  
Competent within this kingdom that Letters of Horning  
on Six days Charge only and all other Execution necessary  
may be direct hereupon in forme as Effeirs, And to that  
Effect constitute

Our Procurators etc. In Witness whereof (written by James Anderson Servitor to William Arbuckle Merchant in Glasgow), We have Hereunto Set our hands and Seals at Port Glasgow the Nineteen Day of May one thousand Seven Hundred and one Years before these Witnesses Mr. Thomas Drummond Supra Cargo of the said Brigantine, John Vass Merchant in Port Glasgow and the said James Anderson

his  
Robt. R. C. Campbell At Twenty Three Shill. p. month.  
mark

David Shearer at 40 shiling sterl. per month.

William Stirling at 23 shiling sterling per mounth.

John Arrall at three and twentie shilling st.

Will: Buchanan at twenty three shillings stg. per month.

George Don att twentie three shlings per mounth.

his  
Robt. R. S. Stivenson. At Twenty Three Shillings p. month.  
mark

Robert Anderson.

[James Hamilton at three pound st. per month : Cancelled.]

Pat. Montgomerie at three pound p. month.

Hugh McLeod at thirty shillings per mu.

Henry Mack at thirty Shillings p. month.

Will Jones At Twenty Two Shill Six pence p. month.

Allex: Fraser At Twenty Three Shill.

John Wallace Twenty three shill. p. month.

Patrick Arrall At Twenty Three Shill.

John Stewart att eighteen shillin stirling per month.

John Hamiltoun.

Peter Malcolm.

Tho: Drummond witnes.

Jo. Vass, wittnes.

James Anderson Witness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. II. 375a.



OBLIGATION By the under-officers, mates, and Sailers of the Ship the *Speedy Return* for performance of A Voyage in the said Ship to the Coast of Africa, 1701.

KNOW All men by these presents that Whereas we the Severall Subscribing Under officers Mates and Sailers have Aggreed with Captain Robert Drummond Commander of the Indian and African Company's Ship the *Speedy Return* to serve under him on board of the said Ship, for a Voyage intended with God's permission from hence to the Coast of Africa and back again in the several Capacities and at the Monthly Wages annexed to our Respective names, To be paid us within Forteen Days After the Delivery of the Cargo in the Company's Warehouse upon the said Ship *Speedy Returns* [Return] To the Port of her Delivery in Scotland, We therefor each of us for himself do hereby bind and oblige us in the penalty of One Hundred pounds Sterling Each to perform the said Voyage And to be obedient to our said Commander, and all our other Superior Officers, And if it shall So Happen that any one or more of us do Desert the said Service before the Performance of the said Voyage, Then and in that case, We do hereby Covenant agree and Declare that any person or persons so Deserting Shall thereby forfeit all right, tittle, claim or demand which he or they might have had, or can pretend to have for their wages, Either from the Company, the said Captain Drummond, or any other person whatsoever, Consenting to the Registration hereof in the books of Council and Session, or any other Judges' Court Books Competent within this Kingdom, that Letters of Horning on Six days' Charge only and all other Execution necessary may be Direct hereupon in forme as Effairs and to that Constitute Our Procurators etc. In Witness whereof (written by James Anderson Servitor to William Arbuckle merchant in Glasgow) We have hereunto Sett our hands and Seals at Port Glasgow the Ninteen Day of May one thousand Seven Hundred and one Years before these Witnesses, Mr. Thomas Drummond Supra Cargo of the Brigantine *Content*, John Vass Merchant In Port Glasgow, And the said James Anderson.

- <sup>his</sup>  
 W<sup>m</sup> f Kelso At Twenty Three Shillings p. month.  
<sup>mark</sup>  
 Israel fisonne twenty shillins per month.  
 Andrew Wilkie two pound sterling per month.  
 P. Walker at 30s. sterl: per month.  
 Robert Makner at thirety shellein Sterlin.  
 And: Ross at 23 sh. st. pr. month<sup>h</sup>.  
 William Caird at twintie thrie shilings p. month.  
 James Bunthorn at thertie Shillings p<sup>r</sup> Month.  
<sup>his</sup>  
 Cristy<sup>r</sup> (x) Seobie at twintie thrie shillings stg. p. month.  
<sup>mark</sup>  
 James Steuart at twenty three shillings per moneth.  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Campbell at twenty three shilling per moneth.  
 A Knox.  
<sup>his</sup>  
 Donald D. M. M<sup>c</sup>Kallum.  
<sup>mark</sup>  
<sup>his</sup>  
 Maleome M. M. M<sup>c</sup>Kallum.  
<sup>mark</sup>  
 Char<sup>l</sup>s Broudly 3 pounds pr. Mounth.  
 Da. Drummond 2£ 10s. per month.  
<sup>his</sup>  
 Robert R. D. Dalziel at thirty Shill p. month.  
<sup>mark</sup>  
<sup>his</sup>  
 Hen. H Gilehrist Twenty three shill. per month.  
<sup>mark</sup>  
 James Davis at thirty Shillings per munth.  
 Adam Cunninghame at thrie and twenty shileng.  
 John Weir at 23 shileng p. month.  
 James Riddell at twenty three shilings.  
 John Mitchell att three and twentey shilling.  
 Peter Parlane At Twenty Three Shillings.  
  
 Tho. Drummond Witnes.  
 Jo. Vass wittnes.  
 James Anderson Witness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS, Misc., vol. 11, 375.

