CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DARIEN COLONY.

"You are going to have the fever,
Yellow eyes!
In about ten days from now
Iron bands will clamp your brow;
Your tongue resemble curdled cream,
A rusty streak the centre seam;
Your mouth will taste of untold things,
With claws and horns and fins and wings;
Your head will weigh a ton or more,
And forty gales within it roar!
* * * * * * * *
In about ten days from now,
Make to health a parting bow;
For you're going to have the fever,
Yellow eyes!"
James Stanley Gilbert.

OF THE many attempts by white men to settle within the tropics, none has been more quickly fatal, nor attended with greater disasters, than the project of the people of Scotland to establish a colony in Darien.

Soon after Spain acquired most of the Americas, other nations endeavored to secure for themselves either the trade, or a part of her possessions, in the New World. When foreign ships succeeded in penetrating the exclusiveness with which Spain surrounded her American colonies, and returned to Europe with the rich spoils of the West Indies, commercial companies sprang up to exploit the trade of those regions. It remained for William Paterson, a Scotchman, to formulate a plan for traffic and conquest that, for audacity and comprehensiveness, outshines any other scheme that has ever been projected by a private individual. Under the guise of planting a colony on the lands of the Darien Indians, it was no less than a filibustering expedition, and religious crusade,[1] into the Ameri-

[1] The intentions of the Darien Company are well expressed by Philo-Caledonius (Archibald Foyer) on the title-page of his brochure—"Scotland's present duty; or a call to the nobility, gentry, ministry, and commonalty of this land, to be duely affected with, and vigorously to act for, our common concern in Caledonia, as a means to enlarge Christ's kingdom, to benefit our selves, and to do good to all Protestant churches." Printed in 1700.

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can provinces of Catholic Spain; with the intention to secure possession of the Isthmus of America, fortify the ports, hold the passes over the cordillera, and control commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England, and instigator of the Darien Colony, was born about April, 1658, in Scotland. He was the son of farmer John Paterson and Elizabeth his wife, of Skipmyre, in Dumfriesshire. At an early age, William Paterson left home and went to Bristol, where he resided with a kinswoman of his mother. After visiting Amsterdam, in Holland, Paterson sailed to the West Indies; where he became, they say, a merchant, a missionary, and a buccaneer. He may have been all of these, as, in those days, there was nothing inconsistent in being a Protestant missionary and robbing Spain at the same time. Either as a trader, or from personal[2] observation, or from William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, and other buccaneers, Paterson acquired some information about the Isthmus, and the richness and possibilities of commerce in the South Sea.

Having accumulated a moderate fortune, Paterson returned to Europe with a brilliant and dazzling Scheme simmering in his head. The recent exploits of the Buccaneers were on every tongue, and the gifted financier[3] appreciated fully the wealth of the New World, and was quick to grasp the advantages held by Spain in her possession of the only passes across the continent of America, and of the ports on both seas leading thereto. As expressed later, in his Memorial[4] to the King, Paterson resented the arbitrary division of the world between Portugal and Spain, and their monopoly of the trade of the East and West Indies. In the treaty of Ryswick, just made between the Bourbon kings of France and Spain, he saw additional reasons for Great Britain to secure the command of the seas, and of the American ports and passes; which would give her the umpirage of the world.

[2] It is stated that Paterson made excursions over the Isthmus, but he could not have traveled very far, if what Dalrymple makes him say is true:—"The hills are clothed with tall trees without any underwood, so that one may gallop conveniently among them many miles, free from sun and rain, unless of a great continuance."

[3] "He was a great authority upon trade and upon finance; an eminent political economist; a practical statesman; and a sagacious colonial projector:—a powerful writer, a true patriot, and a thoroughly honest man."—S. Bannister.

[4] Generally called Paterson's *"Central America."*—"On free trade it anticipates the logic of Adam Smith and the legislation of our day:

"Thus these *doors* of the seas, and the keys of the universe, would, of course, be capable of enabling their possessors to give laws to both oceans, and to become the arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or of contracting such guilt and blood as Alexander and Cæsar."

England would be the centre country, and London the centre city. "Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work," Paterson then describes the interoceanic routes, or passes, over the American continent, which I tabulate as follows:

Pass of Magellan, or Cape Horn.
" " La Plata.
" " Uraba, "usually called by the natives Cacarico or Paya."
" " Tubugantee.
" " Conception, "near forty leagues to the eastward of Chagre."
" " Chagre.
" " Nicaragua.
" " Vera Cruz—Acapulco.

"These ports and passes, being possessed and fortified may be easily secured and defended by eight or ten thousand men against any force, not only there already, but that can possibly be found in those places which are not only the most convenient *doors* and *inlets* into, but likewise the readiest and securest means, first of gaining, and afterwards for ever keeping, the command of the spacious South Sea, which, as hath been already said, as it is the greatest, so even, by what thereof we already know, it is by far the richest side of the world.

in policy it advises what Milton effected with the pen,—Cromwell and Chatham with the sword,—Canning and Lord Palmerston with peaceful diplomacy,—to defend in America the liberties of Europe, still looking westward in our day, in a new and perilous crisis of social progress. It even foreshadows for Central America, as a great highway of commerce, the neutrality provided by our late treaty[5] with the United States; and the information it contains from actual inspection of a country little known even now, will assist in carrying out the greatest work of our time, *a ship passage to the Pacific.*"

S. Bannister, 1857.

[5] The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, of 1850; an inexcusable and humiliating blunder in our diplomacy.

Those ports, so settled with passes open, through them will flow at least two-thirds of what both Indies yield to Christiandom, the sum whereof in gold, silver, copper, spices, saltpetre, pearls, emeralds, stones of value, and such like, will hardly amount to less than 30 millions of pounds sterling yearly. The time and expense of the voyage to China, Japan, and the richest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than a half, and the consumption of European commodities soon be more than doubled, and afterwards yearly increased."[6] * * * * *

"First, That after having possessed ourselves of these doors of what the Spanish use to proudly call their king's summer chambers, or more properly speaking, the keys of the Indies and doors of the world, the passes between the seas and of the Gulf of Florida,[7] we endeavour to secure the same to posterity by breaking to pieces those unheard of prohibitions and exclusions in all those places of the world."

The most important region, in Paterson's opinion, was the Isthmus of America, which he reckoned to extend from the Gulf of Urabá on the east to the river of Chagre on the west. Paterson proposed to fortify the Isthmus, and Havannah; replace the old, decrepid, and decayed government of Spain; free the Indians from the Spaniards, and the Spaniards from their priests; establish free trade; and permit liberty of conscience—according to the Scotch idea of what constituted liberty.

Paterson believed the best pass across the Isthmus was the one he calls Tubugantee, through the lands of the friendly Darien Indians; from Caledonia Bay on the Caribbean, south to the Gulf of San Miguel (which he calls "Gulf of Ballona").

"From this harbor on the north, which is very convenient and defensible, they have but seven short French leagues of good, or at least easily capable of being made good, way to a place called *Swattee;* and from Swattee to the navigable part of the river of *Tubugantee* there is about two leagues more, the which, by reason of a steep hill and the frequent occasion there is of passing and repassing a river, is at present troublesome enough; but that two leagues might likewise easily be made good and passable by an industrious hand."

Arrived in Europe, Paterson offered his plan to Frederick

[6] Paterson outdid the Pope—the latter donated unknown lands to Portugal and Spain; the former wanted the entire earth and the fulness thereof for his company.

[7] Gulf of Mexico.

William, Elector of Brandenberg; and to the cities of Embden, and Bremen; but with no result. He favored the Revolution of 1688, and frequented the coffee-houses of Amsterdam. Paterson returned to England, and settled in London as a merchant; becoming prominent in financial circles. In 1691, with Michael Godfrey and others, he was the chief projector of the Bank of England. In 1695, owing to differences with his colleagues, Paterson voluntarily withdrew from the bank, selling his qualification of 2000 pounds. He then went to Scotland, and was introduced by Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, to the leaders of the government, whom he told of his scheme.

At this time, Scotland was recovering from the political and religious disturbances incident to the Revolution of 1688, and seeking an opportunity for commercial expansion. The Scottish Parliament, in 1693, had passed an Act for Encouraging Trade "with any country not at war with their majesties"—to the East and West Indies, the Straits and Mediterranean, Africa and the northern parts. This paved the way for Paterson, and he found the people eager for speculation, and receptive to his scheme.

On the 26th of June, 1695, Scotland enacted an act creating "The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies"[8]—occasionally referred to as the African Company; but generally known as the *'Darien Company.'* The same day, it was approved by the King's commissioner, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and became a law. The Company was given monopoly in Scotland of the trade with Asia, Africa, or America, for 31 years; and freedom from taxation for 21 years. The Company was authorized to take possession of uninhabited territories in any part of Asia, Africa, or America; or in any other place by consent of the natives, if not possessed by any European sovereign; and there to plant colonies, found towns, build ships of war, make reprisals, and defend her trade by force of arms. The Company could make and conclude treaties, and, indeed, perform all the functions of a sovereign state; more, in fact, than Scotland herself possessed. In token of allegiance, the Company was to pay yearly to his Majesty, if required, "a Hogshead of Tobacco, in Name of Blench Duty."

[8] Paterson framed the first draft of the Act establishing the Company. The Company agreed to give him 12,000 pounds, and 3 per cent. of the profits for 21 years; or an additional 12,000 pounds. After the union of England and Scotland, Parliament, in 1715, voted Paterson 18,000 pounds to reimburse him for his losses, and in appreciation of his services to the state.

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The Scotch were envious of England's lucrative Colonial trade, resented the monopoly exercised by the East India Company of London, and gave up their money freely. The scheme appealed particularly to the ladies. and doctors of medicine—probably because they have less financial sense than other members of society. Anne, Duchess of Hamilton and Chastlerault, headed the Edinburg list; Provost Anderson the Glasgow subscribers, and Paterson, himself, the London subscriptions; each for the maximum amount of 3000 pounds. In addition to the large number of individual subscribers,[9] nearly every town and borough in Scotland took shares, so that it was a thoroughly national enterprise.[10]

Very soon after the formation of the "Darien Company," the East India Company bitterly opposed it; London and Holland withdrew their subscriptions; Spain saw danger in it, and protested; and William III. weakened and announced that he had been ill-advised in the matter. The English parliament even impeached some of its members for joining in a scheme so injurious to English trade. The Company started to do a banking business, and issued banknotes[11]; which excited the hostility of the Bank of Scotland, which held a monopoly under the law.

