changed his intention and went to the Cape de Verde Islands, CHAP. 2. where he remained till October. In the beginning of December, the squadron anchored in Rio Janeiro harbour. **On January** the 5th, 1696, they left the coast of Brasil, and sailed Southward for the Strait of Magalhanes.

The proceedings of M. de Gennes to this time were almost beyond example dilatory and improvident, and the consequences were such as might naturally have been expected. It should have been his endeavour to secure his passage into the South Sea before, or by, the end of the year, for which there was more than sufficient time, after he left the River Gambia. But M. de Gennes seems to have been apprehensive that he should arrive at the Strait too early.

January the 31st, the surface all round was so covered with small red craw-fish or shrimps, that, M. Froger says, it might have been named the Red Sea. The latitude is not mentioned: but on the 4th of February they first had sight of the Tierra del Fuego. Afterwards, they had nearly run on a bank, by trusting to the recollection of some on board who had before been this way, in preference to their charts. On the 11th, the squadron anchored in the Bay de la Possession. On the 13th, they entered the Strait of Magalhanes, and anchored in the Bay on the North side between the two Angosturas or Narrows, which Magalhanes M. de Gennes named Baye Boucault.

During the remainder of February and March, M. de Gennes endeavoured to gain passage through the Strait; but the winds, except at two short intervals, were fixed in the Western quarters, and the cold was extreme. The following are the remarks of most importance made by M. Froger whilst in the Strait of Magalhanes.

In the Eastern part of the Strait they saw porpoises which were all white excepting the head and tail. On the Island St. George (Santa Magdalena in the Spanish Chart), they found inushrooms. At Port Famine they saw some natives who were building

Cape de Verde Islands. 1600. January.

February.

13th. Enter the Suant of Baye

Boucault.

Natives.

VOYAGE OF DE GENNES.

PART 11. building two small boats of bark. Among them was a man who seemed not less than eighty years old, and who appeared to have some authority over the rest. They had slings, arrows, and five or six small dogs, which it was thought assisted them in the chace. These people were of good size and robust: they had long black hair, but cut on the top of the head in the shape of a crown: they were painted white over the face, arms, and on parts of the body. Notwithstanding the cold, they had no other clothing than a garment made of scal skins hanging over their shoulders: the tallest of them was not six feet [French measure] in height.

> M. de Gennes afterwards anchored in a Bay about two leagues North Eastward of Cape Froward, to which was given the name of Baye Françoise, and a river which empties itself in the Bay, was named Riviere de Gennes. Froger has given a Chart of Baye Françoise; but a more regular survey, taken by the Spaniards in 1786, who call it Bahia de San Nicolas, is published in the Ultimo Viage al Estrecho.

> In an account of a subsequent voyage, it is said that a boat belonging to the squadron of M. de Gennes passed, by some channel, through the *Tierra del Fuego**. No circumstance of the kind is mentioned by M. Froger.

April.

M de Gennes

- back

t of the Stratt.

Baye Françoise.

> On April the 3d, M. de Gennes held a council with his officers, in which it was resolved that if in the course of the two next days the wind did not change in their favour, they would sail back out of the *Strait*. On the 5th, the wind not having altered, they took up their anchors, being then in *Port Galant*, and set sail to return. On the 11th, they repassed the Eastern entrance, 'keeping between the *Tierra del Fuego* shore, ' and some banks which are at the entrance of the *Strait*.'

Having abandoned the purpose of the expedition, they sailed

- ' peut-être le meme pa ou debouqua un bateau de l'Escadre de M. de Gennes 🖚
- ' 1096. Frezier's Voyage, 12mo edition, p. 509.

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to

^{*} M. Frezier, in speaking of a deep inlet in the Tierra del Juego, says, ' c'est

to Brasil; afterwards on a cruise to the West Indies; and finally CHAP. 2. returned to the Port of Rochelle in April 1697.

Froger endeavours to palliate the mismanagement of M. de Gennes by attributing the failure of the expedition to the little experience they had of the seasons for the winds. M. de Gennes must have known winter from summer; and that trying to make the passage early must at least have given an additional chance of success. His defeating in so frivolous a manner an expedition of great expectation, is the more extraordinary for its having been undertaken at his own suggestions and application; and which after all he relinquished when the ships had not been two months in the *Strait*.

Froger's Narrative is well written, and embellished with good plates. The charts and plans given by him are draughts or sketches rather than surveys, and done with some care; but their use has been superseded by more regular surveys since taken.

IN the summer and autumn of 1697, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri made his passage from Manila to New Spain. The Travels of Careri have been questioned. Pere du Halde has not gone so far as to dispute their reality, but he charges Careri with not being scrupulous, and with want of correctness in some particulars. P. du Halde says, 'Some persons of no great ' sincerity have thought to amuse their readers agreeably by ' supplying from their own resources the knowledge they did ' not possess. This has been done by an Italian voyager in a ' book printed at Naples in 1720, entitled, Giro del Mondo. ' He gives a minute description of the Emperor of China's ' Palace, of which he had no other ideas than those of his own ' forming*.' Gemelli has written a quiet narrative with little mixture of extraordinary incident, yet it gives cause for suspicion,

* Preface to the History of China.

1697. Öf Gemelli Careri.

GEMELLI CARERI.

PART 11. 1697. cion, by being in great part composed of descriptions of things which he had not seen himself; and places which he does not pretend to have visited. His journal relates his making a tour round the World, commenced from Naples and concluded by his return thither, performed partly by sea and partly by land, in the years from 1693 to 1699, a part of each included.

HisPassage across the Pacific.

Careri, according to his journal, travelled over-land to India; in shipping to China; and thence to the Philippine Islands. From Manila he sailed in a Spanish ship which carried the royal treasure to Acapulco. This is the only part of his journal which has connexion with South Sea navigation. Gemelli makes no claim to any discovery in his passage, but relates particulars which he professes to have learnt from pilots and mariners on board, who were experienced in that navigation. These consist of slight notices concerning the Islands Rica de Oro, Rica de Plata, San Sebastian, and Donna Maria Laxara; also of the Señas or floating weeds near the coast of California. All of these have been remarked in the preceding part of this Work. Some particulars of the navigation from Manila to New Spain, are awkwardly described; but those given as the reports of the pilots and mariners, by whatever means Careri obtained them, have more the appearance of being what he has represented, than of having been invented by bimself.

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CHAP. III.

Of the Expeditions of the Spaniards in California, to their first Establishment, in 1697.

THE Voyages of Francisco de Ulloa, and Juan Rodriguez CHAP. 3. Cabrillo, completed the discovery of the coasts of California; and Vizcaino's Voyages gained an intimate knowledge of the Western coast. The last voyage of Vizcaino was in 1603, between which time and the year 1697, several attempts were made by order of the government of New Spain, to colonise California; but at distinct intervals, and they failed from the weakness of the means employed. It is said there was much difficulty in furnishing subsistence for new settlers in an uncultivated country, which business it might be supposed could have been managed with ease, as the Northern provinces of New Spain abound in provisions, and the distance is short. But it appears that most of the persons employed were more intent on procuring pearls from the natives of California than on contriving means for the maintenance of an establishment. The oysters in which the pearls are bred, lie in great numbers on banks on the Californian side of the Gulf : and the inhabitants of the provinces of Cinaloa and Culiacan had long frequented the Eastern coast of California to procure pearls, both by barter with the natives and by fishing for them.

Of the attempts to conquer and colonise California previous Expedition to 1697, the one most deserving of notice was made in the year 1683, under the direction of Don Isidro Otondo, who was Governor of the province of Cinaloa, and thereby the better enabled to make provision for a settlement. The title of Almirante de las Californias was conferred on Don Isidro, and three Missionaries of the Order of Jesus were appointed to go with him to instruct and convert the natives. Two Narratives are published of this expedition, one in tome 3^{me} de Recueil de Yor, IV. Y y Voyages

EXPEDITIONS OF THE SPANIARDS

PART II. Voyages au Nord, the other in the Noticia de la California, Expedition vol. i. part 2.

to California, in 1683.

In the spring of 1683, Don Isidro departed from Nueva Galicia with two ships, on board of which were above a hundred men. On the 30th of March, they anchored in Port De la Paz (formerly Puerto de Cortes). Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, the superior of the mission, who was esteemed a good mathematician, gives the latitude of the entrance of this Port 24° 45' N *.

' The old accounts relate that the Californians were accus-' tomed to go off in their canoes and upon catamarans to ships, ' on their first arrival, with great demonstrations of friendship; ' but on this occasion, no canoe went off, nor was any inhabitant ' seen on the land. The Almirante and his officers landed with ' a number of men, and embarked again at night. This they did ' several days following, and they planted a cross to take posses-' sion of the country in the name of God and of the King.' The Spaniards suspected that the natives kept themselves concealed in the neighbouring woods, which wishing to discover, they left on the shore when they embarked in the evening, some Indian corn, biscuit, with other eatables, and some beads : but when they landed on the morning following, the things did not appear to have been touched by any one. This did not remove the suspicions of the Spaniards, and on the fifth day they began to construct a small fort. That same day, the Almirante going with others on an eminence, they perceived great smokes in different parts of the country, which were thought to be signals of alarm. The Spaniards slept on shore that night at their new quarters. The next day, about thirty-five men of the natives came towards them armed with bows and darts, and making loud cries and gestures, intimating that the Spaniards should quit the land. The Spaniards had retired within their works. and after replying to the natives by many conciliatory signs. two

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^{*} Relation d'une descente dans la Catifornie. Voyages au Nord. Tom. III. p. 460.

two of the Missionaries went to them with presents of provi- CHAP. 3. sions and toys, which after some hesitation were accepted; and Expedition in a very short time the natives became quite as familiar as was California desirable to their visitors.

The Spaniards soon afterwards built a church which was con-Settlement secrated to Nuestra Senora de la Guadalupe, and began to make habitations. One of the ships was dispatched to the River Hiaqui, or Yaqui, for a supply of provisions. In this part of California were people of two nations, perfectly distinct and speaking different languages. One, the Koras, who were sup- Tribe of the posed to be the original inhabitants, are praised in the accounts for being of affable dispositions, communicative, and docile. Their language comprehended all the sounds in the Spanish alphabet, and they could readily pronounce the Spanish words. They made the sign of the cross, and repeated distinctly the prayers after the Missionaries. From the beginning of their acquaintance with the Spaniards, their children came and played and took diversion with those of the Spaniards. They were always glad at being offered any thing to eat, and would pass their hand across their belly to signify they were hungry, not that they were distressed for want of provision, for they had venison, with which they sometimes regaled the Spaniards, and the forests were full of game. The other nation were called the Guaycuros. They never visited the Spanish fort with- Guaycuros. out their arms, and never took their wives or children there. They expressed their dissatisfaction in the most open manner at the Spaniards abiding in their country, and threatened that they would unite to extirpate them if they did not soon depart. No other knowledge of their language was obtained than that it was different from that of the Koras: neither could the Spaniards gain on their dispositions; on the contrary, their perverseness and obstinacy are complained of as the principal obstacles to the prospering of the Settlement formed at this time in the Bay de la Paz.

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in 1683.

formed at

Port de la

Paz.

Natives

called Koras.