D

OTHER EASTERN DESIGNS



## OTHER EASTERN DESIGNS

### I

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT between The COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND Trading to Africa and the Indies And The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> JAMES EARLE OF MORTON, 1703.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made and Concluded Between the Court of Directors of the Company of SCOTLAND Trading to Africa and the Indies on the One Part, and The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> James Earle of Morton Owner of the Good Ship called the *Morton* of about One hundred Tunns burden, mounted with Fourteen Gunns and Eight Pateraroes, navigated by Fourty Seamen or thereby and Commanded by Captain John Brohode, now lying in the River of Thames and bound for a Voyage to the East Indies on the other Part, in manner form and to the effect after specified.

IMPRIMIS The Said Court of Directors do upon the Conditions underwritten, Covenant, Agree, and hereby become bound not only to Permitt the said Earle and such others as are or shall be Co-Adventurers with him in the said Voyage to Trade to the East Indies under the said Companys Priviledges with the said Ship but also to communicate to his Lordship and all such Person or Persons as he shall think fitt to imploy in that Voyage all the Rights, Powers, Priviledges and Immunities which they themselves enjoy by virtue of the Act of Parliament and Letters Patent by which the said Company is established or of any other Acts obtain'd in the Company's favour since that time ; And that in as full and ample a manner in all respects as they are legally Priviledged to delegate the same to any other ; And for that end to sign and Affix the Company's Seal to the needfull Commissions, Instructions and sailing Orders, for such Officers Super-Cargoes

and others as shall by him and Partners be employed on board of the said Ship in as ample manner and form as if the said Ship and Cargo did really and wholly appertain and belong to the said Company. . . .

[The rest of the Agreement follows the tenor of the *Annandale* Agreement which follows, including the assigning to the Directors of the Company of a share of one-twentieth part of the ship and the right of sending 'any young Man whom they think fit on the said Voyage for Insight and Instruction only, that he may thereby be rendred Capable to serve the Company as a Super-Cargo in any Subsequent Voyage.' The two copies in the Advocates' Library (Darien Misc., vol. ii. 385 and 386) are signed by the Secretary of the Company, the Directors, and the witnesses, but do not bear the signature of the Earl of Morton. The Agreement was drawn out in the month of December 1703.]<sup>1</sup>

## II

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT Between The COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND Trading to Africa and the Indies on the One Part And Captain JOHN AP-RICE and Cau<sup>r</sup> within design'd on the other Part.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made and concluded at Edinburgh the Seventh day of October One thousand seven hundred and three years between The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies on the one Part and Captain John Ap-Rice Commander and Super-Cargo of the Ship the *Annandale* of about two hundred and Twenty Tunns burden mounted with Twenty Gunns navigated by Fifty men or thereby now bound for the East Indies and Baillie James Gordon as Cautioner and Surety for and with the said Capt. John Ap-Rice on the other Part in manner and form and to the effect after specified vizt.

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. ii. 385.

IMPRIMIS The said Court of Directors do upon the conditions underwritten, Covenant and agree and hereby become bound not only to permit the said Captain John Ap-Rice and such others as are or shall be Co-Directors with him in the said Voyage to Trade to the East Indies under the said Company's Priviledges with the said Ship, but also to communicate to him and all such person or persons as he shall think fitt to imploy in that Voyage all the Rights Powers Priviledges and Immunities which they themselves enjoy by virtue of the Act of Parliament and Letters Patent by which the said Company is established or of any other Acts obtain'd in the Company's favour since that time, And that in as full and ample Manner in all respects as they are legally Priviledged to delegate the same to any other, And for that end to sign and affix the Company's Seal to the needfull Commissions Instructions and sailing Orders for Such Officers Super-Cargoes and others as shall by him and Partners be imployed on board of the said Ship in as ample manner and form, as if the ship and Cargo did really and wholly appertain and belong to the said Company.

IN CONSIDERATION whereof the said Captain John-Aprice and Cautioner above named—Do in the first place hereby become bound for himself and such others as shall be concerned with him in the said Permission-Trade, That they their Commanders, Officers, Super-Cargoes and others imployed in the said intended Voyage shall strictly observe the tenor of the said Act of Parliament, so as to do nothing prejudicial to the Company's Interest by any unwarrantable or illegal behaviour, but shall be lyable for reparation of such dammages as the Company shall sustain thereby and shall likewise observe and fullfill the whole Conditions of the Company's Commission and Instructions of the date hereof relating to the said Voyage.

ITEM the said Captain John Ap-Rice and Cautioner Aforesaid do hereby Covenant agree and become bound that upon the said Court of Directors signing sealing and delivering the Commissions Instructions and sailing Orders above mentioned in due form they in name and for the use of the said Company shall become fully and absolutely

entitled to the right and property of the one Twentieth Part of the said Ship and Cargo ready fitted out to Sea without advancing any part of the Prime Coast but only as a Premium for and in consideration of the Communication of their Rights, Powers, Priviledges and immunities above mentioned which Twentieth part shall from thence foreward belong and appertain to the said Company together with the proportionable profites thereof and the Just value of the same made payable to the Company out of the Sales in Scotland without any other defalcation than a Proportionable Part of all Officers, Super-Cargoes, and Seamen's wages, Provisions, and all other necessary contingent charges after the ships breaking ground from England.