In spite of all this opposition, the Scots, who at this time were separate from England, went ahead with their project. One of the first moves of the Company, August 22nd, 1696, was

[9] "The people of Scotland," says Bishop Burnett, "lost almost 200,000 pounds sterling upon the project, besides all the imaginary treasure they had promised themselves from it."

The stock of the Company was unlimited. The amount subscribed was never all paid in, and many persons who eagerly put down their names, had to be sued for the money. J. S. Barbour states that the actual cash paid up by subscribers in respect of calls was £153,448, 5s, 4 2-3d., along with £65,646, 3s, 2 2-3d. of overdue interest. The loss in principal and interest amounted to £219,094, 8s 7½d.

However, one of the last acts of the Scotish Parliament, March 25, 1707, was to appropriate funds to reimburse the Darien subscribers for their losses.

[10] "From the Pentland Firth to the Solway, every one who had a hundred pounds was impatient to put down his name"—Macaulay, "*History of England.*"

[11] They also issued coins bearing the Company's crest, "the sun rising out of the sea," under the bust of King William. These were minted from gold-dust brought back by the "African Merchant," Captain Bell, which the Company sent to the gold coast of Africa, in 1699. The coins, called pistoles and half-pistoles, bear the date of 1701; and were the last gold coins made by the Scotch mint.

to instruct John Munro, Doctor of Medicine, along with four Chirurgeon—Apothecaries, to prepare "Proper Medicaments" sufficient to last 1500 men for two years. He employed gunsmiths at making pistols at 17 or 18 shillings a pair, and bought "a bargain of Bibles and Catechisms" from the widow of Andrew Anderson, printer. From Jeromie Robertson, he secured "Campaign Wigs and Bobb Wigs"; and also ascertained the cheapest price of beef and cod-fish. Beef, pork, biscuit, vinegar, brandy, and other stores were accumulated in the Company's warehouse in Miln Square, Edinburgh.

The English were forbidden to supply ships or sailors, so the Company was forced to go to Amsterdam and Hamburg for vessels and stores. The business of the Company was badly managed, and one of the agents absconded with 8000 pounds. November 20th, 1697, three ships arrived in Leith Roads from Holland, and wintered up the Firth. On the 12th of March, 1698, the Directors announced that they were ready, and called for volunteers, to be indentured for three years, and maintained by the Company. "Everyone who goes on the first Equipage shall Receive and Possess Fifty Acres of Plantable Land and 50 Foot Square of ground at least in the Chief City or Town, and an ordinary House built thereupon by the Colony at the end of 3 years." Modern land-boomers have nothing over the old seventeenth century promoters.

The people were wild for the scheme, and a famine in Scotland helped to swell the number of volunteers. Fully 1200 colonists were selected; 300 of whom were designated as Gentlemen-Volunteers. Among the colonists were many soldiers, just returned from the war in Flanders, thrown out of employment by the Peace of Ryswick; 60 ex-officers enlisted as "Overseers," and "Sub-Overseers;" and the soldiers who had served under them, as "Planters."

On July 8th, 1698, the Directors of the Company appointed a Council for the proposed Colony, consisting of seven men; viz.—Major James Cunningham of Eickett, Mr. James Montgomery, Mr. Daniel Mackay, Capt. Robert Jolly, Capt. Robert Pennicuik, Capt. William Vetch, Capt. Robert Pinkarton. Some of these were also captains of the ships; and "not one fit for government," so Paterson wrote.

The first expedition of the Darien Colony sailed from Leith

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on the 26th of July, 1698. "Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships," says Sir John Dalrymple.

1. The *St. Andrew*—Captain Robert Pennicuik.
2. The *Unicorn*—Captain Robert Pinkerton.
3. The *Caledonia*—Captain Robert Drummond.
4. The *Endeavour* (Pink) } Tenders and supply ships.
5. The *Dolphin* (Snow) }

The first three vessels[12] were heavily armed. It was a day of rejoicing and celebration in Scotland, and guards were required to keep unauthorized persons from going on the expedition. A number succeeded in stowing themselves away on the ships.[13]

Strange to say, Paterson had not been made a councillor or other official, nevertheless he took an active part in the preparations, and went along with the colonists. Mrs. Paterson, her maid, and a few more women, accompanied the party. Trouble beset the colony from the start. The supplies had not been inspected before sailing, as urged by Paterson, and the bread was found to be made of "damnified" wheat. Other provisions were also spoiled and defective; and, in a few days, all hands were put on short rations.

The fleet was directed to sail to Madeira, and there open the sailing orders. They landed at this place on August 29th, where the Council purchased 27 pipes of wine, and the officers and gentlemen-volunteers exchanged their scarlet coats, swords, and finery for something to eat. The Council now assumed authority to make Paterson a councillor, in place of Captain William Veitch, who was prevented from sailing with the colony. Here the first sailing orders were opened; which directed the fleet to go to Crab Island, east of Porto Rico. September 2nd, the Scots weighed anchor from Madeira roads, exchanging salutes with the shore. On the 10th, they crossed

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[12] "St. *Andrew*, our first Tutelar was he,
The *Unicorn* must next supporter be,
The *Caledonia* doth bring up the rear
Fraught with brave hardy lads devoid of fear;
All splendidly equipt, and to the three
The Endeavour and the Dolphin handmaids be."
(Caledonia Triumphans).

[13] History is but a repetition of the acts of men under different names and amid new scenes. The departure of the Caledonians from Leith reminds one of the sailing of Columbus on his second voyage. A crowd of ignorant people, hungry for death, seeking they knew not what; but hoping to better their condition, even though it be at the expense of their fellow creatures. The bait, too, was the same—*gold*.

the Tropic of Cancer, with the usual ceremony of ducking some of the crew three times from the main yard, "which was pretty good sport." On the 29th died Walter Johnson, Chirurgeon's Mate. "He contracted a fever, and got his hands on *laudanum liquidum,* and took too large a dose, and so he slept till death." [14]

October 2nd, Captain Pinkertoun[15] in the Unicorn, with the Snow, and Mr. Paterson, went to the Island of St. Thomas, a free port of the Danes, to secure pilots for the Main. They returned with Captain Aletson (Allison), one of the oldest Privateers then living. He was with the Buccaneers when they crossed the Isthmus in 1680 for the South Sea; and along with Captain Macket and 33 men, was left behind at Golden Island to guard the seven vessels. On the 3rd, they went ashore on Crab Island, and took possession in the name of the Company. The Danes protested, as a matter of form, really wishing they would settle there. Here the ships took in water, which caused a flux among the colonists. They washed the vessels with vinegar, and used smoke, to stop the spread of the disease.

At Crab Island the second sailing orders were opened, and found to contain instructions to proceed to Golden Island in the Bay of Acla, near the Gulf of Darien. Oct. 23rd, one of the ministers, Mr. Thomas James, "a very good man," died of a fever, and had four dropping guns fired at his throwing over. Forty-four of the colonists died on the voyage to Darien. On the 30th, the fleet arrived at the Isthmus, and anchored in a fine sandy bay, about two leagues westward of the Gulf of Darien. The next day some went in boats to Carret Bay,[16] two leagues to the west, looking for their destination. On the 1st of November, the ships sailed westward, and anchored within half a mile of Golden Island. "On the main and all the bay round full of mangrows and swampy ground, which is very unwholesome." The next day, Captain Andreas (Chief Andrés), with about a dozen Indians, came off from the shore, and asked why they came, and if the Scots were friends to the Spaniards. The colonists replied that they came to settle and

[14] For this part of the narrative, we are indebted to the Journal of Mr. Hugh Rose, perhaps, Secretary to the Council. His record was sent home, December 28th, 1698, with the first report of the colony. Given in *"The Darien Papers."*

[15] Captain Pinkerton has the distinction of having his name spelled in more different ways than any other official of the colony.

[16] Puerto Carreto (Careta).

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trade. Andreas praised the Buccaneer Captains, Swan and Davis.

In the afternon of the 2nd, the Scots went in boats to examine the bay four miles east of Golden Island, and found it to be an excellent harbor, capable of containing 1000 of the best ships in the world. This bay was about a league in length, and about a mile wide, with wet marshy ground about. In the middle of the entry to this bay (afterwards called Caledonia Bay), and showing three feet above the water, was a rock; doubtless the same called Black Rock by Mr. Paterson in his report.[17] Not far away was a small rock under water. The port was formed, and sheltered from the sea, by a peninsula three miles in length, and half a mile broad. Facing the Caribbean, the shore of the peninsula was rocky and steep. The peninsula was not inhabited by Indians, and was covered with cedars, mahogany, Brazil-wood, lignum vitae, fustic, manchineel, and other trees. Several springs were found on this tongue of land.

November 3rd, 1698—"This day we landed and took possession," writes Mr. Rose. Captain Andreas again visited the ships; this time with his traveling wife, "having in all four." He carried a stave tipt with silver, and pumped the Scots as to their intentions.

The point of the peninsula presented a flat, sandy surface, and was selected as the site of their settlement, which was named New Edinburgh. A battery of 16 guns, erected to command the harbor, was called Fort St. Andrew. The narrowest part of the peninsula, only 180 paces in width, was cut through to let in the sea, thus converting New Edinburgh into an island, and furnishing additional defence for the town and fort. Pursuant to orders from the Directors, the region was called *Caledonia,* and the port became known as *Caledonia Bay.*

When the *Unicorn* entered the harbor, on Nov. 4th, she struck that sunken rock, and tore off some of her sheathing. Men were landed from each ship to clear away the brush, fell trees, and build huts.[18] The sick were put ashore as soon as shelters were constructed. In a few days, Mrs. Paterson died, and dropping guns were fired at her burial. Paterson's clerk, Thomas Fenner, was already dead.

On the 15th of November, the young colony was visited by Captain Richard Long, of the English warship *Rupert Prize.*

[17] "*The Darien Papers.*"

[18] A look-out was erected on a hill, "about a mile high," from which ships could be seen ten leagues at sea.

Photo by the *Author*.

SEA-WALL OF PANAMA AT LOW TIDE.