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EXPEDITIONS OF THE SPANIARDS

The Almirante ordered parties on excursions to a good distance PART II. Expedition within land, and the natives were found peaceable; but impatient to for the Spaniards to be gone. In this state of affairs, a quarrel California in 1683. happened between the Spaniards and the natives. It is said that a mulatto boy strayed from the Spanish quarters, and never returned; and that the Guaycuros were suspected to have killed him. It is also suspected that the story of the mulatto boy was an invention fabricated to palliate the subsequent proceedings of the Almirante Otondo. The Guaycuros continued irreconcileable to the establishment of the Spaniards in their country, and the Almirante wished to make them feel his resentment. The account given of Otondo's expedition in the Noticia de la California was probably written either by himself or by some person closely connected with him and his determinations. It says that the Guaycuros, not being able to persuade the Koras to join them to expel the Spaniards, the Koras being themselves in need of protection from the violences of the Guaycuros, they, the Guaycuros, collected to the number of about 1500, and surrounded the fort. ' The Spaniards retreacherously ' mained quiet, and the Indians advanced towards the garrison. "When they came within proper distance, they were fired at ' from the fort, and ten or twelve of them were killed and many ' wounded, whereupon the rest fled.' A Memorial which about twenty years afterwards was presented to the Viceroy of Mexico, speaks to the fact in a manner which clearly shews that by a false shew of reconciliation, the natives were inveigled to an entertainment and traitorously fired upon.

The Almirante of the Californias gained no other purpose by his act than the gratification of his revenge. The ship which had been sent for provisions to the Hiaqui, was detained by contrary winds; and the month of July arrived, without her being heard of at de la Paz. The people of the Settlement The Settlement of became dispirited, and apprehensive that the natives would take Port de la a severe revenge for their murdered countrymen. Under these abandoned. unprosperous

Natives murdered.

Paz

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unprosperous circumstances, the Almirante, on the 14th of July, CHAP. 3. broke up his Settlement, and embarking with all his people, Expedition returned to the opposite coast. The Memorial above mentioned says, ' the Settlement de la Paz, the very centre of the " Placeres or Pearl beds, was quitted with disgrace, " Quedando ' todavia alzada esta Nacion Guaycura por las muertes, que hizo · el Almirante con los Indios, que estaban alrededor de un cazo ' grande, comiendo actualmente maiz cocido, à que los havia com-· bidado:' i. e. ' leaving also the Guaycura nation exasperated by the murders which the Almirante had committed upon the Indians, who were gathered together round a great kettle, and in the act of eating boiled maize to which they had been invited.'

In the beginning of October, the Almirante, having recruited his stock of provisions, again sailed across the Gulf. On the 6th, Expedition of Otondo. he anchored in a large bay of California in 261° N latitude. This was thought a convenient situation for a Settlement, and the inhabitants appeared tractable. A fort and a church were Settlement built, and the place was named San Bruno, because their of Bruno. arrival in the bay was on the festival of that Saint.

The Spaniards continued the establishment at San Bruno near two years. The natives shewed a willingness to embrace the Christian Religion, and the fathers studied and made good progress in two different languages of the country, into which they translated parts of the church service ; but they had penctration to foresee that the termination of this enterprise was not very distant, and conscientiously forebore to baptize the natives except when any were at the point of death.

Before the expiration of the second year, Otondo and his principal officers pronounced the situation of San Bruno to be unwholesome, and the country near it barren and incapable of maintaining a Settlement. The fact was, that the Placeres, or Pearl beds, were much fewer and less productive at this part of the coast than near Port de la Paz, and the Spaniards of the colony

Second

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to California in 1683.

EXPEDITIONS OF THE SPANIARDS

PART II.

1685.

colony had been long enough at San Bruno to collect from the natives all the pearls in their possession. No one in the Settlement had a stronger fancy for a good pearl than the Almirante. If a native had a better pearl than common, and gave or disposed of it to any other person than himself, he could not contain his rage : and this caused him to be so much disliked by his own people, that it is said he was more than once in danger of losing his life by their hands. After his declaration against the situation of San Bruno, he called a council of the Missionaries and the principal officers, to whose consideration he proposed the question, whether they should continue or abandon the Settlement; and each member was required to sign his opinion. That of a majority of the officers, was for quitting San Bruno; but the Missionaries gave theirs for continuing the establishment. To these opinions, the Almirante added his own, and sent them by a dispatch to the Viceroy of Mexico, with a proposal to remove the Colony to some more commodious part of California.

The answer of the Viceroy arrived in September 1685, which noticed the great expence already incurred, and directed that no new Settlement should be attempted, but that the one at San Bruno should, if possible, be maintained. Notwithstanding San Bruno these directions, in a very short time after they were received, Otondo, on the plea of scarcity of provisions, embarked with the Colonists, and some Californians whom he kept as slaves, and returned to New Spain. The attempts made under Otondo for the Settlement of California, cost the royal treasury 225,000 crowns. It was alleged in excuse for the failure, that the seasons during those two years were unfavourable to vegetation, and consequently to the maintenance of the colonists; and that at San Bruno eighteen months passed without any rain falling.

The unprofitable issue of Otondo's expeditions, and the necessities of the Court of *Madrid*, saved the Californians from being again troubled by the Spaniards till near the end of the reign

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reign of Charles II. New proposals, however, with estimates, CHAP. 3. and offers of contributing, were submitted by private persons to the Spanish ministry, and an order was in consequence sent to advance 30,000 crowns to the Almirante of the Californias. Otondo, who, in spite of all his misdecds, was again to have been trusted; but before the time for payment, a fresh and pressing demand for money arrived from Madrid, which intercepted the supplies for many occasions, and among them the intended advance for the conquest of California.

The Padre Francisco Kino, nevertheless, continued constantly to desire the conversion, and ccased not to make solicitation, both to the Viccroy of Mexico and to the P. General of nis order. In these endeavours he was at length joined by another Jesuit, P. Juan Maria de'Salvatierra, a man of much prudence and ability. In the beginning of 1697, they obtained a licence 1697. from the superiors of their order to raise collections towards Conquest of California their work from the piously disposed. The reduction of California had always been a popular undertaking with the Spaniards in Mexico, and a fund was soon furnished by private contributions. The Viceroy granted the two Fathers a licence to make an entrance into California, in which was included that of enlisting soldiers at their own expence to serve them as a guard, and to appoint a commander ; upon condition that they should take possession of the country in the King's name, and that they should not draw upon the royal treasury: and they had also the privilege granted them of appointing persons to administer justice in the new conquest.

In February, Padre de Salvatierra departed from the city of Mexico for Cinaloa. A galiot and a barca longa, being the contribution of Don Pedro de la Sierpe who had the office of treasurer of Acapulco, were sent from that port to the River Hiagui, where the Mission was to embark. It had been agreed between the Fathers Kino and Salvatierra, that they should meet at the Hiagui; but in consequence of insurrections of the native

agam undertaken.

EXPEDITIONS OF THE SPANIARDS

PART II. native inhabitants in some of the Northern Provinces of New

Spain, Kino, who had spiritual superintendence there, was prevented from keeping his appointment. After the lapse of some months, Padre Francisco Maria Piccolo was nominated to supply his place; but before Piccolo could arrive at the *Hiaqui*, P. de Salvatierra, apprehensive of new delays, the year being far advanced, on October the 10th, set.sail with the galiot and barca longa. His military retinue consisted of nine soldiers, three of whom were natives of New Spain.

After leaving the Hiaqui, the barca longa lost company. On the third day, the galiot by herself made the coast of Culifornia. She looked in at different parts along the coast, and on Saturday the 19th, anchored in a bay which was named de San Dionysio, a few leagues to the South of the place where the Settlement of San Bruno had stood. 'The bay was in the shape of a half ' moon, and the distance from point to point, nearly five leagues ' The country round was covered with trees and verdure, and ' there was good fresh water within a small distance of the ' shore'.* P. de Salvatierra with his followers, landed. The Noticia de la California says, they were received with joy and affection by the inhabitants. According to Padre Piccolo, the natives attacked Salvatierra, and were sharply repulsed, but afterwards became tractable +, and Salvatierra with his small troop advanced about a league and a half from the sea, to a place called Concho by the natives, which was in sight from the bay, and here they encamped. This easy admission gained by a party so few in number, may be attributed in some degree to the engaging, and at the same time commanding, appearance of the Missionary chief, Salvatierra. ' The provisions, animals, ' and baggage were landed, and the Padre, who was a strong ' robust man, marched the foremost of his company, with a ' load

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Not. de la California. Part III. § 1.

⁺ Memoire touchant la Californie. Voyages au Nord, tome 3^{ma}. p. 445. This Memoir is an Extract from a Report made by the Padre Fr. M. Piccolo, to the Royal Council at Mexico, on the affairs of the California Mission.

' load on his shoulders.' They built a wall and dug intrench- CHAP. 3. ments round their quarters, and within, in the centre, set up a tent to serve as a temporary chapel. An image of our Lady Presidio de of Loreto, in the character of the 'Patrona de la Conquista,' was San Loreto founded. carried in procession from the galiot to the chapel; and conformably to the order contained in the Viceroy's grant, possession was taken of the country for the King of Spain. Thus was founded the Presidio de Loreto.

Salvatierra applied to the study of the languages of the country, in which he found help from the papers of the former mission, and was soon able to discourse with and to instruct the natives. P. Piccolo says many different nations were found in California, but he specifies only two languages, one called the Monqui the other the Laimone.

To encourage the natives to attend at the church service, P. Salvatierra distributed to each of his auditors after the lesson was finished, an allowance of boiled maize, which was called Pozoli; to which use half a bushel of maize was devoted every day.

At the end of a week, the galiot was dispatched to the Hiaqui to bring over P. Piccolo, with more soldiers and provisions. Soon after her departure, the Presidio became involved in a quarrel with the natives, in a manner which had not been foreseen. The pozoli was much liked, and answered the intention of increasing the attendance of the natives at church; but the larger the congregation, the smaller became the allowances of pozoli, which occasioned first complaints, and afterwards pilfering from the sacks; so that it became necessary to limit the admissions into the Presidio. The natives resented the restriction by assaulting the goats and cattle; and a horse, the only one which had been brought over, they killed and devoured. About the middle of November, four different tribes of the natives came against the fort, the Spanish History of California says, ' set on by their sorcerers who every where disseminated Vol. IV. Zz · that

1607.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPANIARDS

PART 11. ' that the Spaniards came to take and carry them away to 1697. ' another country.' Without being much of conjurors, it was not difficult even for the simple Californians to foretel the danger that what had been so recently practised in Otondo's expedition might be repeated. The Californians however could do nothing against the fort, and became reconciled. Before the end of November the barca longa arrived, as did the galiot

> The chapel was now made a regular stone building. ' Hence-' forth,' said the Fathers, ' the standard of Christ will not be ' removed from these countries.' From this time great progress was made in the conversion. The labours of the Mission were divided in the following manner; the Padre Piccolo gave his instruction within the Presidio to the children of the natives, ' whilst P. Salvatierra visited the adults without the intrench-' ments; and thus without any sceming design, the children ' were made to serve as hostages.' The increase of the Presidio by the fresh arrivals from New Spain soon rendered unnecessary such precaution. In the beginning of the year 1700, the number of settlers from New Spain (Spaniards, Mestizos, and Mexicans) amounted to six hundred; and in the year following, the Missionary reports state, that they had brought the natives of more than 50 leagues extent of country to obedience, and had founded four towns, in which of baptized christians and catechumens above 2600 resided. A second Presidio, by which appellation the principal Missionary stations were known, was founded Westward of the first, within a short distance of the exterior coast, and was named after San Francisco Xavier. Near it is a high mountain, from whose summit may be seen both the outer ocean and the sea of the Californian Gulf.