ITEM the better to enable the Company and all concerned to execute and perform their several engagements abovementioned each to the others satisfaction and obviate the Cavils of such as may bear ill will to either—Both parties do hereby agree that a Legal Conveyance and assignment of the property of the said Ship and Cargo shall be made in trust to and in favour of the said Court of Directors for the Company's use so that the same shall in all respects appear to belong and properly appertain to the said Company only and for that end the said Captain John Ap-Rice does hereby engage to send down authentick Copies under his own and other Super-Cargoes hands of the Invoicees accounts of the Provisions and Ship Stores &c.: to be entered in the Companys books. And likewise the said Court shall at the same time or at any time thereafter when thereunto required be obliged to reconvey and Translate the property of the said Ship and Cargo back again to the said James Gordon as trustee for the said Captain Ap-Rice and partners with an exception and Reservation only as to the Twentieth part abovementioned.

ITEM the said Captain Ap-Rice doth Agree that the Company have power to send any young man whom they think fitt on the said Voyage for insight and Instruction only that he may thereby be rendered capable to serve the Company as Super-Cargo in any Subsequent Voyage, having his Passage and Diet at the Captain's Table free



outward and inward without any charge to the Company, for which end he is to be assistant to the Super-Cargoes in all respects pursuant to such Directions as he shall from time to time receive from them.

AND lastly both parties are hereby interchangeably become bound and obliged in the Penal sum of One Thousand pounds Sterling over and above performance to keep, observe, fulfill and perform the Premises hinc inde to others in all respects CONSENTING to the Registration hereof in the books of the Council and Session or in any other Court Books Competent within the Kingdom of Scotland that Letters of horning on six days Charge and others needfull may be directed hereupon in form as effeirs And for that effect Constitutes

Their Procurators etc.: In witness whereof the presents written by John Henderson one of the said Company's Clerks are sign'd by a Quorum of said Court of Directors and by their order seal'd with the Company's Seal and Countersign'd by the Company's Secretary on the one Part and by the said Captain John Ap-Rice and Baillie James Gordon merchant in Edinburgh on the other part, day date and year of God respective above-written Before these witnesses Mr. John Thomson one of the said Company's Clerks and the said John Henderson.

By order of the Said Court

Sic Subscriberur

By order of the Said Court    JO: AP-RICE    RO: BLACKWOOD Pr

sic Subscriberur

ROD: MACKENZIE Sec<sup>y</sup>

JO: THOMSON witness

JO: HENDERSON witness

JA: GORDON senior

JO: ERSKIN

JO: JAMESON

JO: WATSON

JO: DRUMMOND

RO: INGLIS

AL: WEDDERBURN

AL: MONTEITH

JA: AUCHINLECK

FRA: SCOTT

D. DRUMMOND.<sup>1</sup>

Locus  
Sigilli.

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. II, 385.

## III

COPIE OF ORDERS to the Officers of the Ship *Annandale*

*London, 24th Jan. 1703/4.*

WHEREAS Capt. Jno. Ap-Rice is Discovered to be a person of no fortune nor good reputation and by his Ill Management and bad Circumstances is uncapable to proceed on the intended voyage, Wee have therefore thought fitt to revoake and make void all our former instructions Wherein his name was mentioned And on being to send the ship directly from Glasgow in Scotland wee order you to take the oportunity of the first Convoy down the Channel as farr as the Lands end of England and then to go down St Georges Channell for Glasgow Where you shall receive the Companys orders for ye proceeding from thence And in the mean time if wee finde you Stop att Portsmouth or Plimouth you shall hear from us att one or both these places.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Assured friends

A. GAWNE.

WILLIM MURREY.

EDW<sup>d</sup> WESCOMBE.<sup>1</sup>

To Mr. Mallory Peirson and the  
Cheife officers on board the  
*Annandale.*

## IV

*London, the 3<sup>d</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> 1703/4.*

Mr. Roderick Makenzie.

SIR:

By last post I acquainted you w<sup>th</sup> our proceednigs in relation the Rogue Ap-Rice, to w<sup>ch</sup> referr, and now acquaint you that on Munday the English East India Company in a violent and arbitrray manner Siezed the Companies Ship

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. III. 1.

*Annandale* in the Downs and brought armed men on board & in a forcible manner turned out most of the seamen, brought on board a Pilott & threatned to carry the Ship into Dover harbour and unload her, as forfeited & her Cargo also to the English Company. We have advised w<sup>th</sup> severall eminent councill in this matter & w<sup>th</sup> some who understand well the Jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports where the Ship lay.

And upon duly weighing & considering the whole matter, & different advices that has been given us, we resolved to give the enclosed memorial to the Secretarys of State and attended them both this afternoon & deliver'd each of them a Copie; they have undertaken the matter very heartily & promised to meet to morrow in the fornoon and Lay it before her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. The Marquess of Annandale who was w<sup>th</sup> the Duke of Queensbury expressed a very great concern for the abuse put upon the Nation & the Company, and promised to exert himselfe in obtaining Justice and reparation in this matter. To morrow in the forenoon we designe to give Copies of the said Memoriall to the rest of Ministers of State and privie Counsellors of Scotland here. We hope the Court of Directors will approve of our proceedings and our using the name of the Company in what relates to this Ship, which being their own in due Form, we could not claim or expect reparation by any other method.