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Captain Long (Lang, as they spelled it) was a spy sent out by King William to discover the location of the Scots. On the 19th, several of the Councillors set out towards the west to explore the coast; and in a few days entered an excellent harbor, where the Buccaneers used to careen their vessels. They then landed at the river Coco, and visited Chief Ambrosio,[19] and his son-in-law Pedro, "a brisk little fellow," who could speak Spanish and French, and who lived with him.

Nov. 21st, Mr. Adam Scott, the last preacher, died of a flux. Under date of the 28th, Mr. Rose writes: "These 24 houres ther has fallen a prodigious quantity of rain."

On the 3rd of December, Andreas was commissioned one of the Company's Captains, and given a basket-hilted sword, and a pair of good pistols. His commission was written on parchment, with the Colony's seal and a very broad "gold stript and flour'd ribbon appended." Seven guns were discharged in honor of the new Captain and the Company. Andreas immediately qualified by drinking freely with the Council, on board the *St. Andrew,* and getting drunk like an officer and a gentleman. On the 13th, a French ship, the *Maurepas,* came in the harbor and saluted the Commodore (the *St. Andrew,* Captain Pennicuik). Her commander, Captain Duvivier Thomas, reported that he had come out with those that returned the church plate[20] to Cartagena. When the Frenchman sailed, on the 24th, the Captain was drunk, and the *Maurepas* was wrecked on the rocks on the west side of the bay, with the loss of a number of lives.[21]

On the 28th of December, 1698, Mr. Alexander Hamilton sailed on a turtling sloop (Capt. Edward Sands) with the first dispatch of the Colony, and Mr. Rose's Journal, for the Directors in Scotland. The first report of the Colony had few disasters to relate, and gave general satisfaction at home. Major Cunningham, one of the Council, suddenly severed his con-

[19] "When they came near, Ambrosio advanced about 50 pace with 20 followers, all cloathed in white loose frocks with fringes round the bottoms, and lances in their hands. He saluted them very kindly, and gave them a calabash of liquor almost like lambswool, which they call Mischlew, being made of Indian corn and potatoes; this they get drunk with all often"—Rose's *Journal.*

[20] Stolen by the French under De Pointis, in 1697. Louis XIV of France, as well as William of England, was now courting the friendship of Spain.

[21] Caledonia Harbor is described as a safe port, easy for ships to get in, but hard for sailing vessels to get out of; because in the dry time, the wind from the north blows directly into the mouth of the harbor.

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nection with Caledonia, and left on the sloop with Mr. Hamilton.

Spain was much alarmed at the invasion and settlement by other Europeans of her American possessions; and that, too, in the "very Heart" of her domains, as the Spanish Ambassador asserted. The Spaniards well remembered how a few hundred Buccaneers had crossed and recrossed the Isthmus at will, sacked and burnt the towns, and captured Spanish galleons on both oceans. Captain Long, from Jamaica, reported to his government: "The Spaniards in this Countrey are in a great consternation about it and challenge it for their Countrey."

The Scotch invasion of Darien encouraged the liberals and progressives in the Spanish provinces to agitate for independence of the mother country. The slaves and *cimarrones* became troublesome. At Portobello, a body of 700 slaves, soon increased to 1,500, compelled the Governor to give them their freedom; when they went about "struting and taking the right hand of their Masters, who dared not to say it was ill done."[22] At London, the Ambassador Extraordinary from Spain presented the following Memorial to the King:—

"The Under Subfcriber, Ambaffador Extraordinary of his Catholick Majefty, finds himfelf obliged by Exprefs Orders, to reprefent to your Majefty, that the King his Master having received Information from different places, and laft of all from the Governor of *Havana,* of the Infult and Attempt of fome Scots Ships, equipp'd with Men and other things requifit, who defign to fettle themfelves in his Majesty's Sovereign Demains in *America,* and particularly the Province of *Darien.* His Majefty receiv'd those Advices with very much difcontent, and looks upon the fame as a Token of fmall Friendship, and as a Rupture of the Alliance betwixt the two Crowns (which his Majesty hath obferved hitherto, and always obferves very religioufly, and from which fo many Advantages and Profits have refulted both to your Majesty and your Subjects) as a Confequence of which good Correfpondence his Majesty did not expect such sudden Infults and Attempts by your Majesty's Subjects, and that too in a time of Peace, without pretext (or any caufe) in the very Heart of his Demains.

All that the King defires, is, That this may be reprefented to your Majefty, and that your Majefty may be acquainted, that

[22] Rose' *Journal.*

he is very fenfible of fuch Hoftilities and unjuft Procedures, againft which his Majefty will take fuch Meafures as he thinks convenient. Given at London May 13-3, 1699."

The Governors of Panama and Cartagena gathered land and sea forces to go against the invaders. As early as December 15th, Andreas reported the Spaniards passing over from Panama to Portobello, preparatory to attacking New Edinburgh. On the 23rd of the same month, Captain Ambrosio gave warning of 600 Spaniards, with 200 South Sea Indians, marching overland from Santa Maria. Captain Pincartone (Pinkerton), with 30 men and a boy, sailed in the Dolphin Snow for Barbadoes, to barter stores for provisions. February 5th, 1699, the vessel ran on a rock, and leaked so badly that they were compelled to run her ashore under the walls of Cartagena; where the Spaniards held them on the charge of piracy.[23] On the 6th of February, a Spanish outpost in the lands of Captain Pedro, was driven back by Captain James Montgomery and a party of 100 men.

On the 24th of February, 1699, the Council made a Treaty[24] with Pedro, the principal chieftain of Darien, who could put 3000 warriors in the field. There should be peace between the Indians and Caledonians "as long as rivers ran, and gold was found in Darien."[25]

April 24th, the Council and Deputies assembled in a Parliament at New Edinburgh, and passed 34 rules and ordinances for the government of the Colony. The first regulation, at least, was a good one:

1. "In the first place, it is hereby provided and declared, that the precepts, instructions, examples, comands, and prohibitions exprest and contained in the holy Scriptures, as of right they ought, shall not only be binding and obliging, and have the full force and effect of lawes within this Colony, but are, were, and of right ought to be, the standart, rule, and measure to all, the further and other constitutions, rules, and ordinances thereof."[26]

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[23] Capt. Pinkerton was sent to Spain for trial, and ultimately set free. His men were dispersed among the Spanish ships in the West Indies. Andrew Livingston, Chirurgeon, escaped from Cartagena to New Edinburgh early in 1700, for which the Council allowed him an extra share of brandy.

[24] Given in the Appendix.

[25] See the novel *"Darien,"* by Eliot Warburton.

[26] *"The Darien Papers, p.* 113.

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you send hither an account of your proceedings in the execucon of these his Commands..[28]

I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JA: VERNON.

Similar directions were sent to Lord Bellomont, Gov. of New York and New England; Gov. Beeston,[29] of Jamaica; Gov. Gray of Barbados; etc.

About this time, there appeared at Paris a pamphlet directed against the Darien Company. The anonymous writer affirmed that the Province of Darien belonged in entire sovereignty to the Catholic King, and that the irruption of the Scots was odious in all its circumstances; as a simple exposition of the facts would make clear.[30] He recounted the "Bulles" of Pope Alexander VI., and the donation of America to Spain. The author reviewed the history of the discovery of the Isthmus, the settlement of Santa Maria la Antigua in Darien, the regime of the Spanish governors, and the raids of Francis Drake and Oxenham; claiming that Spain forced Queen Elizabeth to surrender to Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, the booty taken by Drake. This brochure held that Darien was as much settled as the western part of Ireland—from Sligo to Limerick—and asserted that the Spaniards were then in actual posssion of Santa Maria de las Minas (Cana). "Que qui prouve pour le tout prouve pour le Partie," exclaimed the writer, at the completion of his argument.

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[28] Hiram Bingham—*"Virginia Letters on the Scots Darien Colony."* American Historical Review, Vol X, No. 4, July, 1905. William knew at this time that the Scots had located on the Isthmus; but did not care to commit himself, lest he should be called to account by Spain, and enrage the Jacobites in Scotland. On June 18th, 1699, the King sent a second order to the Gov. of Virginia, in which he announces that the Company had taken possession of Caerat (or Carrat) Bay. Gov. Nicholson never proclaimed this order.

[29] Gov. Beeston was the first to issue a proclamation, April 8, 1699; and only three governors complied with the order.

[30] "Il eft si notoire que le Province de Darien apartient en toute Souveraineté au Roi Catholique, & l'Irruption que les Ecoffois y ont faire cette année eft si odieufe en toutes ses circonftances que la fimple exposition du fait devroit fufire en cette affaire pour tout eclairciffement.

"Le Darien au refte n'eft pas feulement une Province depandante de la Couronne d'Efpagne en America. C'eft de plus la Porte de toutes les autres, c'en eft le centre & le feul lieu que fa Majefté ait par terre pour la Communication de fes autres Etats Americains tant du Midi que du Septentrion."—*L'Affaire de Darien.*

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As an off-set to this, we have the answer to the Memorial presented by the Spanish Ambassador; issued by Philo-Caledon, at Edinburgh, in the year 1699 ("MDC, XC, IX"). The author (Archibald Foyer), challenged the right of the Spaniards to hold Darien either by *Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender, Possession,* or *Conquest.* He claimed, truly, that the Darien Indians were never conquered; nor did they ever receive a Spanish governor or garrison. The writer quotes Dampier, Wafer, Sharp, and Ringrose, to show that the *Dariens* invited the English and French to come in, and joined in fighting the Spaniards. He further states that Captain Sharp was tried for robbery and piracy in England, and acquitted because of his commission from the Darien Princes.

Spain's only title to Darien lay in the general donation of America by the Pope. "To urge the Pope's Grant amongst Protestants is ridiculous, and among Papists themselves but precarious," affirms Philo-Caledon. He smashes the title by donation by showing that Rome did not make the gift for Conquest, but to propagate the Faith; which right the Spaniards had forfeited by acquitting themselves so ill; in proof of which he cites their Bishop of Chiapa, Las Casas, who asserted that instead of converting the souls of the Indians, the Spaniards destroyed their bodies, murdering above forty millions of them.

As an instance of their failure to convert the natives, the writer narrates the story of Prince Hathwey,[31] who, while burning at the stake, preferred going to hell, when told that heaven was full of Spaniards. As a clincher to his argument, the writer claimed that the occupation of Darien by the Scots would promote closer union between England and Scotland, help the trade of England and the West Indies, and make money easy.