In this advanced state, the Mission was in danger of falling to the ground. The funds by which it was maintained rested still on private benefactions; and in 1700, it is said because of the low state of their finances, P. de Sanvitores discharged eighteen

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1700.

with P. Piccolo.

eighteen of his soldiers. The soldiers indeed were not so CHAP. 3. necessary as formerly to the safety of the Missionaries, the number of settlers that had arrived, and were arriving daily, from New Spain forming for them a more secure protection; but the Mission languished for want of pecuniary assistance, till a Jesuit Father named Ugarte who was their agent in Mexico, by great exertions obtained an unusual flow of contributions, which he laid out in necessaries, and embarked with them himself for California. Padre Ugarte afterwards undertook the charge of the new Presidio of San Xavier, and the following anecdote of him is related to have happened whilst in the performance of his ministerial duties there. The Padre had not sufficiently made himself master of the language of the country to avoid making mistakes, and the Californians, his auditors. were so deficient in good breeding as to notice them by loud laughter, for which he reproved them ; but their unseasonable mirth was not to be so repressed. One day that a Californian had the presumption in the like manner to disturb the performance of service, the meekness and patience of the good Father was quite overcome, and, being a large powerful man, he seized the Indian whilst in the midst of his laughter, by the hair, and lifting him from the ground, swung him backward and forward. The rest of the congregation ran away in great terror, but when they returned, the account says, were perfectly cured of their rudeness.

To ease the burthen of the Mission, P. Salvatierra petitioned and obtained that the soldiers kept in California should be paid by the King. The officers of the troops had shewn dissatisfaction at being subordinate to the superior of the Missionaries. Salvatierra defended this arrangement, in a Letter written by him to the Viceroy, in which he remarked ' that the pearls on ' the coast of California were a strong allurement, and if the · Fathers had not possessed the power of displacing the Comf mander of the troops, some avaricious and violent spirits • would ZZ2

1700.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPANIARDS

* would have compelled the Indians, both the Gentiles and the
* Christians, to go fishing for pearls, by laying a tax upon them,
* which might produce insurrection and the loss of the country,
* as on account of its ruggedness no horse could be employed
* to recover it.' In consequence of Salvatierra's representation, the control of the military was for the present continued on its original footing.

Philip the Fifth, in the first year of his reign, sent orders to New Spain for support to be given to the establishments in California; and from that time the dominion of the Spaniards over the Peninsula may be regarded as established, although they were not so numerous there as to spread over the whole country, and in many parts the inhabitants remained long afterwards in a state of independence. ' After a time,' says Padre Piccolo, ' we thought of seeking for other people to whom we ' might be of service. P. Salvatierra went Northward, and I ' took a route towards the South and West. We remarked ' in our advance that many nations having different languages ' were found living together. During the summer, the heat is ' great near the Eastern coast, and it seldom rains ; but in the ' inland country, the heat is never extreme. In the rainy ' season, it is a deluge of waters: when the rains are over, ' great dews fall, which makes the land fruitful. In the months ' of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a kind of ' manna, which congeals and hardens on the leaves of roses, ' from whence it is gathered. I have tasted this manna : it has ' not quite the whiteness of sugar, but has all the sweetness. ' To judge from our own experience, the climate must be very ' healthy, for now, at the end of five years *, all of as who ' first entered this country are alive and well; and of other ' Spaniards, two only have died, one of whom was a woman ' who was so imprudent as to bathe herself when near being ' delivered.' P. Piccolo's description of the climate much discredits

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credits the account given of a long continued drought at San CHAR. 3. Bruno during the residence there of Otondo.

At the close of the seventeenth century, it was held doubtful Question whether California was an Island or part of the Continent. the Junction Not that there was any question of the truth of the accounts of Francisco de Ulloa and Hernando de Alarçon, but it was thought that what they had seen was not sufficient to establish fully the junction of California with the Continent*. De Lisle, the geographer, in a Letter he published concerning California, mentions a chart made in the year 1695, which was sent to the French Academy, wherein California is represented as an Island. It seems that in the time D. Diego Lopez de Pacheco, Duque de Escalona, was Viceroy of New Spain, which was in the years 1640 to 1642, the same doubt was entertained, and · during his Viceroyalty, he sent orders to the Governor of Cinaloa to take a survey of the coast of California opposite. P. Jacinto Cortes, a Jesuit Missionary, accompanied the Governor; but they did not go so far as to the head of the Gulf. M. de Lisle relates also that M. Froger, the narrator of De Gennes' expedition, said he had seen a Spanish pilot who affirmed to him that he had sailed round California.

Towards the end of the year 1700, P. Francisco Kino, who The Junehad been prevented from accompanying Salvatierra to Cali- tion verified fornia, made a progress Northward from the River Hiaqui, Salvatieria. and arrived at the River Colorado, not at its entrance; but from the top of a mountain he saw where the river joined the Sea of California. The following year, Salvatierra went over from California, and joined Kino, and these two Fathers in company undertook another journey to the Colorado. Of this expedition P. Salvatierra has spoken in the following manner, in a Letter addressed to the P. General, Thyrso Gonzales. ' I make known to you, Reverend Father, that having landed ' on the side of New Spain, and having travelled along by that ' coast

of California with the Continent.

by P P.

Kino and

^{*} At the end of Vol. I, is a Chart of California and the Gulf.

SPANIARDS IN CALIFORNIA.

1701-2.

PART II. ' coast until I had certain information from the Indians near ' the Colorado that they had communication by land with the ' Indians of California, and not trusting wholly to the said ' information, I journeyed on in company with P. Eusebio ' Francisco Kino, until from a mountain not very high, we could ' discern the woody mountains of California join with those of ' New Spain.' The next year P. Kino again verified the junction by another journey to the River Colorado, which he came to at a part distant from the sea, and followed its course till it fell into the Californian Gulf.

> Padre Miguel Venegas, the Historian of California, represents the insurrections of the native inhabitants to have been few and of small consequence. In some of the places where the Faith had been admitted, he remarks, it was far from being firmly established. In the Histories of the Spanish Conquests, the test of Indian faith has been submission in all things to the Spaniards. As California, from its proximity to New Spain could not escape Spanish conversion, it may be reckoned good fortune that the business came into such hands as P. de Sanvitores, who has been styled the Apostle of California. Yet according to the latest descriptions, it appears that the natives are reduced to a state of childishness beyond all other example to be met with among mankind ; which was not effected entirely without struggle, by which several of the Fathers were indebted to the Californians for the glory of martyrdom.

CHAP. IV.

The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. History of the Colony formed by them at Darien.

A ^N Enterprise of great promise, undertaken by a Com-mercial Company formed in Scotland, which had in view the establishment of a direct intercourse between the two Indies, by a navigation across the Pacific Ocean, will be the subject of the present Chapter.

Such intercourse had long been possessed by the Spaniards, to whom it was in a very small degree productive, comparatively with what it must have been if left open. In 1695, Act of the the Parliament of Scotland obtained the assent of the King, Parliament, of Scotland, William IIId. to an Act, empowering the subjects of the King- June 1695. dom of Scotland ' to erect Societies or Companies for the esta-. blishment and carrying on trade with any whatsoever nations ' and countries or places in Asia, Africa, and America, not ' inhabited, or any other places with consent of the natives and ' inhabitants thereof, under the limitation and restriction that ' such places were not previously and antecedently possessed by any · European prince or state. Also, that they might furnish the ' said places with ordnance and stores of war for the defence of ' their trade, colonies, and plantations; and it should be deemed ' lawful for them to make reprisals and seek reparation for ' damages done unto them.' On the passing this Act, many Company merchants, and other wealthy persons, among whom were some of Scotland trading to of the first consideration in Scotland, associated and obtained Africa and the Indies. a charter forming them into a company under the title of The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. And for the further encouragement of the people of Scotland to

enter

PART II. enter into societies for carrying on commerce to distant parts, it was enacted, or granted in the Charter of the Company, that their merchandise and effects should be free from all manner of restraints, prohibitions, customs and taxes, for and during the space of twenty-one years, provided that one half of their funds and effects should be the property of natural born subjects of Scotland.

> Directors were appointed, and books opened to receive subscriptions. The particular object of the Company was not immediately made known; but to give publicity to their proceedings corresponding with the extensiveness of their views, they contracted for ships to be built in *Holland*, and in *Hamburgh*; and the privileges granted to the Company inspiring hopes of great undertakings, subscriptions 'poured in to the amount of 400,000*l*. or, according to one account, of half a million.

> Mr. Paterson, a clergyman, and native of Scotland, who had been several years in America, first suggested to the principal managers of the new Company a plan for a Settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, thence to engage in commerce with Japan, China, and the Spice Islands. Paterson's plan was approved and adopted, but the matter was not made public till some time after it was determined upon. Lionel Wafer was then in England, and as his knowledge of the Darien country and language, as well as his personal acquaintance with the chiefs, might be of great service to the undertaking, the Directors wrote to invite him to Edinburgh, whither he weat to advise with them on their plan. The managing Directors and Wafer however did not agree; and Wafer complains that after obtaining from him all the useful information he had to give, they dismissed him with but small compensation for his trouble.

> When the intention of the Company to colonize Daries became publicly known, it seems to have excited a considerable degree of alarm in all who were concerned in the commerce of either India. The Spaniards, with whose interests it most interfered,

interfered, were among the last who were heard to exclaim CHAP. 4. against the project. The Parliament of England however were not slow in becoming their advocates. They had in the beginning expressed their disapprobation at the privileges granted to the Company of Scotland; and their dissatisfaction on that head made them now protest against the justice and legality of the undertaking, as being an invasion of the rights of the Crown of Spain, and calculated to produce a war. The true ground of their dissatisfaction was shortly after more explicitly declared in a joint Address of the Lords and Commons of England to the King, wherein they complained that the Act of the Scottish Parliament would be ruinous to the trade of England, by reason of the duties and difficulties that lie upon the " Indian trade in England, and the great advantages given to . the Company of Scotland by their charter; in consequence " whereof a great part of the stock and shipping of England would be carried thither, and by that means Scotland be * made a free port for all East Indian commodities, and be ' able to serve the several places in Europe cheaper than can ' be done by the English'-' and the said Indian commodities ' may likewise be brought from Scotland into England by stealth, to the vast prejudice both of English trade and of " the king's revenue. And they prayed the King that he would ' interpose his authority to prevent English subjects from " subscribing to the Scots Company.' To this Address the King returned answer, ' I have been ill served in Scotland : but I hope · some remedies may be found to prevent the inconveniences " which may arise from this Act ".'

The exemptions granted to the Scots Company could not but be displeasing, and might have proved of great injury to the English

S A

Vor. IV.

^{*} Collection of Addresses, Memorials, Proclamations, and other Public Papers relating to the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. Printed in the year 1706.

PART 11. English nation. The King had granted them inconsiderately, and repented, but could not recall his grant. Had it not been for the exemptions, the English, it is probable, would have been glad to have joined with the Scotch in their undertaking, which was capable of furnishing employment for an increased fund. Some proposals were made for an accommodation, the particulars of which do not appear; but as they came to no agreement, it may be supposed that sufficient compensation was not offered to prevail on the Scotch to give up the exemptions from duties.

> King William changed his Scotish ministers in displeasure, and sent orders to the English Resident at Hamburgh to present a Memorial to the Senate, to desire that they would not join in, nor in any manner countenance, the project of the Company of Scotland. This Memorial produced an Address. from the Council of the Company of Scotland to the King. remonstrating against his doing them injury in their commercial concerns with other nations. The King felt the justness of their complaint, and sent fresh orders to his minister at Hamburgh to prevent the farther use of his name in obstruction of the concerns of the Company.

and equipped by the Company.

> Great Delays.