But it being usuall in this place for those who present petitions or Memorialls to signe the same if present, or their Agent or Attorney for them if Absent, We wer at a great loss how to act in this case when we found that Mr. Fraser had no Letter of Attorney nor would not sign any paper, and Mr. William Livingston, whom the Court of Directors designe as their Correspondent in some of their papers and transactions w<sup>th</sup> Ap-Rice declined likewise the signeing in behalfe of the Company this memoriall or any other paper, or medling or appearing in this matter. It is absolutely necessary for the Company to have some proper person to appear as their Agent or Attorney in this or the lyke case; it would be for the Service and Credit

of the Company & a great convenience for all those who wold transact w<sup>th</sup> the Company about their priviledges and protection I hope the Court of Directors will without loss of time send thir power & instructions to some person here. Such a person wold be extreamly usefull to us, in our present case ; if the Directors wold empower Mr. William Murray or Mr. John Ward of London Merch<sup>t</sup> or selfe, or all three for the present occasion it wold enable us to gett out of our difficulties with more ease & less loss of time. And if we should be under a necessity of Mr. Murray or my signeing any petition or Memoriall w<sup>ch</sup> we shall have occassion to deliver on this occasion before we have your answer to this, then we must begg that the Company may not disown our Acting in a case of Necessity for their Credit & interest, where our own is lykwise concerned. Mr. William Murray you know was very considerably concern<sup>d</sup> in the *Speedwell* & is now again concerned in the *Annandale* and is well known to Mr. Blackwood & more of the Directors & Merchants in Edinburgh. And Mr. John Ward is a Gentleman of Substance & entire Credit & good sense & a true friend to the Company & concerned very considerably in this Adventure & his Brother who has been severall times in India is mate to the *Annandale* & is a good artist & a very honest and capable man. As we recomended in our last, so we now request a letter from the Court of Directors to the Secretarys of State & who els of the Ministers they think fitt, the issue of this affaire highly concernes the Credit & Interest of the Company & all concerned w<sup>th</sup> them in this place. We shall approve ourselves true Solicitors & the bussiness shall not miscarry for want of pains or any reasonable expences. Please to Direct for me at my house att the black balls in Portugall Row in Lincolns Inn Fields.

I am,

Your faithfull humble ser<sup>vt</sup>

A. GAWNE.

I direct for you under Mr. Blackwoods cover for fear your Letter should be opened or stopt.

Pray doe me the favor w<sup>th</sup> your first convenience to tender my humble duty to Duke Hamilton & acquaint him with our Case.<sup>1</sup>

## V

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT Indented, made, concluded and agreed upon at Edinburgh the Fourth Day of October In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and six years, By and between the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies on the one Part, and James Gordon Senior, James Majorbanks, and Robert Forrest Merchants in Edinburgh on the other part In manner form and to the effect underwritten.

WHEREAS the said James Gordon, James Majorbanks, and Robert Forrest together with several other persons concerned or to be concerned with them Do intend to Adventure a sum of money in Trade from some Port or Ports of this Kingdom of Scotland to China and the East Indies, and from thence back again to the said Kingdom of Scotland; And have for that end and purpose made application to the said Court of Directors for obtaining the Company's Licence, Permission, and Commission aftermentioned. . . .

[The remainder of the document follows closely the *Annandale Agreement*.]<sup>2</sup>

## VI

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT indented made concluded and agreed upon at Edinburgh the Seventeenth day of January one Thousand seven hundred and seven years by and between the Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies on the one part, and James and Robert Majorbanks, Captain Thomas John, William and James Gordons, Robert

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. III. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III. 43.

Forrest and Captain James Miller Merchants in Edinburgh on the other part in manner form and to the effect underwritten.

WHEREAS the said James Majorbanks and Partners above-named do intend to adventure a Stock of Money and Goods in Trade from the Port of Leith to the East Indies, and from thence back again to some port in the Kingdom of Scotland; and have for that end and purpose bought and got ready a Ship called the *Neptune* Galley of about two hundred Tuns burden, mounted with Twenty Great Guns, to be navigated by Fifty sailers commandet by the said Captain James Miller and have made application to the Court of Directors for obtaining the Company's Licence, Permission and Commission in manner aftermentiond.

[The remainder of the document follows closely the *Annandale* Agreement.]<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. III. 48.

E

WARRANT FOR THE CAPTURE OF THE EAST  
INDIA SHIP 'WORCESTER,' CAPTAIN GREEN





WARRANT FOR THE CAPTURE OF THE EAST  
INDIA SHIP 'WORCESTER,' CAPTAIN GREEN

THE Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies having taken into their Serious consideration the repeated Injurious Acts of Violence, Oppression, injustice and indignity committed against them and their concerns by the English East India Company and their Adherents ; particularly in what they have done concerning the Ship *Annandale*, contrary to the Law of Nations, and to the Municipal Laws of both kingdoms ; And that all friendly methods hitherto used for obtaining reparation thereof have proved ineffectuall, the said Court have, upon mature deliberation, Resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity that providence seems to have put into their hands, for doing themselves Justice by reprizal and otherways : And do therefore by these presents with one Advise Consent and Assent, give order warrant and authority to Mr. Roderick Mackenzie Secretary to the said Scots Company and to such others as he shall think fit to call to his Assistance, to go on board and in a prudent and discreet manner, to make Seizure of the homeward bound East India Ship the *Worster*, Captain Green Commander, now riding in the Road of Leith in name and for the use of the said Scots Company, not only for having contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the said Scots Company, without their License or authority, imported and clandestinely sold East India Goods into this Kingdom, but likewise upon reprizal, as belonging to the English East India Company, or at least Trading by their Commission and Permission, for a certain valuable consideration : And in case of Resistance the said Mr. Roderick