Partly as a result of the opposition of the King, and the proclamations against them—but more from their own unfitness for the climate, and the incompetence of their Councillors—the Caledonians did not last long in Darien. These pink-skinned northmen[32] were as helpless among the tropical jungles

[31] Cacique Hatuey, who dwelt in the eastern part of Cuba, whence he had fled from Haiti, to escape the atrocities of the white man.

[32] "It was folly to suppose," says Macaulay, "that men born and bred within ten degrees of the Arctic Circle would enjoy excellent health within ten degrees of the Equator."

as fish out of water. They scorned to learn of the Indians, and made no effort at planting or self-sustenance. The Scots brought out articles for trade, but the proclamations kept others away, and they were not able to secure enough food to keep themselves alive. The officials quarrelled and did nothing; and the colonists slowly starved, or quickly sickened and died. The Indians[33] kept the colony in constant alarm by reports of the Spaniards coming, and vainly urged the Scots to go against Santa Maria or Portobello.

The Darien Scheme was useless without a route across the Isthmus, and a port on each side. The Scots never attempted to reach the South Sea, or establish a post on the Gulf of San Miguel. If their leaders thought to accomplish this in time without fighting the Spaniards, they were simply fools, and deserved their fate. The mass of the colonists were innocent sufferers from the stupidity and incompetence of their officials.

The Carreto- Acla- Caledonia Pass[34] is the oldest route across the Isthmus known to the whites. From this region, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, in 1513, started out on his quest for the South Sea; and from Acla he established communication with the Gulf of San Miguel by way of the Rio Balsas. Acla (Agla) was the town founded in 1515 by Pedrarias, and was located probably at the mouth of the Rio Aglaseniqua, which empties into the western part of Caledonia Bay, opposite Golden Island.

Gil Gonzalez Dávila, like Balboa, transported his vessels from Acla across the mountains to the Rio Balsas, and so to the South Sea. The Buccaneers who congregated at Golden Island (the north-western headland of Caledonia Bay), landed on the mainland opposite, near the site of Acla; and thence they passed over the divide, and followed the Chucunaque river down to its junction with the Tuira, near the town of Santa Maria.

The delusion, held by many, that an easy pass existed

[33] Knowing what Francis Drake and the Buccaneers had achieved on the Isthmus, with what contempt the Indians must have looked upon this helpless and sorry lot of white men.

[34] It is singular, says a writer in the Edinburgh Review (vol. xvi—p. 96) that the Scots selected the only point where a communication between the two seas seems practicable. "Had the settlement founded by our countrymen been maintained for a few years only, the Succession War, which almost immediately followed, would have secured to us intercourse with the South Sea, which the House of Bourbon, our inveterate enemies, would never have been able to have shut against us."

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between Caledonia Bay and the Gulf of San Miguel, persisted until 1854, when it was dispelled by the expedition of Lieut. Strain, U. S. N. Had the Caledonians attempted to open communication across the Isthmus, and secure a port on the Gulf of San Miguel, their fate would have been more pitiable, if possible, than it was. The Spaniards, who had been on the Isthmus for two hundred years, had naturally come to settle on the most desirable pass—the Portobello-Chagres River—Panama route.

Upon receipt of the first report of the Colony, at the hands of Mr. Hamilton, the Directors at Edinburgh, under date of 22nd April, 1699, wrote to the Right Hon'ble the Council of Caledonia, of the great satisfaction it gave throughout the Kingdom. Thanksgivings were held in the churches, and the public rejoicings consisted of "bone-fires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and all other demonstrations of joy."

While the shareholders in Scotland were still rejoicing over the good news from the Colony—and their own prospects of gain—the Caledonians were preparing to vacate Darien. Sickness continued among the colonists, aggravated by want of food, until about 300 of their number had already died of fever and fluxes; and the remainder lived in constant fear of the Spaniards.

On the 20th of June, 1699, about eight months after landing, the 900 enfeebled survivors hurriedly evacuated New Edinburgh. England and her colonies had proclaimed against them; and since their arrival, the Caledonians had heard nothing from the home company.[35] This opposition, however, had only made the Company more determined to persist in their scheme. The Directors in Scotland were more capable than were the Council in the wilds of America. In January, 1699, they started out the *Dispatch* with supplies for the colony; but the vessel was wrecked before getting away from the shores of Scotland. The Company then fitted out two ships, which at this very time were on the way to the relief of the colonists.

The Caledonians embarked in the ships they came in, with the exception of the *Dolphin Snow,* seized at Cartegena. The *Endeavour Pink* leaked badly, and was abandoned at sea, her passengers being transferred to the other vessels. Each ship selected her own course to hasten away from the fatal spot.

[35] "All the time of their abode here, which was upwards of seven months, they say they had never fo much as one Letter or Vessel from Scotland, which was a great difcouragement to them, and no good policy in our Directors at home."—Rev. Mr. Francis Borland.

After a hard passage, the *St. Andrew* reached Blewfields, Jamaica, losing 100 men by sickness. So few of her crew were left, that seamen were hired at this port to sail the ship to Port Royal, where her people continued to die, and the vessel was deserted. The Captain, Robert Pennicuik, one of the Council, died on the sea. When the *Unicorn* left Caledonia Bay, Mr. Patterson was carried on board, suffering from a fever; and for a time was out of his head. This ship steered for New York, losing about 150 persons, including their Chief Surgeon, Mr. Hector Mackenzie, who died off Cape Antonio, Cuba. The *Unicorn* reached New York,[36] August 14th, 1699, after a tempestuous voyage; Captain John Anderson saving the ship by his skilful seamanship. Here they found the *Caledonia*, which had arrived about ten days before them; having lost about the same number from disease. The Company sent Archibald Stewart, Chyrurgeon, from Scotland to look after the sick and the affairs of the colonists in New York.

During this "middle passage," as it is called, from Darien to Jamaica and New York, more than 400 dead were thrown overboard. Those who lived to reach New York, rapidly recovered their health in that temperate climate, and some remained there. The *Unicorn* was finally abandoned at East Jersey, New York harbor. On October 12th, Mr. Paterson, with a few survivors, sailed in the *Caledonia* for Scotland. The furies still followed the unfortunate Scots, and gave them a rough passage home. Paterson reached Edinburgh on December 5th, and on the 19th wrote a report to the directors.

[36] When the Directors heard of the desertion of Caledonia, they wrote Oct. 10th, to the original Council at New York: "The surprising and unaccountable news of your shamefull and dishonourable abandonment of Caledonia the 29th[37] of June last, without any the least hint thereof from yourselves, affords us but too much matter of reflection on your unfatuated proceedings for some time past."—*"The Darien Papers."*

[37] Probably the 20th.

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THE SECOND EXPEDITION.

After the loss of the *Dispatch,* the Company sent to Darien two vessels, the *Olive Branch,* Captain William Jameson; and the *Hopeful Binning of Bo'ness,* Captain Alexander Stark. These two ships, usually called the second expedition, sailed from Leith, May 12th, 1699, with 300 more recruits, and supplies for the Caledonians. By the middle of August, two months after the departure of the first expedition, the two ships arrived safely at Darien, having but one death on the voyage out. To their surprise, they found New Edinburgh deserted, and were in suspense what to do; but resolved to remain and await the arrival of a larger party, which they knew was fitting out. But the inexorable fate which accompanied every attempt of the Scots in this enterprise, again determined their movements.

In a few days, a careless steward aboard the *Olive Branch,* while drawing brandy,[38] set fire to the ship, and it was entirely consumed. As most of the stores had been carried by the *Olive Branch,* the party now decided not to wait for the next expedition, but to abandon the place. About 12 persons,[39] including three lieutenants, and a carpenter and his wife, elected to remain and await the coming of the expected reinforcements. Those who had come out on the burnt ship, about 100 in number, were taken on the *Hopeful Binning,* and Captain Stark sailed for Jamaica. There the Scots rapidly sickened, and most of them died.

[38] The Scots carried enormous quantities of liquor among the supplies, and there was altogether too much drinking by the colonists. One of the councillors is described as not caring what became of the colony so long as he had his pipe and dram.

[39] The Rev. Mr. Borland says, "about six men of them so resolute and bold."

perhaps to join the Spaniards at Portobel. About the middle of December, there was hatched and discovered a plot to seize the councillors and ships, and escape from the fatal spot. Alexander Campbell was adjudged the ringleader, condemned by court-martial, and on December 20th, executed within the fort. From a letter of Rev. Shields, it is probable that this man was the carpenter who remained in Caledonia when the second expedition departed.

Like with the previous parties, affairs rapidly went from bad to worse. A few men, like Captain Thomas Drummond, and Lieutenant Turnbull, seemed to possess a true knowledge of their situation. The Spaniards, of course, were preparing to drive out the Scots, and the latter heard dreadful tales of the fate awaiting them. On December 15th, 1699, Captain Drummond, aboard his sloop, the *Anna* of Caledonia, wrote a letter to the Council, offering to lead 150 volunteers, with Indians, against Portobello, and thus forestall the Spaniards. The Council not only rejected the proposal, but, through the influence of Byres, arrested Captain Drummond[“] on suspicion of his having a hand in the plot to seize on the ships and councillors, and confined him aboard the *Duke of Hamilton*.

Under date of 23 December, 1699, the Council, on board the *Rising Sun*, Caledonia Bay, wrote to the Directors: "The place, by its situation in this part of the world, is fitt for commerce; and, if money be bestowed, honest men imployed, and good measures followed, a firme settlement may be made, so that strangers may promise themselves safety here; but on planting and improvement no great stress can be laid for reimburseing the adventurers unless negroes be procured, white men being unfitt for that work, more costly in their maintenance, and so only fitt for defending the settlem't and overseeing the work." * * * *

"That which was called gold dust is indeed very thick here, particularly at our watering-place, in and about the water; but it proves really nothing att all but slimy stuff, verifying the

[“] Later, Captain Drummond was fully exonerated by the Company, and Byres correspondingly condemned for his "arbitrary, illegal, and inhumane actings." Among the 25 queries prepared by Drummond to be addressed to Mr. Byres was the following,—16. "What reason had you to vilepend the Indians, and to make them appear little, still saying they were no better than a parcle of mounckies, and that their friendship was not worth, altho' I had begged several times they should carry fair with the Indians, knowing very well we could not secure our settlement without their friendship."

"The Darien Papers."