In consequence of what had passed, several of the subscribers withdrew their names. The Company, notwithstanding Ships built all opposition, adhered to their plan, and proceeded in their preparations. They caused four large ships to be built, calculated equally for commerce, and for resisting homility ; but from difficulties thrown in their way, or want of alacrity in the management, great delays took place in the equipment, which, as they had many people to pay and maintain, occasioned so great an expense, that it became necessary to contract the scale of their plan ; and they sold their largest ship, named the Rising Sun, mounting 60 guns, built at Amsterdam. The other ships, in the autumn of 1697, rendezvoused in Edinburgh Frith. where they continued till July in the following summer.

On the 17th of that month, the ships of the Company, com- CHAP. 4. posing a squadron of five sail, i.e. the Caledonia of 50 guns, the St. Andrew, and the Unicorn, of about 40 guns each, and two tenders, having on board 1200 men, set sail from Edinburgh Frith for America, cheered by the shouts and acclamations of a vast concourse of their countrymen, who had assembled to witness their departure.

They went round Northward by the Orcades. Some time in August they anchored at Madeira, whence they sailed September the 2d, and October the 27th, anchored in a bay of the coast of Darien, near the entrance of the Gulf of that name. After taking a view of the coast, on November the 3d, they November. removed to near Golden Island. This Island, with other small Islands immediately Westward, form a line of shelter, making with the opposite coast of Darien a capacious and safe port, about half a league in breadth, with depth of water from ten to six fathoms, according to a chart made on the spot by Captain Jenefer.

The ships being at anchor without this port, a boat was sent to the mainland, where a white flag had been displayed by the natives, who had remarked the red colours worn by the ships, and took them to be English. When the boat arrived at the shore, the natives enquired upon what business the ships had come there, to which, answer was returned that they were come with design to make a settlement among the Darien people, and to be their friends. The natives said, if they came with that intent, they should be welcome.

The Darien Indians were at this time at variance with the Spaniards on account of some gold mines which themselves had lately discovered in their own country, which the Spaniards had taken possession of, and were working; and some lives had been lost in the quarrel.

On the 4th, the ships anchored within the Islands, and a deputation went to visit the native Chief of this part of the 363

1608. July. They sail from Scotland for America.

Arrive at the Coast of Darien.

Isthmus.

CALEDONIAN COLONY

PART II. Isthmus, who was styled Captain Andreas, and was the same person who was chief here in 1680, when the Buccaneers under 1698. Coxon, Sawkins, and Harris, marched across the Isthmus.

> The month of November was occupied in negociation. Mr. Paterson, and other deputies on the part of the Scotch Company, had frequent meetings with the Chiefs; and at length terms were agreed upon for a Settlement being made. On the 30th, Captain Andreas went on board the St. Andrew. What passed is related by one of the Colonists as follows, and was published whilst the Colony was in existence.

' November the 30th, Captain Andreas went on board the Convention made with ' St. Andrew. We had suspicions that he held correspondence the Darien ' with the Spaniards. We taxed him with it, and he ingenu-' ously confessed that the Spaniards had been friendly to him, ' and had made him a captain; that he was obliged for his ' safety to keep fair with them. That they had assured him ' we were nothing but privateers who had no design to settle, ' and who meant to plunder both Spaniards and Indians and ' to be gone in two or three months, as other privateers are used ' to do. He said, if that was the case and he assisted us in any ' manner, as soon as we should be gone they would seek to ' destroy him and his. We gave him all possible assurances to ' the contrary, so that he was fully satisfied, and desired we • would give him a commission and receive him and his people ' into our protection, and he would give us all his right to his ' part of the country. Whereupon a commission was ordered ' for Captain Andreas, and being read and approven of, it was ' rendered verbatim to him in Spanish; he agreed to every ' article before seven or eight of his own people and several of 'ours: it was then delivered to him, with a broad basket-' hilted sword and a brace of pistols, with which he solemnly ' promised to defend us against all our enemies *.' This account should

Chiefs.

^{*} Letter, giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien, from a Gentleman she lives there at present. Edinburgh, 1699, p. 23, 24.

should have been accompanied with the words of the com- CHAP. 4. mission given to the Darien Chief; but whatever they were, the equitable construction of the agreement must accord with what was manifestly understood by the natives, who appear to have intended that the Colonists should be at liberty to occupy and possess any part of the country convenient to their present purpose, which was not in any manner occupied by themselves; and that they the Dariens would hold themselves attached to the British cause in all matters respecting war or peace. In return for this was to be given, protection against the attacks of all other powers, and especially against the Spaniards.

The agreement being formally concluded, the Colonists chose a projecting point of the mainland at a part called Acla or Acta, which is nearly opposite to Golden Island, as a convenient and defensible situation for building a fort and town upon. A district or portion of the adjacent country they named Caledonia; and the town itself New Edinburgh. They erected works for its defence, and planted cannon. The Colonists also began with alacrity to clear land for cultivation. In a short time after the landing, a Settler writes, ' we are now planting tobacco for trade.' Another writes. ' as we grow stronger we shall endeavour to procure a port on ' the Sauth Sea, whence it is not above six weeks sail to Japan ' and China *.' A Journal of the New Caledonia Expedition has the following description : ' The harbour of New Edinburgh ' is excellent, and large enough to contain 500 sail of ships. . There is a point of a peninsula at the mouth of the harbour ' that may be fortified against any naval force. The soil of the 4 land is rich, the air temperate, the water sweet. In the har-+ bour and creeks are turtle, manatee, and a vast variety of ' fish. The land affords wild deer, hogs, and other animals, and 4 as a proof of its fertility, here are legions of monstrous plants " reducible to no tribe, and enough to confound all the methods ' in

. History of Caledonia, or the Scots Colony in Darien. London, 1699.

1698.

Town of

New Edinburgh

built.

CALEDONIAN COLONY

* in botany. We have already had Dutch, French, and
* English all at the same time in our harbour, and all of them
* wondering what the rest of the world have been thinking on
* whilst we came hither to the best harbour in America, in the
* best part of America. And here is enough within our bounds,
* if it were all cultivated, to afford 100,000 hogsheads of sugar
* every year *.'

The Darien Indians wished the Colony to make war upon the Spaniards of Portobello, which of course could not be complied with. Many slaves had at different times escaped from their Spanish masters, and for mutual security, they kept together, to the amount of many hundreds. The Governor of Portobello, being apprehensive that they would join with the Darien Indians, and perhaps with the Caledonian Colony, entered into treaty, and made peace with them, acknowledging them free and independent, and calling them friends +. The jealousy entertained by the Spaniards of the new Settlement, as well as the disposition of the Darien people to quarrel with the Spaniards, produced some skirmishes when in their excursions the natives or the Colonists chanced to meet the Spaniards.

1699.

On intelligence being received in Scotland, that the Settlement was actually formed, numbers of people offered to engage with the Company, and many were accepted and embarked, to strengthen the Settlement. In May 1699, the King of Spain's ambassador in London, presented a Memorial to the King of England, setting forth, that the Colony of Derien was within the domains of the King of Spain, and that the establishing it, was therefore an act of hostility. King William the IIId, with all his displeasure against the Colony, would not condescend to acknowledge a right in Spain to the whole Isthmus of America, although the settlement of the Spanish succession was then in agitation,

^{*} Miscellanea Curiosa. London, 1727, Vol. III, p. 413, being part of a Journal communicated to the Royal Society, by Dr. Wallace.

⁺ Letter, giving a Description, &c.

agitation, which inclined him to keep on good terms with the CHAP. 4. King of Spain. Moved however by the last-mentioned consideration, and in part no doubt by his ill will to the Colony, he sent orders to the Governors of the British West-India Islands, not to give support or countenance of any kind to the Scotch at Darien, and to issue proclamations requiring his Majesty's subjects in the plantations not to hold correspondence with the people of the said Colony of Darien, nor to assist them with arms or provisions.

It was to be expected, that in consequence of such orders, the Spaniards would have recourse to force to drive the Scotch from their Settlement. A general council was held by the Company, and they drew up Petitions to King William, and to their own Parliament. They represented the hardships put upon them to be a direct invasion of the privileges granted to the Company, and repugnant to the terms and express words of their Charter, ' wherein his Majesty solemnly promiseth, If * any of the Ships, Goods, Merchandise, Persons, or other Effects . whatsoever, belonging to the Scots Company, trading to Africa * and the Indies, shall be stopped, detained, embezzled, or taken " away, or in any sort prejudiced or damnified; that he will inter-* pose his authority to have Restitution, Reparation, and Satisfaction made for the damage done, and that upon the public · charge.

The Parliament of Scotland likewise addressed the King in behalf of the Company, and against the Spanish claims, and the arguments produced in this Address are remarkable and well worthy notice. 'The Province of Darien,' they said, ' was " no part of the domains of the King of Spain, either by in-* heritance, marriage, donation, purchase, conquest, or possession. Discovery without occupation could not constitute a ' perpetual right. Darien moreover was an inhabited country, " and the Darien Indians were an independent People." Thus far their argument was general. Concerning the peculiar claims

1609.

PART II. of the Company, they set forth that they derived their territorial right from the gift of the Prince, or Chief; and hereon they adduced a curious but rather ludicrous precedent, which however does not affect their other reasoning, to wit, that the Rights of Sovereignty of the native Chief had been acknowledged by the Courts of Law in *England*, inasmuch as in the time of Charles the IId, when Captain Bartholomew Sharp was brought to trial for attacking Spanish places on the *Isthmus* of Darien in a time of profound peace between Great Britain and Spain, he was acquitted because he acted by virtue of a commission from the Darien Princes*.

> A Pamphlet published at this time contended that the extent, and limitation, of the Rights of Spain in America had been established by convention: that by the Treaty of 1670 between *Great Britain* and Spain, ' the Right and Dominion of the ' King of Spain in those Countries, Islands, Provinces, and ' Territories, whereof he was possessed, and so far as they ' were in the actual occupation of the Spaniards, was con-' fessed, and provision made for their quiet and peaceable ' enjoyment of them. And there was likewise a formal and ' explicit renunciation of all claim made by the Spaniards, to ' whatsoever was in the English possession. But not one word ' or syllable was so much as once mentioned in that whole ' treaty, concerning and relative to such parts and places as ' were not at that season in the occupation of the one or of ' the other †.'

All the representations and remonstrances made procured no favour for the Colony, and in consequence of the Proclamations issued in the West-India Islands prohibiting all intercourse with it, the shares in the Company's stock fell in the public estimation:

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^{*} Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Colony at Darien. Glasgow, 1700.

⁺ Just and modest Vindication of the Scots Design in establishing a Column at Darren. Printed in 1699.

tion; no farther support was derived from new subscriptions, (HAP. 4. whilst a considerable part of the old remained unpaid. In addition to their distresses, the Company were defrauded by some of their agents, and the demands of the Colony being ill supplied, many of the settlers were discouraged and withdrew to other parts of the West Indies. Among the unfortunate circumstances attending the Colony, is to be reckoned the loss of their friend Captain Andreas, the Darien Chief, who having drank too freely at an entertainment given him on board the ship Saint Andrew, fell from her deck into the hold, which fall occasioned his death.

In February 1700, the English House of Lords presented 1700. an Address to the King, in which they complained that the Settlement of the Scots Colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade of England. The Parliament of Scotland shewed their resentment at this Address of the English Lords, by a Declaration in the following words. · Resolved, that the proceedings of the Parliament of England ' in relation to an Act of this Parliament establishing our India ' and African Company, and the Address of the House of · Lords presented in February last (1700) are an undue inter-' meddling in the affairs of this kingdom, and an invasion upon ' the independence of our King and Parliament.'

At this time, however, the object of so much persecution had ceased to exist. The Colony in its weakened state was blockaded by a Spanish force commanded by the Governor of Carthagena, and the Colonists, finding themselves cut off from assistance, were reduced to the necessity of demanding as a favour to be allowed without molestation to abandon their Settlement. They embarked with their effects and sailed to Jamaica, where, as if with design to make the measure of pro- linquished. vocation overflow, the Governor laid an embargo on their ships, and made them suffer a vexatious detention.