Mackenzie and others above-mentioned are hereby ordered and Warranted to execute these Orders by force of Arms and to demand and require the Assistance of the Scots Man of War now riding likewise in Leith-Road<sup>1</sup>; And upon obtaining the Command of the said East India Ship to Seal all the Hatches, Boxes, and Trunks on board and send ashore most of all the Seamen belonging to her, and then bring the said Ship into some convenient Port or Harbour and thereafter make report of his diligence to the said Court of Directors. In Testimony of which these presents are seal'd with the said Scots Company's Seal, and Signd in name presence and by Warrant of the said Court by the President for the time at the said Companys house at Edinburgh the Twelfth day of August 1704.

Sic Sub<sup>tr</sup> FRANCIS SCOT. *pr*: C: D.<sup>2</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> This was the *Royal Mary*.

<sup>2</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS. Misc., vol. III. 50.

APPENDIX



## APPENDIX A

### SCHEDULE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF ONE OF THE DARIEN SHIPS

BE it known to all men Concerned y<sup>t</sup> upon the underwritten date Cap<sup>tt</sup> James Gibsone on the one partt and William Direcksone de wilda one y<sup>e</sup> oy<sup>r</sup> partt Have by Contract fully agreed upon y<sup>e</sup> building a Ship according to the Dementions following viz.

1. Lenth of the keill 134 f<sup>t</sup>, Breadth 22 Inches, Thick 23 Inch: of 3 peices of good Berlyne Oak, Lenth of each Skairf 10 f<sup>tt</sup>.

2. Thickness of the Stem 16 and Lenth accordingly w<sup>th</sup> two good Cheeks & a knee upon the Keill.

3. Breadth of the Flower 28½ f<sup>tt</sup> y<sup>e</sup> greattest breadth to Lay ⅓ p<sup>tt</sup> of the Lenth of y<sup>e</sup> Keill before.

4. Hollow of the Bough 6 ft and y<sup>e</sup> builder is obliged to Lay Six Ryders before and beheft and breast hooks Conformd.

5. The main Transome 28 f<sup>tt</sup> Long, 18 In: thick y<sup>e</sup> other Transome 13 or 14 Inch Thick & 14 ft Long.

6. The fashion peice[s] distant from one another att y<sup>e</sup> head 22 f<sup>tt</sup>: y<sup>e</sup> flower Timbers 13 In: Thick att y<sup>e</sup> ends 11 In: att y<sup>e</sup> Loyer foothuck head 9 In: and the second 8 In: att y<sup>e</sup> deck 6½ In: and att y<sup>e</sup> topp Timber heads 5 Inch: of good Sufficient ground oak.

7. Distance between y<sup>e</sup> flower Timbers 8 Inch y<sup>e</sup> foot-hooks to shutt in close between ye flowers w<sup>th</sup> six or seaven foott skairfe.

8. The keillsone 13 or 14 Inch thick 3½ foott broad in 3 pss. y<sup>e</sup> after pss f<sup>tt</sup>: y<sup>e</sup> first straike of f<sup>tt</sup> Line 4 Inch and all to the Turn of the Bilge y<sup>e</sup> Champs of the Gunndeck

7 In. and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ftt broad and one under 5 Inch Thick all ye oyr ftt Line  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Inch and beheft 3 Inch.

9. Eight good breast hooks afore under the deck w<sup>th</sup> a good stop for the fore-mast and of each side Twelve good Topp Ryders and one Standert.

10. A good pair of knees to the main Transome 16 Inch Thick a pair of knees to the Loyer Transome w<sup>th</sup> 5 pair of foothooks a beheft and 4 flower Ryders.

11. The ship to be plankt from ye keill to the loyer wail w<sup>th</sup> good 4 In: plank and each skairfe 4 ft long.

12. The beams of the loyer deck 16 Inch broad, 18 Inch deep Distance between  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ftt w<sup>th</sup> a Carling of 9 Inch broad and 10 Inch deep in each Roome each beam 2 knees ye main beam 4 knees and six beams more double bound each knee to Reach to the wrong heads and ye upper arm 6 ft Long and to each beam a Standard from the edge of the flower to ye upper deck 13 Inch Thick w<sup>th</sup> Crosses between each of 12 Inch.

13. Between decks before 2 good breastt Hooks.

14. The watter way of the Loyer deck 5 Inch Thick and 2 ft broad and the Spurkitine of the the Loyer deck 26 In.: broad all the fott Line betwixt the portts 3 In: thick ye Clamp of the upper deck  $4\frac{1}{2}$  In: thick ye beams of the upper deck 12 Inch deep and 13 or 14 Inch broad  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ftt distance and every beam 2 knees ye Loyer end of the Knees  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ftt Long and 10 Inch thick in the throatt and in each Room a Carlyne 8 Inch Square w<sup>th</sup> a pair of standards att the bulk head of the Gunner Room w<sup>th</sup> a pair of good knees upon the wing Transome w<sup>th</sup> Long armes.