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proverb, 'tis not all Gold that glisters. Among the natives wee find nothing of gold or silver save a few nose jewells, such as you have seen; and scarcely amongst them all wee have found so much as one ounce of gold in mass or lignet, which they gett from ye Spaniards; but of the dust or ore, not one grain. And whereas there were ample accounts given of the natives being at warr with the Spaniards, and that they were our fast friends, we find two of their Captains, viz. Pedro and Augustine, with silver headed staves, as Spanish Captains, willing notwithstanding, to goe with us and plunder the Spaniards, as noe doubt they would doe us, if the Spaniards would help them." Signed by James Gibsone—J. Lindsay—Ja. Byres—Wm. Veitch.

On the 16th of January, 1700, Rev. Borland, Rev. Shiels, and others, started out under the guidance of Lieut. Turnbull to visit the Indians on the greater and lesser rivers of Acla, about eight miles to the westward of New Edinburgh. "Ebenezer!" exclaims preacher Borland; "The Lord leading the blind by a way they knew not." The first night they lodged at the house of Captain Pedro, who gave them meat and fruit to eat, and hammocks to sleep in. Next day, the party followed the river down to Prandies Bay, over against Golden Island, then farther west to little Acla, where they passed the night at the house of an Indian named John (Juan). The following day, they returned to New Edinburgh. The hike was a terrible experience, and Mr. Borland was so grateful on coming to a spring of cool water, that he called it "*Beer-la-hai-roi*—the well of him that liveth and did see us." Preacher Shiels, who was faint and sore spent, did drink of the well, and was refreshed.

February 2nd, the three ministers[45] met and wrote a letter to the moderators of the commission of the General Assembly, in Scotland.—"The source and fountain cause of all our miseries we brought from our own country with us, arising from the inconsiderate choice that was made there of the worst of men to go along with us, that ever were sent to command or serve in a colony."

The miseries of the colonists continued to increase; and February 7th, councillor Byres sailed for Jamaica to seek help,

[45] Revs. Borland, Shields, and Archibald Stobo .

"but came no speed there." The preachers now had plenty of occupation in visiting the sick on shore.[46]

On the 10th of October, 1699, the Directors had appointed Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonabb (Finab) to be commander of Caledonia by land and sea, and on February 11th, 1700, he reached New Edinburgh from Barbadoes with a sloop loaded with provisions. His arrival caused all the *Rising Sun* party to remain on the Isthmus. Campbell's first act was to release from arrest Captain Drummond, who had been a fellow officer in Lorn's regiment in Flanders.

February 13th, the Indians again gave the alarm that the Spaniards were coming; and Captain Campbell with 200 Scots, and 40 Indians under Lieut. Turnbull, started out to give them battle. On the 15th, about twenty miles southwest of New Edinburgh, they came upon the Spaniards barricadoed upon a hillside. According to the Rev. Borland, the site of the fight was known as Yoratuba. Rev. Shields calls the place Topocante, and says that the enemy consisted of three or four hundred Spaniards, Mulattos, Creolleos, and Negroes; commanded by their "Muestre de Campo, Michael de Cordonnez, who run with the first." The Scots tore down the palisades, and had a short, sharp engagement with the Spaniards; when the latter fled, leaving their dead on the field. The Indians bore themselves bravely. The Scots had nine men killed, and fourteen wounded. Five Spaniards were taken prisoners. Captain Campbell,[47] Lieut. Turnbull, and Chief Pedro were among the wounded. A poor Indian, who had distinguished himself in the fight, was made Captain, and named Alexander, probably taking the name of the Scottish commander. He was given a scarlet coat, and hat with lacing. Chief Diego's son, now called Captain Steven, was given the same; and Chief Pedro was suitably rewarded.

The Scots were much elated over their successful encounter with the Spaniards, but their joy proved to be short-lived. In a few days several of their boats were run into the harbor by

[46] "Our settlement in Darien, was in a very fickly and unwholefome climate as is marked above; therefore the Spaniards deferted it long ago; and could our people of a far more northerly latitude than Spain is, expect here long to thrive and prosper? This consideration alone, would foon have made our people weary of it, as a place too hot for them, too coftly and chargeable to maintain."

"The History of Darien," Francis Borland, p. 96.

[47] Upon returning to Scotland, Capt. Campbell received a grant of arms for his victory; as also a medal from the Company.

Spanish vessels, which pressed them so hard that the long-boat of the *Rising Sun* was run ashore in Caret Bay, and abandoned. February 23rd and 25th, eleven Spanish sail anchored within Golden Island, in plain view of the settlement. The enemy had landed troops at Caret Bay; and Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes, were reported coming by land from Panama and Santa Maria; all under command of their General, Don Juan Pimienta, Governor of Cartagena and Panama. February 28th, the casual firing of some gun-powder burnt up several rows of huts, and added to the miseries of the Scots, both sick and well. The next day, they had a skirmish with the Spaniards near the neck of the peninsula, in which Captain McIntosh was wounded, dying a few days later.

The hand of the Lord was now very heavy on the Scots; sickness and mortality increasing. Major Lindsay, a councillor, died; and one day there were sixteen burials. "Some in tolerable health today, and cut off by sudden violent fevers and fluxes in a few days." The preachers wanted to set a day of prayer, but the Council pretended they had no time for it.[48]

The Caledonians strengthened the defences of their fort, and prepared fireships to combat the Spanish fleet. Provisions and ammunition were running low, and pewter utensils were melted into shot. On the 17th of March, there was another engagement with the enemy, when the Scots were driven in from the neck of land. The Spanish General sent a drummer, and a demand, which the Council did not understand, having no interpreter.

March 18th, the Council, with the land and sea Captains, voted, *nemine contradicente, capitulate;* all except Captain Campbell, who was for fight. When Captain Kerr went to the Spaniards, on the 22nd, their General[49] was so "high and lofty"

[48] "The people that our Company of Scotland fent over hither to their New Colony, were moft of them, both Seamen and Landmen, Gentlemen and Officers, as well as the meaner fort, none of the beft of men. And therefore the Minifters fent along with them had but fmall comfort in their company: their inftructions and admonitions were but little regarded by them; many of them seldom, and fome of them never attending the public worship of God. Whence we may fee what fort of a Church they could set up in this place, when there was fuch bad ftuff to make it of."—Borland.

[49] "This Pimienta was a little thin man in stature, but mighty proud, passionate, stiff, and wilful."—Borland.

Don Juan Diaz Pimienta, the Governor of Cartagena belonged to the noble house of Villareal, and was a Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and Maestre de Campo, who had won credit for his military behaviour at the battle of Buda, where he received a wound. No doubt, he could

in his demands, that they could come to no terms. The 24th, the Spaniards advanced their line on the peninsula to within a mile of the fort, which gave them the opportunity to communicate by boats with their ships. Guns were brought ashore, and a battery mounted on a hillside, opposite the weakest point of the fort. The Spaniards also took possession of a rivulet, about half a mile from the settlement, where the colonists obtained drinking water. This forced the Scots to dig a well within the confines of the fort, described as a brackish puddle. During the 28th and 29th, Spanish musketeers advanced and fired upon the fort.

March 30th, to the surprise of the Caledonians, General Pimienta offered to treat with them. This change in his attitude is said to have been due to an intercepted letter, which spoke of reinforcements coming to New Edinburgh. Mr. James Mayne drew up the articles in Latin; and on the 31st, the capitulation was signed by Don Juan Pimienta, and councillors Gibson and Veitch. The terms were remarkably favorable to the Scots. They were given fourteen days in which to get ready and depart from Darien, and were allowed to retain their arms, and leave with drums beating and colors flying.[50]

Two days after the surrender, the sloop *Speedy Return*, commanded by Captain Bailie, with Captain Drummond aboard, came into port by night. Councillor Mackay had sailed on the same vessel, but fell from the poop while fishing for sharks, and was instantly devoured by those voracious animals. Councillor Byres, returning from Jamaica on another sloop, failed to get into the harbor.

April 11th, 1700, the third expedition departed from New Edinburgh in seven ships, and anchored at Golden Island.[51] The *Rising Sun*, a sixty-gun ship, was hard to get out of port,

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have exterminated the fever-stricken Scotchmen. When Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Count of Canillas, the President of Panama, reported the rout of the Caledonians, he gave no credit to Pimienta, and himself was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Peru; which, however, he did not live to enjoy.

[50] During the negotiations, Rev. Shields ventured to request Pimienta not to be severe toward the Indians for their alliance with the Scots. The General told Mr. Shields, in Latin, to attend to his own business; to which the Reverend replied, *Curabo* (I will attend to it.)

[51] March 9th, 1700, the Company's vessel, *Margaret of Dundee*, Captain Patrick Macdowall, sailed from Scotland, and on June 16th, arrived in Caledonia Bay. Finding the Spaniards in possession, the Scottish commander "fired two small shot among them in token of defiance," displayed his colors, and sailed away to Port Morant, in Jamaica.

and the Spaniards generously lent a hand to help the sickly and weakened Scots. The next day, April 12th, the colonists sailed from Golden Island, each vessel steering a separate course for Blewfields. Captain Campbell and Captain Drummond, in their sloops, reached New York, and arrived safely in Scotland. All four of the ships met with disaster. The *Hope of Bo'ness* leaked so badly that Captain Dalling ran into Cartagena, where he sold the ship. The *Company's Hope* missed Blewfields, and was wrecked on the rocks called Colorados, off the west end of Cuba. The *Rising Sun* got to Blewfields, and the rest also reached Jamaica.

July 21st, 1700, the *Rising Sun* sailed from Blewfields, and off Florida encountered stormy weather. August 24th, she put into Charles-Town in Carolina, but could not cross the bar. A dreadful hurricane now came up, and completely wrecked the ship, destroying the lives of the 112 persons aboard, including Captain Gibson. The *Duke of Hamilton,* which was in Charleston at the same time, was also destroyed; but all her people were saved.

It is thus seen that the 1300 members of the third expedition fared no better than the former colonists. On the outward voyage, 160 perished; 300 died during the brief stay in Darien; 250 on the "middle passage," after evacuating New Edinburgh; about 100 died in Jamaica; and 112 were lost in the wreck of the *Rising Sun.* About 360 survivors became dispersed among the English settlements, a few finally returning to Scotland.