New Edmburgh Llockaded by the Spaniards.

The Colony 1c-

In the passage to England, Paterson was seized with a frenzy, VOL. IV. 3 B from

CALEDONIAN COLONY

PART 11. from which he recovered, and drew up a plan for a renewal of 1700. the Settlement jointly by Scotland and England; but after the great loss sustained by the first experiment, few would be found willing soon to contribute to a second.

> The anger of the Scotch Nation was chiefly against King William, who as King of England had been aiding in bringing distress upon his subjects of Scotland, and had abandoned them to the mercy of a foreign power. It was said that the interest he took in the affairs of Holland made him apprchensive that the Darien Colony would be detrimental to the interests of the Dutch East India Company. The English East India Company also, were believed to have exerted their influence with the King against the Colony. The Encyclopædia Britannica (published at Edinburgh, 1797) under the Article Caledonia, gives the following explanation. 'Caledonia, New, the name of a ' Settlement made by the Scots on the West side of the gulph ' ' of Darien in 1698; out of which they were starved at the ' request of the East India Company; for the English Govern-' ment prohibited the other Colonies sending them any pro-' visions; so they were obliged to leave it in 1700.'

> The Darien Colony would probably have produced an increase of the India trade; and in that direction, have opened new sources, so as to have been of much advantage to the public, without detriment, perhaps even with benefit, to the India Company. But in *England*, the dissatisfaction was general at the exemption clause in the Charter of the Company of Scotland; which, it is said, occasioned so great a ferment that petitions and remonstrances went to the king from all parts[#]; and this exemption must be regarded as the principal cause of the persecution of the Colony.

> If William had assented to the claims of Spain, it would have become necessary for him, in correspondence with that assent,

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^{*} Modern part of Universal History, Vol. XLI, p. 375.

assent, to have ordered the Darien Colony to withdraw, or CHAP 4. rather, in the outset of their undertaking to have prohibited its being proceeded in; but he was not tempted to acknowledge or admit the Spanish claims, for which he is to be commended. The measures which he did pursue, however, were not creditable. He allowed his subjects, against whom no illegal act was charged, to be attacked and driven from their possessions by a foreign power; which was submitting to national insult. It is questionable whether the Executive power of a State is justifiable in withholding from subjects so circumstanced, the general protection of the realm. There is, however, a distinction to be noticed in this case. It was before the Union of Scotland with England, and William was placed in a twofold capacity. As King of England, he did not afford the protection of England to the oppressed subjects of another State, of which he was also King.

Many individuals in Scotland were ruined or reduced to poverty by the fall of the Darien Colony, and the complaints made against the part the King had taken were expressed with much asperity. An author already quoted, writing when the Colony was only on the decline, says, ' Neither can it be inde-' cent or immodest to add, that the protecting the Company of · Scotland in this undertaking is the rather expected from his ' Majesty, lest otherwise they should have occasion to com-· plain of the prejudice they have received by the Revolution ' with respect to their trade; it being known that a proposal ' and plan having by some Scotsmen been laid before King 4 James, for obtaining his authority for settling a commerce in " Africa and the Indies, how kindly he received it, and referred ' it to consideration, that upon report of the justice and equity of it, he might by his Royal Charter and Patent have ' empowered the Scots to have proceeded in the establish-" ment of it: and which nothing could have obstructed, had 3 B 2 ' not

PART 11. ' not the accession of his present Majesty, who was then Prince ' of Orange, into England, at that time intervened.".'

> Spain was not the only European nation by whom the Scotch Settlement at Darien was regarded with jealousy, though she was the only one who had rational ground for such a feeling. The author of the History given of America in the Modern Part of Universal History, who was adverse to the Company of Scotland, but wrote without taking much pains to inform himself of the facts, in consequence of which he has made some erroneous statements, says, that the Dutch were alarmed, that France offered a fleet for dislodging the Colony, and finally gives his own opinion; that the united interest of all Europe required the Settlement being crushed.

> Du Casse, the French Governor at Hispaniola, was at the pains of employing emissaries to stir up the natives of Darien against the Scttlement. This was guarding against a very remote chance of injury : it is difficult indeed to conceive probabilities which could have made the Darien Colony hurtful to France. A monopolising spirit, as it is apt to be tinctured with envy, so it seldom entertains regard for general benefit, wherein self has not at least a competent share. To exclude foreign competition has constantly been one of the commercial principles of nations, blindly adhered to in instances where it is evident that by admitting participators, the share of benefit to each would be increased to more than the whole was before. There was sufficient space not occupied by Spain, on the Isthmus of America, to accommodate every European maritime nation with separate establishments, if they had desired to attempt a commerce that way to China and India. The Gulf de San Miguel, which runs into the Bay of Panama, would have furnished harbours on that side; and if hope could have been entertained of their not endeavouring to ruin each other, it would probably have been to the benefit not only of the whole, bot

but of each severally, Spain not excepted, if the experiment had CHAP. 4. been made by many nations, rather than by any single one. Spain was the only maritime power possessed of ports on the American coast of the South Sea. The whole commerce carried on between America and Asia, may be said to have been in her hands, and her neglect or abuse of that advantage has been enormous. Sometimes a single annual ship, and at times one ship in two years, with the most jealous preclusion of all others, comprehended, till within a very few years past, the whole of the direct trade between these the two largest quarters of the world, when if it had been left free from restriction, it may reasonably be imagined that long ago many hundreds of vessels would annually have crossed the Pucific Ocean.

When the Duc d'Anjou mounted the throne of Spain, the French had leave given them to trade to the ports of Chili and Peru. The number of the French that thronged there, and the riches they acquired, were regarded with astonishment by the Spaniards, and noticed by their writers with symptoms of displeasure. Contrary to the opinion given in the Modern Universal History, the interest of all *Europe* required rather, that the nations should have united to free commerce in that part of the world from the state of stagnation in which it had been so long kept by the Spanish regulations, than to crush the Darien Colony.

The Scots Company were too much impoverished to engage in any new undertaking of importance during the remainder of the reign of William the IIId, who died in 1702. The discontent which had arisen in Scotland on account of the Darien Colony, was much allayed by the attention which his successor gave to the complaints of the sufferers. When, however, the settling the succession to the Crown of Scotland in the Protestant line came to be agitated, the Parliament of Scotland declared ' that they would not proceed to the nomination of a ' successor, until there was a previous treaty settled with ' England

CALEDONIAN COLONY AT DARIEN.

' England for regulating the concerns of commerce with that PART II. ' nation.'

The Union of the two Kingdoms took place in 1706, by the 6th Article of which this point was adjusted ; it being therein specified, ' That all parts of the United Kingdom, for ever from and after the Union, shall have the same regulations of * trade, and be liable to the same customs and duties on import ' and erport.' But as the Scots African and Indian Company by virtue of their charter still possessed a title to claim exemption from payment of customs and duties on their merchandise and effects for the remainder of their term of 21 years from the date of their charter, it was agreed and settled by Article Indemnifi- XVth of the Union, First, that Scotland as an equivalent for cation made to the Scots sharing in the burthen of the debts contracted by England before the Union, should receive the sum of 398,085 l. 10s: Secondly, that out of the said sum of 398,0851. 10s. should be repaid the capital stock or fund, which had been actually advanced by the subscribers of the African and Indian Company of Scotlund, together with interest for the said capital stock, at the rate of five per cent per unnum, from the respective times of the payments thereof. And lastly, that upon such payment of the capital stock and interest, the said Company be dissolved and cease.

> By this, which appears an equitable, and certainly was a wise and conciliating arrangement, was accommodated one of the most serious causes of offence which had occurred between North and South Britain since the accession of King James the first to the Crown of England.

Company at the Union.

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CHAP. V.

Voyage of M. de Beauchesne Gouin.

IN imitation of the African and Indian Company of Scotland, CHAP. 5. a Company was formed in France for establishing Colonies in the Countries of South America not occupied by Europeans. The Directors of this Company, too magnificent in their views and expectations, made their preparations on a scale too large for their means. 'They provided many ships and engaged ' many persons, who assembled at Rochelle; but the funds of ' the Company beginning to fail, they were obliged to sell ' some of the ships to complete the equipment of others.' The armament in its reduced state consisted of two ships of 50 guns each, named the Phelippeaux, and Maurepas; a frigate, and a bark of 200 tons. The command of the Expedition was given to M. de Beauchesne Gouin, a Captain of the French Navy.

Short abstracts of different journals of this voyage have been given to the public; one, which is of the Commander's, is inserted by Woodes Rogers in his History of his own Voyage*. An abstract of a journal kept by Le Sieur de Villefort, Enseigne de Vaisseau on board the ship of M. de Beauchesne, is given as an article in the Navigation aux Terres Australes, from the original manuscript which was found among the papers of Guillaume de Lisle. Also, in the Noticia de las Expediciones al Magalhanes is a short narrative extracted from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Madrid.

M. de Beauchesne with his small squadron sailed from France December. on the 17th of December, 1698, a season of the year which Departure from could not have been determined by choice; and by what acci-France. dent is not mentioned. In the passage to the coast of South America,

* A Cruising Voyage round the World, p. 117 & seq. 2d Edit. London. 1718.

1608.

VOYAGE OF

PART II. America, the two smallest ships parted company from the 1699. others, and did not pursue the voyage.

June. The 9th of June 1699, the Phelippeaux, De Beauchesne's In the Bay d'Esperlans ship, and the Maurepas, commanded by M. de Terville, anchored in Spiring Bay (Bay d'Esperlans) near the entrance of **Port Desire**.

> They found the country here dry, barren, rugged, without wood, and without fresh water except a little that was found in a valley, the situation of which is not noted. De Villefort relates that in the stomach of a sea-lion were flint stones (caillour) as large as a man's fist, which the animal had begun to digest. This is contrary to Wafer's remark respecting ostriches, ' who swallow nails or stones,' he says, ' not as food, but to aid ' the digestion of other things, serving as millstones or grinders ' to macerate the food in their maw: and they pass through ' the body as whole as they went in.'

In the Strait of Magalhanes.

> Port Famine.

Natives.

The two ships proceeded Southward. On the 24th of June, which is the mid-time of the Southern winter, they arrived at the Strait of Magalhanes; they anchored in Boucault Bay, at the Penguin Islands, and on July the 3d, in Port Famine.

On the shore of the Tierra del Fuego opposite, large fires were seen, and the same being continued three successive days, it was supposed they were intended by the natives as signals of invitation; which induced M. de Beauchesne to send a boat to them, though the distance across from Port Famine was full five leagues. About forty natives of both sexes were found there: they allowed themselves to be approached without difficulty, and when the boat was about to depart, three of them voluntarily went in her to the ship. They appeared to suffer much from the cold. Food of the ship's provision was set before them; but it being different from what they had been used to, they did not eat much. On the day following, the boat went back with them to the Tierra del Fuego shore. In the way, one of the French seamen fell overboard, and was drewited.
drowned. This accident caused much consternation, but in- CHAP. 5. finitely more to the three Patagonians than to the crew of the boat. They set themselves to howling, and could not be pacified or be made to cease their noise, till they found themselves safe on dry land.

Other natives were afterwards seen in Elizabeth Bay, where the ships lay, some time at anchor, and being treated with kindness by M. de Beauchesne, they were rendered quite familiar. If they wished to come on board at any time, they called out from the nearest part of the shore, and a boat went to fetch them. When on board, they were fed and gratified with small presents of cutlery, and when they desired, were sent on shore again.