15. The loyer deck to be layed w<sup>th</sup> 3 In: plank 30 foot long w<sup>th</sup> a good skairstock of 4 In: Thick and 18 Inch broad.

16. The watter way of the upper deck  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Inch Thick and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ftt broad. The Spurkitine 3 In. Thick and soe broad y<sup>tt</sup> itt may Reach ye Loyer end of the parts the Cumeing of the greedens 4 Inch Thick 18 Inch broad the deck to be layed w<sup>th</sup>  $2\frac{1}{2}$  In: spruce dealls w<sup>th</sup> 2 streaks of eiken plank att least 30 ftt Long with greedens and Hatches as ye Commander shall think Convenient.

17. In the forecastle a good breast hook under the

Hasses and one above w<sup>th</sup> a Clamp of each syde Running to the firstt knee between the breast hooks.

18. Height from ye deck to ye Gunnell  $5\frac{1}{2}$  foott Sealled w<sup>th</sup> 2 Inch dealls w<sup>th</sup> waist boards upon the Gunnell.

19. The beams of the half deck 8 In: thick 10 or 11 In: broad plain'd w<sup>th</sup> a half Round upon the edges and y<sup>e</sup> Clamps  $3\frac{1}{2}$  In: and ye scalling between y<sup>e</sup> sparkilcuc 2 In: dry deal.

20. From y<sup>e</sup> main mast fore and after upon y<sup>e</sup> upper deck on each side of the Hatch a plank of good oak 5 In: thick.

21. The watter way of the half deck and forecastle 3 In: thick and the Spurkiltine  $2\frac{1}{2}$  In: Thick sealled with 2 In. oak or Spruce planks as the Commander Thinks fitt.

22. The Round house soe long as Convenient and to be Layed with 2 In: Spruce dealls.

23. The beams of the Round house 6 Inch deep and 7 In. broad 2 foott distance plain'd w<sup>th</sup> each beam a pair of Lodgeing Knees or Henging.

Main Capstain w<sup>th</sup> 5 holes a Geer Capstain w<sup>th</sup> 4, knees for the mast and foremast w<sup>th</sup> all the oaken wood for all the masts.

A head w<sup>th</sup> Rcilles and all things belonging to itt w<sup>th</sup> beatts and Catt heads and athings usefull for such a ship Cleats Skawills and Knight heads as shall be found usefull for such a ship.

The two Loyer wails 8 Inch Thick and 13 In: broad Scairfe 7 foot long.

The Second Channel waille  $5\frac{1}{2}$  Inch: Thick 11 In: broad y<sup>e</sup> Scairfe 6 ft Long w<sup>th</sup> Chestrees for the Tacks.

The Straiks between y<sup>e</sup> Loyer wailles y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Straike upon 4 Inch thick and y<sup>e</sup> other straiks between y<sup>e</sup> Channill wailles and Loyer wailles  $3\frac{1}{2}$  In: good dry plank.

The first straike upon y<sup>e</sup> Channell wailles 4 In: thick all the rest  $2\frac{1}{2}$  In: w<sup>th</sup> als many parts upon ye uper deck as the under.

The Linneing for the Ankers 2 In: Thick w<sup>th</sup> abreastt to the Round house and a breast to ye forecastle w<sup>th</sup> a pair of Gallarys and ane open Gallery beheft with a Rither and

Tillow and y<sup>c</sup> Stairn well Secured and all wood for carod work as shall be found necessary.

The bulkhed of the Cabine w<sup>th</sup> 2 upright standards and Threshould. A bulkhed for the Round house w<sup>th</sup> uprightt Standards and Threshoulds a Threshould for ye after Round house and upright standards against ye Stern. The Ship to be calk'd Twice w<sup>th</sup> outt and once w<sup>th</sup> in and ye Tree naill holles to be bored w<sup>th</sup> 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  In: agger, and to be well Treenaill'd as is usewall in ye Staitts ships w<sup>th</sup> dry Treenaills. A bulkhed for the Cabine and one for the Round house and one for the Gunner Room. Two barths, a Stewart Room and a well for the pump and a powder Room. Two Clamps under against ye Stopt of ye main mast, a plaite upon ye Keillsone plank and Timber needfull for ye voyage and wood for the fishes of ye yeards. A spare Tillow, each beam of the half-deck and forecastle a pair of good Firr knees and Soe many knees in the Cabine as ye owners shall think fitt. The knees to be of oak or spruce as the owners shall think fitt. The Carpenter shall be obliged to find all ye ockome Pitch and Tarr usefull to Tarr all. Ye Carpenter is obliged to build The Ship of good Forin oak all the beams to Lett down in ye Clamps w<sup>th</sup> good Dovetaills. If there be anything Left out in this Contract y<sup>tt</sup> is usefull of wood or Iron The builder is to furnish itt The ouners being obliged by this Contract att the Riseing of the Steirm and Sternpost to pay  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole sume, being Ten Thousand Gldrs. And att ye Lenching of said Ship on third more and att Compleatting ye ship to a Cleatt ye Remainder The Carpenter is obliged to firt soe much Ironwork in the said ship as the ouners shall think Convenient The Ouners being obliged to Liver all the Iron work as shall be needfull for the said ship.

Concluded and agreed ye 29<sup>th</sup> September Between ye parties before mentioned In the behalf of the Scotts Affrican and Indian Company att or in ye lodgeings of Mr. And<sup>w</sup> Hendersons merch<sup>tt</sup> In Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advocates' Library, Darien MSS.