After following the adventures of the Spanish discoverers and conquerors, the daring voyages of the Privateers, and the successful feats of the Buccaneers; and then reading of the disasters which overwhelmed every action of the Scots in their attempt to plant a colony in Darien, we are inclined to agree with the Rev. Mr. Borland, that the enterprise was foreordained to destruction. Borland well summarizes the history of the different expeditions, when he says:—

"After our company of Scotland had sent forth their first colony in order to settle upon Darien, whatever recruits and supplies of men and provisions were sent out of Scotland afterwards for this place, still the former were gone from the place, before the latter were come up, or else the supplies miscarried by the way, or came too late. For, 1. That ship sent from Clyde with provisions designed for the colony, was cast away, and failed in the undertaking. 2. When the first colony had dislodged and left the place, being upon the sea, some of them met with a New-England ship coming with provisions

for their colony, but it was now too late. 3. When Jamieson's and Stark's ships arrived upon the place with men and provisions, they found Caledonia deserted, and the colony gone, they knew not whither. 4. When the Rising Sun and her company came up, they found both the first colony, and Jamieson's and Stark's party removed and gone, and they never knew of it, until they got thither. 5. When Captain Bailie with a small vessel arrived there from Scotland, though they found the Rising-Sun's party upon the place, yet the capitulations with the Spaniards was concluded near two days before his arrival. 6. When Captain M'Dowal in a sloop from Dundee had come to Caledonia with provisions, he found the place possessed by the Spaniards, our men being removed to Jamaica. From such an observable succession of counteracting providences in this design, who cannot but remark, and see a holy and sovereign God, signally appearing and fighting against this undertaking."

The preacher then affirms that the Caledonians were sadly immoral and profane, who did not honor God, and God did not honor them, but made the colonists to fall in the wilderness and in the sea. Rev. Borland concludes his history in these words:

"From all that hath befallen this undertaking and Company, it is sadly evident and plain, that he that runs may read it, how a holy and just God has eminently appeared against, counteracted, and frowned upon all the steps of it, from the first to the last, and upon them that were concerned therein:

> Tantae molis erat Darienfem colere terram,
> So coftly and fo dear was this defign,
> To plant a Colony in Darien."

And so, the Scots colony failed; but this failure was inherent in the political and economic conditions of its creation. Its effect was *nil*. Spain continued to hold the door of the South Sea and the west gate to Asia, until her widely extended empire—reaching out from the little kingdoms of Castile and Leon to both the oriental and occidental worlds—broke asunder at its weakest links, and the different Spanish-American provinces declared for separate and independent statehood. With the new era came new growth and enterprise on the Isthmus, and today we have modern ideas and sanitation prevailing on what was once a white man's graveyard.

The lesson of these efforts to seize and to hold the gateway to the Pacific accentuates the teachings of enlarged history,

with its ups and downs of states and nations; an unending procession of failures and short-lived successes, with a passing away and a rebuilding, of no interest to society at large except when turning about such a strategic center as is the Panama pivot, where each man's efforts are magnified because of the stage whereon he plays his part.

The future value of this passage from ocean to ocean is enhanced as the power behind the force, operating from interior lines, shows its capacity for avoiding the errors of its precursors, and appreciation of the great importance of the Isthmus of Panama as the world's great highway for migration, trade, and conquest.

"The American Indians suffered much injustice from the Spaniards, but history does not record any conquered nation that did not receive it from their conquerors; but this injustice is in great part compensated by the benefits received, benefits that are not sufficiently appreciated, even if they are not systematically denied, by those who endeavor to discredit the Spaniards, if it be only to excuse their own criminal conduct towards the aborigines. Can, in fact, any European nation that has founded colonies in America, show, like Spain, from statistics, that in what were its colonies two-thirds at least of the present inhabitants are pure-bred Indians? What other European nation can show that the fourth part of the population of its old colonies is composed of half-breeds, resulting from the mixture of conquerors and conquered? Among the states of the old continent which colonised America shall we find any that can, like Spain, assert that it has civilised the Indians, transmitting to them, indeed, all their vices and faults, but also all their virtues and noble qualities? It is precisely those who show the greatest persistence in depreciating Spain, feeding and stirring up, as they go, hatred and rancour, which should be completely extinguished—and which, fortunately for America and Spain, are being extinguished—it is they who exalt to the skies the wisdom, the moderation and the spirit of liberty and equality which characterise the Anglo-Americans. Where, it may be demanded of these, are the half-breeds which testify to the love of the Anglo-Americans for the native women? Where are the Indians whom they have civilized? In the United States of North America there are no half-breeds; and if some few, very few, Indians have escaped destruction by hunger and drunkenness, they have been remorsely swept from the territory of the Union, watered by them with the sweat of their brows, and have been obliged to take refuge in the wildernesses of Arkansas. We must admit, to do them strict justice, that the Spaniards have treated the Indians best, with whom they have ended by mixing, and that neither the English of North America nor the Portuguese of South America can show the titles that the former have to the consideration of the aborigines."

The History of South America—By An American...

APPENDIX

Bull of Donation and Line of Demarcation by Pope Alexandre VI., being the bull of May 4th, 1493, as Englished and published by R. Eden, in 1577.

"Alexander Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our most deare beloved Sonne in Christ, King Ferdinando, and to our deare beloved Daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Arragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Divine Majestie, and according to our hearts desire, this cer'tainely is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christain Religion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may bee procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the favour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of Peter, and understanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as wee have even knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts have declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you have spared no Travails, Charges, or Perils, adventuring even the shedding of your owne Bloud, with applying your whole Mindes and Endeavours hereunto, as your Noble Expeditions atchieved in recovering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doe plainely declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Divine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will favourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may dayly, with more fervent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your devout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firm Lands, farre remote and unknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redeemer, and to professe the Catholic Faith, you have hitherto beene much occupied in the expugnation and recoverie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Nevertheless,

as it hath pleased Almightie God, the foresaid Kingdom being recovered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you have, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges appointed our wel beloved Sonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote and hitherto unknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, have found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other; in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabite, living peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Flesh; and as farre as your Messengers can conjecture; the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleeve that there is one God, Creator in Heaven, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be endued with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receive the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Wee are further advertised, that the fore-named Christopher hath now builded and erected a Fortresse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet unknowne. Wee also understand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with divers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it behoveth Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you have determined, by the favour of Almightie God, to subject unto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiving of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are bound to Apostolicall Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to

reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred with any Perils, conceiving firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will give good success to your godly Attempts. And that being authorized by the Priviledge of the Apostolicall Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the Enterprise of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not eyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other persons, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fullnesse of Apostolicall power, doe give, grant, and designe to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoever firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as have not actually beene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, untill the day of the Nativitie of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soever any such shall be found by your Messengers and Captaines, we by the Authoritie of Almighty God, graunted unto us in Saint Peter, and by the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which wee beare on the Earth, doe for ever, by the tenour of these presents, give, grant, assigne, unto you, your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Jurisdictions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Jurisdiction: Decreeing neverthelesse by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignation, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Ilands and firme Lands, unto the day of the Nativitie of our Lord beforesaid, their Right obtained, to be understood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy

Obedience (as you have promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, upon meere Devotion and Princely Magnimitie) to send to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. Wee furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, under the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe, to the contrary, That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to travaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolicall Ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and all good things doe proceed: Trusting, that Almightie God, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Travailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale of any person constitute in Ecclesiasticall Court, the same faith and credite to be given thereunto in Judgement, or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these Presents.

Let no man therefore whatsoever infringe or dare rashly to contrary this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Request, Donation, Grant, Assignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Commandement, Inhibition, and Determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same, let him know, that hee

shall thereby incurre the Indignation of Almighty God, and his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at Saint Peters, In the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493. The fourth day of th. Nones of May, the first yeere of our Popedome."

[Copied from Haklytus Posthumus or *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. The original document is in Latin, and preserved in the Archivo de Indias, in Seville. As a matter of fact, three papal bulls were issued on the donation and division of the New World, within two days; two on May 3d, and one on May 4th, 1493. Latin and Spanish texts are found in Navarrete, and in the Col. de Doc. Inéd. Harisse calls the bull of donation the first document in the diplomatic history of America.]

El Requerimiento.

(The Requisition or Requirement).

"On the part of the King, Don Fernando, and of Doña Juana his daughter, Queen of Castile and Leon, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, Living and Eternal, created the Heaven and the Earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men of the world, were and are descendants, and all those who come after us. But, on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.

"Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be the head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be; and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.

"And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable Great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that time obeyed that St. Peter, and took him for Lord, King, and Superior of the universe; so also they have regarded the

others who after him have been elected to the pontificate, and so has it been continued even till now, and will continue till the end of the world.

"One of these Pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as Lord of the world, in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Tierra-firme to the aforesaid King and Queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.

"So their Highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of Tierra-firme by virtue of this donation: and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their Highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their Highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same. Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Tierra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

"If you do so, you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their Highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compell you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done. And, besides this, their Highnesses award you

many privileges and exemptions, and will grant you many benefits.

"But, if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requisition, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition."

Sir Arthur Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America, vol.* 1, *p.* 264.

Treaty between the Council of Caledonia and Chief Diego of Darien.

"Treaty of Friendship, Union, and perpetual Confederation, agreed and entred into between the Right Hon^ble^ the Council of Caledonia, and the excellent Diego Tucuapantos and Estrara, Chief and Supreme Leader of the Indians Inhabitants of the lands and possessions in and about the Rivers of Darieno and St. Matolome.

The said Diego having signifyed his earnest desire to enter into an entire friendship and strict allyance with the said Council and Colony; The same is hereby agreed to and concluded in the termes following, viz.—

1. The said Council of Caledonia and the said Diego, and the people of their respective obedience, shall from henceforward be friends and confederates, and are hereby obliged mutually to defend the persons, lands, territories, dependencies, and properties of each other by land and sea.

2. The aforesaid Council and the said Diego, their people and defendants, may freely pass and repass and shall mutually have the liberty of commerce, correspondence, and manuring,

possessing, and enjoying lands in the countrys and places of their respective obedience in all time hereafter.

3. If any of the people under the obedience of the said Council, or the said Diego, shall hapen to wrong or injure one another, the person or persons injured shall make their complaint, and in such case the respective partys to this treaty, their Magistrates and people, shall take effectual care that exact and speedy justice be done, and that things of that nature extend not to the weakning of this perpetual confederation.