Near the East point of Elizabeth Bay [Point Passage] a shoal or bank was remarked on which the depth of water was 24 fathoms. It was covered with large sea-weeds.

M. de Beauchesne gave names to many places in the Strait, some of which had been named before. The land opposite to Elizabeth Bay was found to be an Island separate from the Tierra del Fuego, and seven or eight leagues in circuit. In Narbrough's chart, it is not drawn separate : but is made so in all the late charts. De Beauchesne took possession of it in the name of the French King, and named it after him Isle de Louis le Grand : in the Spanish chart it is named I. de Carlos III. Two harbours in this Island Beauchesne named Dauphine Bay, and Port Phelippeaux. The Eastern of the two, Dauphine Bay, runs a league deep into the land. In the middle of it is a shoal bank, easy to be known by its being covered with weeds: there is good passage on each side of the shoal*. Port Phelippeaux is also a very convenient harbour. A harbour in the Tierra del Fuego opposite the above Island, was named Port Nativité.

Island Louis le Grand. Dauphme Bay.

Port Phehppeaux.

The

1600. In the Strait of Magalhanes.

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At Elizabeth Bay.

Shoal near it.

VOYAGE OF

The remarks of M. de Villefort are those of an inexperienced PART II. young man, who however, appears to have had more diligence 1609. than any of his fellow voyagers. The winter was remarkably In the Strait of mild; the trees were green, and the branches loaded with Magalhanes. paroquets; but the winds were so constantly from the Westward, that they were prevented from making their passage through the Strait the remainder of the winter, and all the following spring. It is said in the Noticias, that they came to an anchor, and got under sail again, in the Strait, not fewer than eighty times, before they could get clear into the South Sea.

September.

River named

September the 21st, Villefort relates, that they anchored ' at the entrance of the River Galante, near to the Strait of " St. Jerome.' It is doubtful whether the river here meant is Batchelor's River or a river at Port Galant. De Villefort says. ' we new named it, calling it Riviere du Massacre, on account ' of a quarrel which had formerly happened here between some DuMassacre. · Flibustiers and the natives.'

> De Beauchesne left letters at different places in the Strait, containing directions for the frigate and store ship, which he expected would follow him. The shores on both sides of the Strait were inhabited, but not by people of the same nation. Those who lived in the Eastern parts were called Laguediche; and a people called Haveguediche, who were the most numerous, inhabited Westward. Their stature is not noticed. They were at enmity against each other, and it is remarked that their language did not sound difficult; but they spoke much from the throat.

The

Two distinct

Tribes.

Country,

"The woodlands in the Strait on the continental side are ' from Elizabeth Island to within 15 leagues of Cape Victoria. ' On the Tierra del Fuego side, they extend from the Canal de ' San Sebastian to Cape Pilares.' Fish were more abundant in the Western than in the Eastern part of the Strait. Among the shellfish were large muscles, ' one of which with its shell weighed · 29 ounces.

In the Strait of

· 29 ounces. The beautiful muscle-shells are first met with CHAP. 5. ' about a league beyond Cape Holland.' 1609.

The mildness of the season in the Strait this year, caused M. de Beauchesne to remark that the climate seemed to be as Magalhanes. temperate as in France, and to be of opinion that a Settlement might be made conveniently there. The soil of Elizabeth Island appeared proper for cattle and the growth of corn.

De Villefort speaks of a Cape Gate, near which was admirable Cape Gate. holding ground; and of a port in the Tierra del Fuego, opposite to Cape Gate, which they named Port Vanolles. Here, the large muscles were found. The name of Cape Gate is not seen in any is supposed to be chart of the Strait, and it is supposed that de Villefort intended CapeQuad. by it Cape Quad. Of the tides he says, ' throughout the Strait from one sea to the other, when the tide rises the flood runs .Westward; and when it falls the ebb runs to the East.' This differs from the statements of other Navigators, which say that in the Western part of the Struit the flood comes from the West*, which no doubt is the fact. All accounts agree that the rise Tides. and fall is greater, and the stream more rapid, in the Eastern than in the other parts of the Strait. Near Cape Froward, the current has been scarcely perceptible, and the rise and fall observed to be not more than four feet. At the Eastern entrance, the rise and fall has been found five fathoms - !-

During the month of October there was much rain, before October. which, snow and hail only had fallen. At one time in this month they obtained sight of the South Sea, but were afterwards driven back to Port Phelippeaux. There they held council, and it was put to the vote, whether they should continue their endeavours to pass through the Strait, or quit it and try to make their passage round Cape Horn. The first was for the present determined on; but the winds continuing to oppose them.

^{*} See Vol. 111, p. 356.

⁺ Derrotero del Estrecho, p. 105, in Relacion del Ultimo Viage.

VOYAGE OF

FART II. them, on December the 20th, they bore up to the Eastward, with the intention to sail to Strait le Maire. They had pro-1600. December. ceeded Eastward as far as to Port Famine, when a change of wind encouraged them to resume their first intention. The wind did not long continue favourable, but they now persisted in the attempt to get Westward, and, January the 21st, 1700, 1700. January. they entered the South Sea, after nearly seven months spent in In the South Sea. a most fatiguing and harassing navigation in the Strait.

February 4th.

February the 4th, they came in sight of an Island near the coast of Chili, four or five leagues in length, and about that distance from the Continent, which was supposed to be Nuestra Señora del Socorro. M. de Beauchesne says, they went to view Harbour of the harbour of San Domingo, which is the Spanish frontier *.

San Neither of this Island del Socorro, nor of the San Domingo Har-Domingo. bour, is the latitude given. They anchored on the East side of an Island, from whence four other Islands were scen. From this part of the coast of Chili, they proceeded to Baldivia, where the Spaniards, taking them for Buccaneers, refused them admittance, and the forts fired at the ships, by which some of their men were killed. At other places along the coast they met with nothing but rebuffs, till they came to Arica, where they At Arica. had better success, in consequence of some Frenchmen (probably old Flibustiers) having settled there.

> At all the ports of Peru and Chili, commerce with strangers had been strictly prohibited, and Arica was thought too public a situation for carrying on a contraband trade; for which reason. after selling goods there to the amount of 50,000 crowns, the ships, by the advice of their friends on shore, went to Ylo, which is a few leagues to the Northward of Arica, and a more retired place. When there, a number of merchants (both natives and Spaniards) came and bought all they had of value ' at good rates.' M. de Beauchesne acknowledges that the cloth he had on board was half rotten; some of the Spanish merchants

^{*} Cruising Voyage round the World, p. 119.

merchants were vexed, and expressed resentment, but others CHAP. 5. were glad to buy all, to the very rags they had on board, and 1700. sold them provisions, though it was forbidden on pain of death; but the Spanish officers of customs connived at it.

The inhabitants of this part of the coast, made use of skins, sewed in the shape of a pipe or tunnel, and filled with wind, to serve them instead of boats. When out of the water, they folded up like cloths. When in the water, two were fastened together, parallel to each other, and a seat placed across them. With a float or balsa similar to the one here described, the Spaniards attempted to set fire to a buccaneer ship at La Serena.

After four months continuance on the coast of Chili and Peru, M. de Beauchesne sailed for the Galapagos Islands, and anchored at one of them on the 7th of June. They furnished themselves with turtle of both kinds, and took fish with the line; but found no fresh water. De Villefort says, 'The earth of this ' Island, if earth may be called that on which is no soil, is ' extremely burnt and split into precipices and abysses, and ' appears like black metallic rocks overturned by subterranean ' fires. It is dangerous walking on them, for they tremble on ' all sides. Our boat found a good port sheltered by a small ' Island, the entrance of which is to the West. We found the ' remains of materials for the repair of ships, by which we ' knew it to be the Isle d Tabac, where the English Buccaneers Isle à Tabac. ⁴ had used to careen. The Isle de Santé where we anchored on ^{a labac.} ' June the 10th, is 20 leagues from Isle d'Tabac, and is also ⁴ burnt up. The trees there are extremely dry, except near the ' border of the sea, where was some verdure. At a league · distance from a Bay at the NW part of Santé, I found a small ⁴ spring of fresh water, the only one met with. The Isle Mascarin, I.Mascarin. ' to which we afterwards went, in 1° 12' South latitude, was ' no better than the others.' There can be no certainty which of the Islands in the chart of the Galapagos were intended in the foregoing description.

Balsa of Arequipa.

June. At the Galapagos Islands.

From

VOYAGE OF

From the Galapagos they returned to the Continent, finding PART II. in the passage much Westwardly current. They remained on 1700. the coast of Peru and Chili till near the end of the year, and procured supplies of provisions, notwithstanding the orders.

> Leaving the coast of Chili, M. de Beauchesne sailed Southward, for the Strait of Magalhanes; but missing the West entrance, he continued his course Southward to pass round Cape Horn. For his guidance he took Le Maire and Schouten's latitude of Cape Horn, which is nearly two degrees South of the truth *. On the 13th of January, their latitude was 57° 17', and they sailed Eastward, thinking it impossible on that course that they should pass the Cape, supposed by them to be in 57° 50' S. Under this impression, they ran far East before they suspected themselves to be mistaken : at length to ascertain the matter, they altered the course to the North.

An Island

1701. January.

Is named Beauchcone.

The following is from M. de Brosses' extract of De Villefort's discovered; Journal. ' The wind carried us to the North. On the 19th, we ' perceived to the NW at eight leagues distance, an unknown ' Island not marked in any chart. It is in latitude about ' 52° 50' S, and about 62 leagues to the East of the Tierra del ' Fuego. We named it Isle Beauchesne. It is in circuit five ' or six leagues; it is moderately high, and at three leagues ' to the East of it, appeared level (assez unie.) Soundings ' were obtained at 80 fathoms depth, white shells. The Sebald ' Isles were seen the next day, on the East side of which John Davis' ' we anchored in "24 fathoms, in latitude 51° 52'S. But this SouthLand. ' appears to us only one long Island which hides the other two.' The position of the Sebald Isles had been described three in number lying triangular-wise, which gave rise to De Villefort's concluding remark.

> Captain Woodes Rogers gives the following relation of this discovery from M. de Beauchesne's Journal. ' On the ' 19th of Manuary 1701, he discovered a small Island about ' three

* three or four leagues in circuit, in latitude 52 degrees odd CHAP. 5. ' minutes, not marked in our charts, with strong currents 1701. ' near it. And on the 20th, he came to the Isle of Sebald de " Wert, which is marshy land, with rocky mountains and no • trees.'

The place where M. de Beauchesne anchored on the 20th, was at the South Eastern part of John Davis's South Land, or, as it is here called, the Sebald de Wert; and it appears from both the Journals, that De Beauchesne's discovery (name after him) was a single Island. M. de Lisle, and also the Missionary, Perc Nyel, in a chart drawn in 1705, and published with the Missionary Letters, have marked Beauchesne a single Island. In all the late charts, however, De Beauchesne's Beauchesne's discovery is marked as two Islands; which alteration seems to . have originated with Frezier, who in a chart he made of the Southern extremity of America, described the track of a ship (the Saint Louis, in 1706) passing near to I. Beauchesne, there laid down as two Islands, one extending North and South, four leagues in length; the other a smaller Island within a league of the former. [See Voyage de la Mer du Sud. Par M. Frezier. Planche XXXII.] M. Frezier has not added any remark respecting the track of the Saint Louis which might explain the alteration made by him in Beauchesne's discovery. His representation nevertheless has been generally copied.

At the Sebaldines, or Davis's South Land, De Beauchesne found fresh water, celery, geese, bustards, and teal. He praises the soil; but there was no wood, which was an article they much wanted. They touched at Brasil, where the Portuguese supplied them with provisions; and on the 6th of August, 1701, they arrived at the Port of Rochelle, after an absence of thirty-two months.

represented as two 1-lands by Fiezier.