## APPENDIX B

### DARIEN MANUSCRIPTS IN ARCHIVES OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

#### I

FROM the scientific outlook revealed in some of its observations—*e.g.* the botanical notes on page 75—the ‘Journal kept from Scotland,’ printed on pages 69-77 of this volume, may not unreasonably be regarded as the private diary of Dr. James Wallace, who sailed with the Darien fleet, and who communicated to the Royal Society what was practically an official record of the expedition—‘Captain Pennycook’s Journall from the Madera Islands to New Caledonia in Darien.’ The text of the manuscript ‘Journal kept from Scotland’ has been completed by comparison with that part of the Journal which was printed in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. xxii., for the year 1700 and 1701 (London, 1702). To the historian of the Darien enterprise the outstanding merit of this slight but highly interesting journal is the fact that its entries for July-August 1698 furnish the only detailed record we possess of the voyage of the first Darien Expedition from the time it left Leith Road until the reassembling of the scattered ships at Madeira.

#### II

In Dr. Hill Burton’s *Darien Papers* (Bannatyne Club: Edinburgh, 1849) there is printed Mr. Hugh Rose’s ‘Journal or Diary of the most remarkable things that happened during the Scots Affrican and Indian fleet, in their voyage from the Island of Madera to their landing

in America and since that time.' A comparison of this diary with Captain Pennycook's Journall (pages 78-97 of this volume) shows that Mr. Hugh Rose merely transcribed and adapted, making certain diplomatic omissions, the log of Captain Pennycook, the Commodore of the Scots Fleet, *e.g.*

'Sept. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1698.—We weighed from Madera road, the Governor having been very civill to us. I gave him 15 Guns, the *Unicorn* 13, and the *Caledonia* 11. All which he particularly returned with two Lesse, which is as much as he gives to any of the King's Shipp's' [Captain Pennycook].

'Sept. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1698.—We weighed anchor from Madera road, the Governor having been very civil to us; the Comadore gave him 15 guns, Capt. Pinkerton 13, and Capt. Drummond 11, all which he particularly returned with two less. Wee had a fresh breeze at E.N.E., and stood away to S.W.' [Mr. Hugh Rose].

Compare again the entries for 10<sup>th</sup> September 1698. 'This morning,' wrote the Commodore, 'we pass'd the Tropick of Cancer. I caused perform the usuall ceremonies, by Ducking Such as had not past it before, and would not pay the usuall Forfeit, viz<sup>t</sup> a Bowl of Punch.'

'This Morning wee passed the Tropick of Cancer with a fresh and fair gale,' records Mr. Hugh Rose, in rather a more lyrical strain, 'the ships performed the usual ceremony of ducking several of the Ships Crew, who had not passed before; they were hoisted to the main yard arm, and let down 3 several times with a soss into the sea out over head and ears, their legs being tyed somewhat closs, which was pretty good sport.' [From his concluding remark it may be presumed that Mr. Hugh Rose was not one of the *débutants* who were 'let down 3 several times with a soss into the sea.']

Even more interesting than Mr. Rose's transcriptions and adaptations is his discreet passing over of certain incidents of the voyage. On reaching the West Indies the Scots fleet anchored off Crab Island, and took possession of it 'in name of the Company of Scotland

Trading to Affrica and the Indies.' This action brought a protest from the Danes at St. Thomas, and the Scots quitted the Island. 'At 4 in the Morning we weighed and gott under sail. We left one Michael Pearson behind, who ran away from the Tent to the woods.' Of Michael Mr. Hugh Rose makes no mention.

On December 16, 1698, Mr. Hugh Rose notes the rumour of an impending Spanish attack on the Scots settled in Darien. 'The battery is going quickly on,' he writes in a somewhat strutting style, 'our men are very hearty and seem to long for a visit from Jaque, that they might have a just pretence to their gold mines not far off.' Captain Pennycook, on the same day, is less concerned with approaching Spaniards than with departing Scots. 'Seven Planters run away at 8 this morning,' he records bluntly. 'Captain Fraser with 8 men in my pinnace were sent to Carret Bay to look for them as alsoe a Party by Land, and one was sent to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pedro and Andreas to make thim send out their men in search of them.'

Finally, we may search in vain through Mr. Hugh Rose's discreet, official record for any reference to that fabled grove of Logwood, whose exotic fragrance drifts from time to time into the story of Darien. It had bulked large in the discourse between Surgeon Lionel Wafer and the Directors of the Darien Company who visited him at the abode of Fletcher of Saltoun: 'During the first 2 or 3 Days Conferences, the Subject of the Discourse was *Darien*, of which he unbossomed 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 Six Months, as should defray the whole Charge of the Expedition, which if he did not perform he should forfeit his Title to the 700l. Premium agreed on. The Gentlemen were curious in Informing themselves whereabouts this Treasure was, whither it was near the Sea or any River whence it could be easily Shipt Abroad. Wafer, not suspecting any Design upon him by Persons of so noted Character, 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.'<sup>1</sup>

Though they found a pretext for breaking with Wafer the Darien Director did not forget the Treasure of Nicaragua Wood.