4. It is hereby likeways agreed that Captain Corbet of Conception River, Cap.n Ambrosio of Coco, Cap.n Nicola of Sept, Cap.n Pansego of Carreta, and Cap.n Pedro of Golden Island, and their people shall, upon application, be admitted into this treaty.

5. If anything in this treaty shall afterward want explanation or enlargement the same shall be done from time to time by consent of the partys to this confederation.

Which treaty above written having been interpret and explained to the said Diego, the said Council, for Confirmation and the greater solemnity thereof, have ordered their Secretary in their own presence to subscribe his name and afix their seal thereto; and the said Diego hath put his mark to the same, at Fort St. Andrew the 24th Febry, 1699."

"A copy in Spanish was likewise given him."—*The Darien Papers," page* 87.

Comandantes Generales, Presidentes.
y Gobernadores del Reyno de Tierra-Firme.

1. Don Pedro Arias Dávila, natural de Segovia, hermano del Conde de Púno-en-rostro, elegido por el Emperador, en virtud de los créditos que tenia, para mandar en el Darien el año de 1514, donde sin embargo de las grandes cosas que hizo obscureció su gloria el haber mandado cortar la cabeza por pasiones á Vasco Nuñez de Balboa en el Darien y á Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba en Nicaragua, gobernó hasta el año 1526 que llegó su succesor.

2. Don Pedro de los Rios, natural de Córdoba, nombrado por las quexas y clamores contra el anterior, por muerte del Licenciado Lope de Sosa, tambien de Córdoba, que fué nombrado primero, y murió apenas llegó al Darien; pero siguiendo los

clamores se envió por Juez de residencia al Licenciado Antonio de la Gama, y por successor en el gobierno del año de 1528 á

3. Francisco de Barrionuevo, natural de Soria, acreditado en las conquistas de la Isla de Puerto-rico, y en la de Santo Domingo, provisto para Gobernador de Tierra-Firme el año de 1532; pero habiendo tenido comision de pasar á la pacificacion del Cazique Enrique en la Isla Española, tomó posession el de 1533.

4. El Licenciado Pedro Vazquez de Acuña, que fué nombrado Gobernador y Juez de residencia del anterior, por cuyas quexas se envió á poco tiempo á

5. El Doctor Francisco Robles con la misma comision que su antecesor, siendo Oidor de aquella Audiencia, y se encargó del gobierno, desempeñándolo con tanta integridad y justificacion que ha tenido pocos exemplares en aquel pais, donde el clima ó algun influxo maligno sembró la semilla de la discordia, como se verá en la serie de la mayor parte de sus Goberndores: este entró á su exercicio el año de 1539, y sin embargo de sus buenas calidades no se libró de enredos y calumnias.

6. Pedro de Casaos, natural de Sevilla, que con título de Corregidor de Panamá fué nombrado por el Rey para gobernarla, en cuyo tiempo sucedieron las tragedias y robos que hizo Hernando Bachicao, Capitan de Gonzalo Pizarro, para cuyo remedio le nombró la Audiencia y el Cabildo Capitan General.

7. El Licenciado Don Pedro Ramirez de Quiñones, primer Presidente con titulo de tal de aquella Audiencia que pacificó el Reyno de las alteraciones pasadas, hizo la guerra al Negro Bayono que lo tenia hostigado con sus robos y correrias, cuyo castigo en que sirvió el célebre Pedro de Ursua tranquilizó el pais.

8. Juan de Bustos Villegas pasó de Gobernador de la Plaza de Cartagena á Panamá el año de 1551, murió alli arrastrado de una mula.

9. El Licenciado Juan Lopez de Cepeda pasó de Oidor Decano de la Isla de Santo Domingo á la de Santa Fe, de alli á Alcalde del Crimen de la Audiencia de Lima, luego á Presidente de Panamá, y promovido á Charcas el año de 1588.

10. El Licenciado Francisco de Cárdenas, último Presidente Togado que hubo por haberse establecido la Comandancia General del Reyno de Tierra-Firme, y Plaza de Armas la Ciudad de Panamá su Capital, murió el año de 1594.

11. Don Juan del Barrio Sepulveda, Oidor Decano de la Real Audiencia, quedó encargado interinamente del gobierno por muerte del anterior, y lo estaba exerciendo quando llegó.

12. Don Alonso de Sotomayor y Andia, Marques de Valparaiso, Comendador de Villamayor en la Órden de Santiago, natural de Truxillo en Estremadura, Oficial de grandes créditos en Flandes y en Chile, donde habia gobernado con sumo acierto y gloria de las armas del Rey, se hallaba en Lima para restituirse á Europa quando le nombró Presidente de Panamá el Virrey Marques de Cañete, para defender el Reyno de un Armamento Inglés que se temia ser para alli, como sucedió, logrando con tan acertada eleccion su defensa, y la derrota total de los enemigos, gobernó hasta el año de 1596 que pasó á España.

13. El referido Juan del Barrio Sepulveda, Oidor Decano de la Audiencia, volvió á encargarse del gobierno interinamente hasta el año de 1601 que volvió

14. El mismo Don Alonso de Sotomayor, nombrado por el Rey en consideracion de su acertada conducta y sobresaliente mérito para fortificar la Plaza de Portobelo, en compañia del famoso Ingeniero Juan Baptista Antoneli, y executado, aunque recibió Real despacho para volver á gobernar el Reyno de Chile, se embarcó para Europa el año de 1605.

15. Don Diego de Orozco, natural de Lima, de quien no tenemos mas noticia que la de haber sido Presidente de Panamá por este tiempo.

16. Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco; en cuyo tiempo se empezó la reduccion y conquista espiritual de los Indios Guamies en la Provincia de Veragua por los Religiosos del Orden de Santo Domingo, acabó su gobierno el año de 1624.

17. Don Alvaro de Quiñones Osorio, Cabellero del Órden de Santiago, Marques de Lorenzana, gobernó hasta el año de 1632 que pasó promovido á la Presidencia de Guatemala.

18. Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera pasó promovido de la Presidencia y Capitania General de las Islas Filipinas el año de 1634, habiendo tenido le de Panamá solo dos años.

19. Don Enrique Enriquez de Sotomayor pasó promovido del gobierno de Puerto-rico á esta Presidencia, que exerció hasta el año de 1638 en que murió, con tanto sentimiento por sus grandes qualidades que se escribió una Oracion en su elogio, que despues se imprimió en esta Corte.

20. Don Iñigo de la Mota Sarmiento, Cabellero del Órden de Santiago, Gentil-Hombre de Cámara del Archiduque Alberto, y del Consejo Supremo y Junta de Guerra, pasó promovido del gobierno de Puerto-rico como su antecesor el año de 1639, y murió en Portobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de

Galeones del cargo del General Don Francisco Diaz Pimienta el año de 1642.

21. Don Juan de Vega Bazan, General que habia sido de Galeones, nombrado Presidente, Gobernador y Comandante General del Reyno de Tierra-Firme por muerte del anterior el año de 1643.

22. Don Juan de Bitribeante y Navarra, Cabellero del Órden de Calatrava, murió en Portobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de Galeones del cargo del General Don Juan de Echavarri el año de 1651, como consta de la lápida de marmol que puso en su sepultura en la Iglesia Parroquial de Portobelo su Gobernador y intimo amigo Don Bernardo de Texada.

23. Don Fernando de la Riva Aguero, Caballero del Órden de Santiago, Maestre de Campo, Gobernador de Cartagena de Indias quando fué nombrado Presidente de Panamá, murió tambien en Puertobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de Galeones del Marques de Villarubia el año de 1663.

24. Don Juan Perez de Guzmán, Cabellero del Órden de Santiago, Maestre de Campo, Gobernador de Cartagena, despues de haber seguido los empleos de la Milicia en la Armada de la carrera de Indias, y sido Gobernador de Antioquia y de Puerto-rico, fué promovido á esta Presidencia por muerte del anterior el año de 1665, pasó á recuperar la Isla de Santa Catalina que habia tomado el Pirata Inglés Juan Morgau, y sin embargo fué suspendido del empleo por el Virrey del Perú, Conde de Lemos, en virtud de varios cargos que le hacia Don Bernardo Trillo de Figueróa, Oidor Decano de aquella Audiencia.

25. Don Agustin de Bracamonte nombrado interinamente por el Virrey del Perú para la separacion de Don Juan Perez, y pesquisa de los cargos que se le hacian.

26. El mismo Don Juan Perez, reintegrado en sus empleos por no haberse justificado nada de lo que se le acomulaba, tuvo la desgracia de que en su tiempo sucediese la ruina y pérdida de aquella ciudad tomada por el Pirata Inglés el año de 1670, por lo qual fué depuesto segunda vez por el mismo Virrey Conde de Lemos, que lo hizo conducir preso á Lima, dando cuenta al Rey.

27. Don Antonio Fernandez de Córdoba, Cabellero del Órden de Santiago, nombrado por el Rey luego que se supo la desgracia de Panamá, con órden de trasladar la Ciudad á mejor parage, se embarcó para su destino llevando porción de tropa

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que llamaron alli la Chamberga, y empezó á poner en execucion sus órdenes el año de 1671 que llegó, pero la muerte le impedió concluirlas el de 1673.

28. Don Francisco Miguel de Marichalar, Alcalde del Crimen de la Real Audiencia de Lima, enviado interinamente por el Virrey Conde de Lemos, y exerció el gobierno hasta que llegó el propietario nombrado por el Rey el año de 1676.

29. Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, Sergento General de Batalla, que se hallaba sirviendo el gobierno de las Provincias del Tucumán, donde habia hecho señalados servicios al Rey, fué promovido á esta Presidencia, y trasladó la Ciudad como estaba mandado al mejor parage en que hoy existe, dando principo á su fortificacion como se ve en la inscripcion que hay sobre la Puerta de Tierra y antes de concluir la obra murió el año de 1681.

30. El Dr. Don Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, natural de Santa Fe, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Panamá, y Autor célebre de la Historia de la Conquista del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, entró por muerte del anterior, y nombramiento del Virrey del Perú, Conde del Castellar, contenido á prevencion en pliego secreto y cerrado en el Archivo del Acuerdo de la Real Audiencia para que no recayese el gobierno en ninguno de sus Ministros; y aunque el acierto se confirmó con sus virtudes, duro muy poco, porque al año siguiente de 1682 llegó el propietario.