DR. EDMUND HALLEY

CHAP. VI.

Voyage to the South Atlantic Ocean, by Dr. Edmund Halley.

BETWEEN November 1698 and June 1700, Dr. Edmund Halley, in two Voyages to the Southern Atlantic, made his celebrated attempt to discover the laws by which the Variation of the magnetic needle is governed.

> As this was an object of great public interest, and undertaken at the recommendation of the Royal Society, Dr. Halley was accommodated with one of the King's ships, a Pink named the Paramour, and though he was not bred up in the Navy, nor to the profession of a mariner, that his plans might not suffer obstruction from any wilfulness or caprice of other persons, he was himself appointed to command her.

1698. October. The Paramour sailed from Deptford October the 20th, 1698. In going down channel, she proved so leaky that it was necessary to have her hull examined, for which purpose she put in at *Portsmouth*, where she was taken into dock. The Variation in *Portsmouth* Harbour was then 7° West.

November.

November the 22d, the ship went out of the harbour, and anchored in St. Helen's Road at the East end of the Isle of Wight. Admiral Bembow's flag was flying there, which the Paramour saluted with five guns; and the Admiral, to mark his respect for Dr. Halley, returned the salute with the same number of guns. Respect for science, however, did not operate sufficiently strong on the Officers of Dr. or rather Captain, Halley's ship, to prevent their taking offence at being put under the command of a man who had risen without going through the regular course of service in the Royal Navy; and this proved to be the occasion of his making two voyages, instead of concluding his experiments ments in a single voyage. The 29th, the Paramour sailed from <u>CHAP. 6.</u> St. Helens. Dr. Halley's Journal of his navigation in the Atlantic, was published by Mr. Dalrymple from the original manuscript, in a Collection of Voyages to the Southern Atlantic. London, 1775.

The first part of Dr. Halley's track was to the Cape de Verde 1699. January. Islands. January the 17th, they were not far by the reckoning from the Island Fernando Loronho, which Dr. Halley was desirous to make. He says, ' January the 18th, 1699, this ' morning between two and three o'clock, looking out, I found ' that my Boatswain who had the watch, steered away NW, ' instead of West, I conclude with design to miss the Island ' and frustrate my intent, though they pretended the candle ' was out in the Binacle and that they could not light it.' At another time, on making the Island Barbadoes, he says, 'my ' Lieutenant having the watch, clapt upon a wind, pretending ' we ought to go to windward of the Island. He persisted in ' this course, which was contrary to my orders given over ' night, and to all sense and reason, till I came upon deck; ' when he was so far from excusing it, that he pretended to ' justify it, not without reflecting language. I commanded to ' bear away NW and NWbN, and before 11, we came to an ' anchor in Carlisle Bay.' This passed in April 1699. After-April. wards, but within the course of the same month, being at Antigua, he says, 'I was unwilling to wait here any longer, ' finding it absolutely necessary to change some of my officers, " which I found I could not do without returning to England." He sailed accordingly for England.

Dr. Halley departed on his second voyage in September, September. 1699. November the 16th, he crossed the equinoctial line. In the course of many traverses made by him in a high Southern latitude, he observed indications at different times of

Vol. IV.

s D

being

DR. EDMUND HALLEY.

being near to land; as appear in the following extracts from PART II. his Journal :---

1700. ' January (1700) Saturday the 20th, latitude by good obser-January. Indications ' vation 43' 12' S. longitude 49° 32' W from London. The of being near Land. ' colour of the sea is changed to a pale green.'

- ' Sunday the 21st, latitude 44° 25' S. longitude 49° 29' W. Lat. 44 S. Long. 492 W. . Last night the sea appeared very white : abundance of small ' sea-fowl were about us, and several beds of weeds drove by ' the ship, of which we took up some for a sample, being of a

 - ' kind our people had not seen elsewhere.'

' January the 27th. Latitude 50° S. longitude 43° W : pen-Lat. 50° S. Long 43 W. ' guins were seen.'

- ' February the 11th. Latitude by account 45° 51' S. longi-Long. 26 W. ' tude 25° 50' W. It has been foggy all the morning. Yesterday
 - ' in the afternoon, we had above twenty alcatrasses about the.
 - ' ship; and this morning, our people saw one of the animals
 - ' which swim twisting its tail into a bow. I suspect we are near
 - ' some land or rock by the birds.'

Observations for the Longitude at Sea.

Lat. 44º S.

Dr. Halley calculated his longitude and corrected his reckoning from observations of the moon's place in the Heavens, not measured with an instrument, but by noting the time of contact with some star; and sometimes by computing only from their near approximation in a favourable position, at what time they were on the same meridian. The longitude of the Island Trinidada was determined in the manner following :

Situation of the Island Trundada.

' Thursday April the 11th (1700.) Last night the moon ' applied to the Contigua in facie Tauri and I got a very good ' observation, whence I concluded myself 2° 00' more to the "Westward than by my account. Sunday the 14th, at half past

- ' ten in the forenoon, we saw the Islands, or rather Rocks, of
- . Martin Vaz. In the afternoon, we saw the Island of Trinidada.

· By

TO THE SOUTH ATLANTIC.

• By my observation of the moon on the 11th instant, I allow CHAP. 6.

' it to be in longitude from London 29° 50' W;* the North

' part in latitude 20° 25' S, the South part in 20° 29' S at the

' most.'

Dr. Halley arrived in the *River Thames* on his return from his second voyage, September the 6th, 1700. In 1701, he published his Map of Magnetic Variations. 1700.

^{*} In the requisite Tables published by the Board of Longitude (London, 1802) the Longitude of Trinidada Island is set down 29° 33' West of the Mendian of Greenwich, which is 13' more West than by the Spanish Observations published.

CHAP. VII.

Voyage of Captain William Dampier, in the Roebuck, to New Holland, and New Guinea.

THIS was entirely a Voyage of Discovery, and is to be esteemed one of the very few instances which the early navigations afford of a voyage being undertaken expressly for the acquisition of knowledge, without a prospect to other immediate advantage. In the year 1699, Great Britain being at peace with the other maritime powers of Europe, King William the IIId ordered an expedition for the discovery of unknown countries, and for examination of some of the countries before discovered, particularly New Holland and New Guinea. These countries being more nearly situated to the possessions of the Hollanders in India than to those of any other European nation, the Hollanders had constantly been seeking information respecting them ; which consideration, probably, had some influence on the plan of the present undertaking. William Dampier had at this time published two volumes of his Voyages, which were such strong recommendations to notice, that the Earl of Pembroke who presided at the Admiralty, made choice of him to conduct the expedition. A ship belonging to the Royal Navy, named the Roebuck, was ordered to be equipped for the purpose, and to be manned with less than her usual complement of men, that the stores and provisions she carried might hold out the better.

> Dampier has written an excellent account of this voyage, under the title of A Voyage to New Holland, and no man can make use of more intelligible or less ambiguous language; accordingly his own account is here given, curtailing some parts of his voyage which do not belong to the History.

> > of

TO NEW HOLLAND.

of South Sea Navigations, and (where it has been thought CHAP 7. allowable) abridging some of his descriptions.

Captain William Dampier's Narrative of his Voyage in the Roebuck.

[•] I SAILED from the Downs early on Saturday, January the 14th, 1699, in his Majesty's ship Roebuck, carrying but 12 guns in this voyage, and 50 men and boys, with twenty months provisions.'

' On Sunday the 29th, in the afternoon, we made the *Island* Teneriffe. Teneriffe, where I intended to take wine and brandy. On the 30th, I came to an anchor in the road of Santa Cruz, which I chose as a better harbour than Oratavia, 'especially at this time of the year, and better furnished with the sort of wine I wanted. There I anchored in 35 fathoms water, black slimy ground, about half a mile from the shore.'

'This road lies so open to the East, that winds from that Road of side make a great swell and bad going ashore in boats. The Santa Cruz. ships are then often forced to put to sea, and sometimes to cut or slip their cables. The best landing is in a sandy cove about a mile to the NE of the road, where is good water. The other port, Oratavia, is worse for Westerly than this is for Easterly winds.'

"The true Malmesy wine grows in this Island, and is said Wines. to be the best of its kind in the world. Here is also *Canary* wine, and *Verdona*, or green wine. The *Verdona* is a strong bodied wine, harsher and sharper than *Canary*, and will keep best in hot countries, for which reason I landed here to take some. Fowls and eatables are dear on *Teneriffe* and the trading Islands, but plentiful and cheap on the others, as *Forteventura* for fowls, and *Gomera* for deer; wherefore it is hest for ships who design to take in but little wine, to touch at this last, where also they may be supplied with wine enough, and cheap."

February

FART II. 1699. February the 4th, we sailed from Santa Cruz, being obliged to hasten out all we could, because the wind had come from February. NE, which made a great sea; and I was glad to get out though we left behind us several goods we had bought and paid for.'

- Mayo. 'The 11th, we anchored in the road of the Island Mayo, and found here the Newport of London. Her Captain was very glad to see one of the King's ships, being much afraid of pirates, which of late years had much infested the Cape de Verd Islands. On the West side of the Island, where the road for ships is, there is a large sandy bay, and a sand bank of about 40 paces Salt Pond. wide within it, within which there is a large satina, or saltpond, about two miles in length, and half a mile wide, but above one half is commonly dry. The English drive here a great trade for salt. I have been informed that in some years not less than 100 of our vessels have been here to take salt. It costs nothing but men's labour to rake it together, and wheel it out of the pond, except the carriage, which is very cheap, as the inhabitants have plenty of asses. At the landing-place there
- Frape Boat. lies a Frape boat, as our seamen call it, built purposely to take off the salt, being so fited as to keep the waves from dashing into the boat, for here commonly runs a great sea.'

' The inhabitants of this Island, even to their Governor, and padres, are all negroes, wool-pated like their African neighbours; but being subjects to the Portuguese, they have their religion and language. They are lusty and well limbed, both men and women. I was told by one of the padres, that on the Island were about 230 souls in all. The Governor is a very civil and sensible poor man: he expects a small present from every commander of a vessel that lades salt here, and is glad to be invited on board their ships. The houses here are built with fig-tree wood, which I was told was the only tree they have, fit to build with.'

. 'The pirates who have of late infested these Islands, have much lessened the quantity of live stock, and they have not spaced

spared the inhabitants themselves. This Governor of Mayo CHAP. 7. was but newly returned from being a prisoner among them, they having taken him away and carried him about with February them for a year or two. The sea here is plentifully stocked with fish. I took on board seven or eight tons of salt for my voyage.'

"The 19th, at one in the morning, I weighed from Mayo Road, and stood for St. Jago, in order to water, the water at Mayo being brackish. We passed Port Praya, because [expected to get better water on the SW side of the Island. In the afternoon we came to an anchor in the road of the town of St. Jago.'

"I trucked here some of the salt which I brought from St. Jago. Mayo, for fowls and maize. This is the effect of the inhabitants keeping no boats of their own, so that they are glad to buy even their own salt of foreigners.'

' St. Jago Road is one of the worst I have been in. There is not clean ground enough for above three ships, and those must lie very near to each other. I should not have come here if I had not been told it was a secure place.'

"We sailed from St. Jago on the 22d. I thought it requisite to touch once more at some cultivated place in these seas where my men might be refreshed and furnish themselves with necessaries: for designing that my next stretch should be quite to New Holland, and knowing that nothing was to be expected there but fresh water, I resolved on putting in first at some port in Brasil. March the 25th, we anchored in the harbour of Bahia de todos los Santos. 1 found here above 30 large ships from Europe, with two of the King of Portugal's ships of war, and two ships that traded to Africa, and abundance of small cratt.'