'There being a grove of Bloodwood not many leagues to the leeward of Golden Island,' they informed the leaders of the First Expedition, 'and about two miles from the sea, nearby a river side (which we suppose to be Conception River), pretty shallow at the mouth or entry thereof, you are carefully to look after the same, and if upon trial the said wood be found to answer expectation, you are to use it to the best advantage.'<sup>2</sup>

In his Journal, under date November 26, 1698, Captain Pennycook, in curt sailor-like phraseology disposes of this Logwood legend. '. . . It was order'd that Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton and I with Cap<sup>tn</sup> Allitson [an old buccaneer] should goe and search the River of Agara for the Nicaragua wood, being about a mile and a half from Golden Island. On the 27th Capt<sup>n</sup> Pinkerton and I return'd and told them we could find none of that wood. And we have reason to believe Capt<sup>n</sup> Allitson does not know it, nor is there any here does.'

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien* (1700), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Instructions to Councillors of the intended Colony, *ante*, p. 66.

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# REPORT OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

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THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on Saturday, 15th December 1923, in Dowell's Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh,—Professor R. S. Rait, LL.D., in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows:—

The Council are glad to report that in response to the recent public appeal about 100 new members have been enrolled. They hope that, as occasion offers, members will bring the claims of the Society and the advantages which it affords under the notice of their friends. The membership is now 430, and to this 106 libraries fall to be added. During the year there have been fifteen deaths or resignations.

At last General Meeting, the *St. Andrews Graduation and Matriculation Roll, 1413-1579*, was reported as practically finished. Owing, however, to the state of his health, the editor has been unable to complete the book; and in its stead there has been issued a volume of the *Foreign Correspondence of Marie de Lorraine, 1537-1548*, edited by Miss Marguerite Wood from the Balcarres Papers in the Advocates' Library. The volume of Selections from Sir William Fraser's papers, to be presented to the Society by his Trustees, will be issued shortly. An interesting volume of *Darien Papers*, edited by Dr. G. P. Insh, and a second volume of the *Correspondence of Marie de Lorraine* are in course of preparation.

In accordance with the resolution of last General Meeting the Council took steps to place before the public the views of the Society regarding the state of the Scottish Records. Nothing has, however, been done to remedy the serious grievances to which attention has been drawn.

The Members of Council retiring by rotation are Sir James Balfour Paul, Dr. Hay Fleming, and Mr. William Angus. They are recommended for re-election. To fill the vacancies due to the lamented deaths of Dr. Maitland Thomson and Dr. George Neilson the Council would suggest Sir Philip Hamilton Grierson and Dr. W. A. Macnaughton, Medical Officer for Kincardineshire.

The accounts of the Treasurer, appended in abstract, show a credit balance of £286, 15s. 9d. on 11th November 1923.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Sir Bruce Seton, the Report was adopted.

Mr. George Lorimer moved that the necessity for the publication of a selection from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh be urged on the Town Council.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Sheriff Macphail.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT CHARGE and DISCHARGE  
of the INTROMISSIONS of the HONORARY  
TREASURER for the period from 2nd December  
1922 to 11th November 1923.

CHARGE.

I. Funds as at close of last Account—		
1. Sum on Deposit Receipt with Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh,	. £100	0 0
2. Balance on Account Current with Do.,	. 79	2 7
3. Balance in hands of Honorary Treasurer,	. 26	3 1
		<hr/>
	£205	5 8
II. Subscriptions received—		
1. Members, . . . . .	£396	18 0
2. Libraries, . . . . .	138	12 0
		<hr/>
		535 10 0
III. Publications sold, . . . . .		38 17 0
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts, . . . . .		7 3 2
Amount of the Charge, . . . . .	£786	15 10
		<hr/>

DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of Publications, including Printing, Bind- ing, Parcelling, and Issuing—		
1. <i>Mary Queen of Scots and The Babington Plot</i> (Year 1921-22), . . . . .	£370	2 8
Less Paid to account during 1921-22,	. 200	0 0
		<hr/>
Carry forward, . . . . .	£170	2 8

Brought forward, . . .	£170	2	8
2. <i>Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh</i> , Vol. II., for work of composition so far as completed, . . .		7	18 10
3. <i>Balcarres Papers</i> , 1537-1548 (Year 1922-23),	280	12	3
	£458	13	9
II. General Printing and Stationery, . . .		16	8 6
III. Miscellaneous Payments, . . .		24	17 10
IV. Funds at the close of this Account—			
Sums on Deposit Receipt with Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh, . . .	£250	0	0
Balance on Account Current with Do., . . .		36	15 9
			<u>286 15 9</u>
Amount of the Discharge equalling the Charge, . . .	£786	15	<u>10</u>

EDINBURGH, 5th December 1923.—Having examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the period from 2nd December 1922 to 11th November 1923, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a balance on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh, of Two hundred and fifty pounds, and a Balance at the credit of the Society's Account Current with the said Bank of Thirty-six pounds fifteen shillings and ninepence.

WM. TRAQUAIR DICKSON.



# Scottish History Society.

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## THE EXECUTIVE.

1928-1924.

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### *Chairman of Council.*

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### *Hon. Assistant Secretary.*

WILLIAM ANGUS, Historical Department,  
H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

## R U L E S

1. THE object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE  
SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

*For the year 1886-1887.*

1. BISHOP POCOCKE'S TOURS IN SCOTLAND, 1747-1760. Edited by D. W. KEMP.
2. DIARY AND ACCOUNT BOOK OF WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM OF CRAIG-ENDS, 1673-1680. Edited by the Rev. JAMES DODDS, D.D.

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