31. Don Pedro Ponte y Llerena, Conde del Palmar, que fué en los Galeones del Marques del Bao, y tomó posesion, siendo el único Presidente que ha cumplido el tiempo de los ocho años de la provision del empleo, sin embargo de cargos con que lo capitularon los Ministros de aquella Audiencia.

32. Don Pedro Joseph Guzmán, Dávalos, Ponce de Leon, Santillan y Mesia, Marques de la Mina, natural de Sevilla, General de la Artilleria, que en premio de sus distinguidos servicios en mar y tierra fué nombrado Presidente de Panamá y Comandante General del Reyno, de que tomó posesion al año de 1690, y gobernó cinco años, hasta el de 1695 que fué separado por comision que se dió al Obispo para justificar los cargos que tres Ministros de aquella Audiencia le hicieron, en cuya execucion se procedió con tanto encono y tropelia, que no hay exemplo de las que sufrió preso en un calabozo del castillo de Chagre, sin permitirle comunicacion por mas de quatro años.

33. El Dr. Don Diego Ladron de Guevara, Obispo de

aquella Santa Iglesia, encargado del gobierno de órden del Rey hasta la llegada del propietario que fué

34. Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Canillas, Cabellero del Órden de Calatrava, Corregidor de Potosi, tomó posesion el ano de 1696 hasta el de 1699, que por los clamores de aquel vecindado, y quexas de las violencías que sigió executando con el Marques de la Mina, se la nombró succesor á

35. Don Joseph Antonio de la Rocha y Carranza, Mques de Villa-Rocha, Cabellero del Órden de Calatrava, General de la Artilleria, que entró á la posesion de la Presidencia el año de 1699; pero á los seis meses recibió una Cédula Real para que entregase el gobierno al mismo

36. Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Canillas, en inteligencia de las grandes cosas que informó falsamente habia hecho para la defensa del Reyno, y por el recelo del establecimiento que habian hecho los Escoceses en el Darien, á cuyo desalojo se le mandaba pasar, como al Gobernador de Cartagena Don Juan Diaz Pimienta, que fué el que lo executó; y sin embargo con el aviso anticipado que envió el Conde del suceso, sin decir quien lo habia hecho, le premió el Rey con el Virreynato del Perú, que no pudo lograr, pues murió á muy poco tiempo de recibir la noticia el mismo año de 1699.

37. Don Fernando Dávila Bravo de Laguna, Caballero del Órden de Santiago, Sargento General de Batalla, natural de Lima, entró el año de 1702, y gobernó hasta el de 1707 que murió.

38. Don Juan Eustaquio Vincentelo, Tello, Toledo y Leca, Marques de Brenes, Cabellero del Órden de Santiago, natural de Sevilla, nombrado interinamente quando murió el anterior por el Marques de Casteldos-rius, Virrey del Perú, que se hallaba en Panamá de transito para su destino, solo gobernó algo mas de cinco meses por haber entrado.

39. El ya referido Marques de Villa-Rocha, que tuvo Real despacho para verificar la provision de su empleo, y no fué de mas larga duracion, pues á pocos dias se recibió otra Real Cédula separándole del empleo por diferentes cargos que le habian hecho, cometido á la Audiencia, que sin embargo de la cláusula condicional se abrogo la Presidencia el Decano.

40. Don Fernando de Haro Monterroso, y la exerció seis meses, hasta el año de 1709 que el Virrey del Perú envió otro Ministro de la Audiencia de Lima, para procesarle por los

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excesos que habia cometido, remitiéndolo preso en Partida de Registro á España, y murió en la Cárcel de Corte de Madrid.

41. Don Juan Baptista de Orueta y Irusta, Alcalde del Crimen de la Real Audiencia de Lima, comisionado para la deposicion y pesquisa del antecesor, gobernó hasta el año siguiente de 1710 en que llegó el propietario nombrado por el Rey, y él se restituyó á Lima al exercicio de su Plaza.

42. Don Joseph de Larrañeta y Vera, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Portobelo con la calidad de obcion á la Presidencia y Capitania General del Reyno en caso de vacante de propietario, por Cédula Real de nombramiento en aquel empleo, como teniente de Rey, entró á tomar posesion luego que la recibió á principio del año de 1710, y gobernó hasta mitad del siguiente de 1711 que llegaron dos successores al mismo tiempo:

43. Uno el mencionado ya dos veces Marques de Villa-Rocha, restituido la tercera á titulo de honor en desagravio del exceso con se habia procedido en su segunda separacion por el tiempo que tardase en llegar el propietario nombrado por S. M. y fué tan corto que solo se contó por horas, pues habiendo venido á la Capital desde el fuerte de Chepo, donde se hallaba preso, tomó posesion, y el mismo dia entró á las cinco de la tarde

44. Don Joseph Hurtado de Amezaga, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, que tomó posesion el referido año de 1711, y gobernó hasta el de 1716 que fué depuesto de órden del Rey, cometiendo su separacion al Obispo de aquella Iglesia, y extinguiendo al mismo tiempo el Tribunal de la Audiencia.

45. Don Fr. Juan Joseph de Llamas y Rivas, del Órden de nuestra Señora del Carmen, Obispo de Panamá, que por la comision referida quedó encargado del gobierno desde el citado año de 1716 hasta el de 1718 en que llegó

46. Don Gerónimo Vadillo, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, promovido del gobierno de Cartagena que estaba exerciendo, con el nuevo establecimiento de cinco años de provision en los Gobiernos que no hay Audiencia, y cumplió el de 1723.

47. Don Gaspar Perez Buelta, Oidor que habia sido de la extinguida Audiencia, que habiendo mandado el Rey volverla á restablecer el mismo año de 1723, gobernó interinamente como Decano tres meses y medio, hasta que se embarcó para pasar al Perú promovido á la Audiencia de Lima á principios del de 1724.

48. Don Joseph De Alzamora y Ursino quedó Decano de la Audiencia por el ascenso del anterior, y como tal encargado interinamente del Gobierno, Presidencia y Comandancia General poco mas de un mes hasta la llegada del propietario.

49. Don Manuel de Alderete, Caballero del Órden de Santiago, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, fué promovido de teniente de Rey de la Plaza de Cadiz á esta Presidencia en los galeones del teniente General Marques Grillo, y tomó posesion el año de 1724, gobernó hasta el de 1730 en que fué depuesto, y preso en el castillo de Chepo, y luego remitido en Partida de Registro á la Casa de la Contratacion, en la fragata de guerra la la Ginovesa, que se perdió sobre el baxo de la Vivora, donde se ahogó.

50. Don Juan Joseph de Andia, Vivero y Velasco, Marques de Villahermosa, Mariscal de Campo, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Cartagena, fué promovido á la Presidencia de Panamá, con la comision de deponer á su antecesor, el referido año de 1730; y habiendo solicitado licencia para restituirse á España se la concedió S. M. ascendiéndole al grado de teniente General el año de 1735, y á poco tiempo de su llegada la Grandeza, con titula de Marques de Valparaiso.

51. Don Dionisio Martinez de la Vega, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, pasó promovido del Gobierno de la Havana á relevar al anterior el citado año de 1735, y exerció el gobierno hasta el de 1743 en que llegó el successor nombrado por S. M., que en remuneracion de haber hecho la paz con los Indios del Darien le promovió al grado de teniente General, concediéndole llave de entrada de Gentil-Hombre de su Cámara: en su tiempo tomaron los Ingleses mandados por el Almirante Wernon la Ciudad de Portobelo y castillo de Chagre, murió en Panamá el año de 1744 estando disponiendo su viage para España.

52. Don Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera, que habia servido la Presidencia de Quito y Comandancia General de este Reyno, se hallaba en la Corte quando fué nombrado por el Rey para pasar á servir esta de Panamá, y encargase de la defensa del de Tierra-Firme, objeto de los Ingleses en la guerra que habian declarado desde el año de 1739, con particular encargo de diferentes comisiones del Real servicio, por su notoria inteligencia, conocimiento de la América y zelo del Real servicio, que desempeñó desde el año de 1743 en que tomó posesion hasta el de 1749 que fué separado del empleo por diferentes cargos

con que la habian calumniado los Oidores de aquella Audiencia, origen siempre de las discordias de esta Provincia. Durante su gobierno castigó los contravandistas de la de Natá, que en numero de mas de doscientos, auxiliados de los Ingleses, se habian sublevado tomando armas contra las de S. M., vino á Madrid, y fué absuelto de los cargos honorificamente.

53. Don Manuel de Montiano, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, pasó promovido del gobierno de la Florida, y entró en Panamá el mismo año de 1749, en cuyo tiempo se extinguió la Audiencia el siguiente en virtud de los informes que hizo su antecesor, como único medio de establecer la paz y harmonia de aquel Reyno turbada por las continuas competencias de este Tribunal sobre todas materias, como acreditó la tranquilidad del gobierno de este hasta el año de 1758 en que llegó su succesor.

54. Don Antonio Guill, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Guadalaxara, sugeto de acreditado talento, virtud y pericia militar, cuyas qualidades le hicieron sumamente estimado en su gobierno, con el sentimiento de su corta duracion por haber pasado promovido á la Presidencia y Capitania General de Chile el año de 1761.

55. Don Joseph Raon, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, gobernó poco mas de dos años por haber pasado promovido a la Presidencia y Capitania General de las Islas Filipinas el año de 1763.

56. Don Joseph Blasco de Orozco, Cabellero del Órden de San Juan, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Burgos, pasó á servir este Gobierno el referido año, y murió alli el de 1767.

57. Don Vicente de Olaziregui, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Granada, destinado á este Gobierno de Panamá el año de 1769, murió el de 1773.

58. Don Pedro Carbonel, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Aragon, nombrado el año de 1775, gobernó hasta el de 1779, en que le llegó el succesor.

59. Don Ramon de Carvajal, Coronel de Infanteria, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Vique en el Principado de Cataluña quando fué destinado al de Guayaquil en el Reyno de Quito, y antes de tomar posesion promovido á este de Panamá el año de 1780, y lo exerció hasta el de 1785 que nombró el Rey para succederle á

60. Don Joseph Domás, Brigadier de la Real Armada, nombrado el referido año de 1785, que actualmente gobierna.

Diccionario Geográfico-Historico de las Indias Occidentales Ó América, tomo iv. *pags.* 38-49, por el Coronel Don Antonio de Alcedo. Madrid, 1788.

[This list is copied *verbatim,* and the reader is advised that it contains a few errors.]

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