"The Governor who resides here is called Don John de Lancastrio, being descended, they say, from our English Lancaster family, and he has a respect for our nation on that account, calling

Road of the Town of St. Jago.

Brasil.

1699.

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PART II. calling them his countrymen. I waited on him several times, 1699. and always found him courteous.'

' All the tradesmen here buy negroes, and train them up to their own several employments, which is a great help to them. They have here a very dexterous method of killing bullocks, striking them at one blow with a sharp pointed knife in the nape of the neck, having first drawn them close to a rail.'

' My stay at *Bahia* was about a month. In April the Southerly winds make their entrance on this coast, bringing in the wet season, with violent tornadoes.'

April.

' The 23d of April in the morning, having a fine land breeze, and the tide of flood being spent, we sailed out of Bahia.'

' May the 3d, in latitude 20° S, we caught three small sharks, and the next day three more, all which we eat, esteeming them good fish, being boiled and pressed and then stewed with vinegar and pepper. We had the wind Easterly and stood to the Southward, till we were in 31°10'S, and began to meet with Westerly winds, which did not leave us till a little before we made the *Cape of Good Hope*. We met nothing of moment, except that we passed a dead whale, and saw millions, I may say, of sea fowls about the carcass and as far round it as we could see.'

The Petrel.

1. 'The Petrel is a bird not much unlike a swallow, but smaller and with a shorter tail. It is all over black except a white spot on the rump: they fly sweeping like swallows and very near the water. They are not often seen in fair weather. Our seamen call them foul-weather birds, presaging a storm, and for that reason do not love to see them. In a storm they will hover close under a ship's stern, in the wake or smoothness which the ship's passing has made on the sea; and there as they fly (gently) they pat the water alternately with their feet as if they walked upon it, though still upon the wing. And from hence, the seamen give them the name of Petrels, in allusion to St. Peter's walking upon the lake of Genesareth.'

June

⁴ June the 3d, we saw a sail to leeward under English CHAP. 7. colours. I bore away to speak her, and found her to be the Antelope of London in the service of the New East-India Company, bound for the Bay of Bengal. Many passengers were on board, going to settle there under Sir Edward Littleton who was going out Chief. They had been in at the Cape, and had sailed thence the day before. This afternoon, we saw the Cape land. As I did not design to go in at the Cape, I was presented from the Antelope with half a mutton, 12 cabbages, 12 pumpkins, 61b. of butter, and some parsnips, I sending them oatmeal, which they wanted.'

. We had a Westerly wind, and jogged on in company with the Antelope till the next afternoon, when we parted, they steering for the East Indies, and we keeping an ESE course . for New Holland.'

' The 19th. Latitude 34° 17' S, Longitude from the Cape of 19th. Good Hope 39° 24' East, Variation 25° 29' W. We had run above 600 leagues from the Cape, having the most part of the time the wind from some point of the West, viz. from the WNW to SbW. It blew hardest when at West, or between the West and SW; but after it veered more Southerly, the foul weather broke up. I observed at other times in these seas, that when the storms at West veered to the Southward, they grew less, and if the wind came to the East of the South, we had still smaller gales, calms, and fair weather.'

. July the 4th, we reckoned ourselves 1100 leagues to the East July. of the Cape of Good Hope. We tried for soundings, but got no ground. As we drew near to the coast of New Holland, we frequently saw whales; at about 90 leagues from the land we began to see sea-weeds, all of one sort; at 30 leagues distance, scuttle-bones floating, and in greater quantities as we drew nigher to the land.'

On the 30th, we saw much sea-weed, and a sort of fowl 30th. we had not seen in the voyage before. All the other fowls had VOL. IV. SE left

1699.

June.

PART II. left us. These were as big as lapwings, of a grey colour, black about the eyes, with sharp red bills, long wings, tails long and 1699. forked like swallows, and they flew about flapping their wings July. like lapwings. In the afternoon we met a rippling like a current, or the waters of some shoal or overfall; but we were past it before we could sound. We kept on still to the Eastward under casy sail, expecting we were near the land. In Western Coast of the evening we tried for soundings, and got no ground; but New Holland. at midnight, we sounded again, and had 45 fathoms, coarse sand and small white shells. I hauled up close to the South (the wind being at West) because I thought we were to the South of a shoal called the Abrolhos; which, in a draught I Near the Abrolhos. had of that coast, is laid down in 27° 28' S latitude, stretching about seven leagues into the sea. I had been the day before in latitude 27° 38' S by reckoning, and having steered afterwards EbS purposely to avoid the shoal, I thought we must have been to the South of it; but now on sounding again at one o'clock in the morning, we had but 25 fathoms, 31st. coral rocks, by which we found the shoal was to the South of us. We presently tacked again and stood to the North, and deepened our water. At five o'clock we had 45 fathoms, coarse sand and shells, being now off the shoal, as appeared by the sand and shells, and our having left the coral. By all this I knew we had fallen in to the North of the shoal, and that it was laid down wrong in my sea chart. For I found it to lie in about 28°* latitude; and by our run in the next day, the outward edge which I sounded on, lies 16 leagues off shore +.' .

• When it was day, we steered in ENE, with a brisk gale, but

^{*} Mistakenly printed 27° in the Edition of 1703.

⁺ In Van Keulen's Chart of the Western Coast of New Holland, a Copy of which is in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of original plans and documents (Class 17); the Northern part of Houtman's Abrolhos (the Shoal here meant, and on which a Dutch Ship had been wrecked) is laid down in latitude 28° 15' S: and the outer part 17 geographical leagues from the main land of New Holland; which is a yery near agreement with the remarks of Captain Dampier.

but did not see the land till nine in the morning. At noon it CHAP. 7. was about six leagues off, and we had 40 fathoms depth, clean sand. As we ran in this day and the next, we took several sights of the land at different bearings and distances. We strove to run near the shore to seek for a harbour. The land was low, and appeared even. About the latitude of 26° S, we saw an opening, and stood in, hoping to find a harbour there; but when we came to the mouth, which was about two leagues wide, we saw rocks and foul ground within, and therefore stood out again. We had there 20 fathoms water within two miles of the shore.'

' Here being no harbour, I stood off to sea again in the evening of August the 2d, fearing a storm, as the clouds began to grow thick in the Western board. In the night, it blew very .hard.'

"August the 5th, the weather having become moderate, we made the land again. At noon we were in latitude 25° 30' S, variation this day 7° 24' W.'

' The 6th in the morning, we saw an opening in the land, and we ran into it and anchored in 71 fathoms clean sand, two miles from the shore. It was somewhat difficult getting in here, by reason of many shoals we met with; but I kept a boat sounding before me. The mouth of this sound, which I called Shark's Bay, lies in latitude about 25° S; and our reckoning made its longitude from the Cape of Good Hope to be about 87 degrees: which is less by 195 leagues than is laid down in our common draughts *.'

' As soon as we were at anchor, I sent a boat to seek for fresh water, but none was found. The next morning I went ashore with pickaxes and shovels to dig for water. We tried in several

1699. August. Western Coast of New Holland.

2d.

5th.

6th. Dirk Hartog's Reede, or Shark': Bay.

^{*} This Road in which Dampier anchored, is the same in which Dirk Hartog, the first European discoverer of the Western coast of New Holland, anchored, A. D. 1616, after whom it was named Dirk Hartog's Reede.

PART 11. several places, but not finding any in several miles compass, we left off farther search for it, and spent the rest of the day in August. cutting wood.'

Western Coast of New a Holland. fr Dirk tl Hartog's tl Reede, or si Shark'sBay

' The land is of a height to be seen nine or ten leagues off, and appears at a distance very even; but as you come nigher, you find there are many gentle risings. It is all a steep shore against the open sea; but in this Bay or Sound, the land by the sea side is low; the soil there is sand, and produces a large sort of samphire which bears a white flower. Farther in, is a reddish mould, a sort of sand producing grass, plants and shrubs. Of trees and shrubs here are divers sorts; but none above ten foot high: some of these trees were sweet scented, and reddish within the bark, like sassafras, but redder. The blossoms of the different sorts of trees were of several colours, but mostly blue; and smelt very sweet and fragrant. There were also beautiful and fragrant flowers growing on the ground, unlike any I had seen elsewhere.'

' The only large birds we saw were cagles. There were small singing birds, with variety of fine shrill notes. The water fowls are ducks (which now had young ones) curlieus, galdens, crabcatchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, and some water-fowl, such as I have not seen any where besides.'

' The land animals we saw here were only a sort of racoons, different from those of the West Indies, chiefly as to their legs;
Kanguroos. for these have very short fore legs, but go jumping, and like the racoons are very good meat; and a kind of guanos which Guanos. are very slow in motion. The guanos I have seen elsewhere are very good meat, but the guanoe of New Holland, when opened, hath an unsavory smell.'

⁴ The sea-fish in this bay, were chiefly sharks, and therefore I gave it the name of *Shark's Bay*. Here were skates, thornbacks, fish of the ray-kind, bonetas, gar-fish, muscles, periwinkles, limpets, oysters, both of the pearl kind and for eating, cockles, cockles, and others. The shore was lined thick with strange CHAP. 7. and beautiful shells. We caught here two turtle.'

'We anchored at three several places in Shark's Bay; we stayed at the first till the 11th, and searched for fresh water to no purpose, but we cut good store of fire wood, and my company were well refreshed with racoons, turtle, and fish. I was for standing farther into the Bay partly that we might increase our stock of fresh water, and partly for the sake of discovering this part of the coast, to which I was invited by seeing from this anchoring place all open before me [Eastward].'

' On the 11th, we weighed anchor about noon, and stood farther in with an easy sail, having but shallow water. About two in the afternoon we saw the land ahead that makes the South of the Bay, and before night shoaled our water, therefore we shortened sail, and stood off and on all night, in from ten to seven fathoms depth. This land we found to be an Island of three or four leagues long. But it appearing barren, I did not strive to go nearer it; and the rather because the wind would not permit us without much trouble. I therefore made no farther attempts in this SW and South part of the Bay, but (on the 12th) steered away to the Eastward to see if there was any land that way, for as yet we had seen none there: We passed the North point of the land to the South, being confirmed that it was an Island by seeing an opening to the. East of it. As we stood further on, our soundings were at first seven fathoms, which held a great while, but at length decreased to six. Then we saw land right ahead. We could not come near it with the ship, for the shoalness of the depth. The land was extraordinary low, and very unlikely to have fresh water. though it had a few trees, seemingly mangroves. I stood out again; and before night anchored in eight fathoms, clear white sand, about the middle of the Bay. The next day we got under sail, and that afternoon came to an anchor once more, near two Islands and a shoal of coral rocks which face the Bay. Here

1699. August. Dırk Hartog's Reede, or Shark'sBay. **PART II.**Here we scrubbed the ship, and as I found it improbable I1699.should get any thing further here, I made the best of my wayAugust.out to sca again : but as from the shallowness of the water,Dirk
Hartog's
Reede, orthere was no going out to the East of the two Islands, nor
between them, for there the sea breaks, I returned to the WestShark'sBay.entrance, going out by the same way I came in at, only on the

East instead of the West side of a small shoal in the entrance, in which channel we had 10, 12, and 13 fathoms, deepening as we stood out to sea. It was the 14th of August we sailed out of this Sound, the mouth of which lies in 25° 5' S. In passing out, we saw three water serpents in the sea, of a yellow colour with brown spots; they were each about four feet long, and of the bigness of a man's wrist.'

' The wind being at North and the kand lying North-Easterly,

we plied off and on, getting little forward, till the next day,

when the wind coming at SSW and South, we coasted along

the shore to the Northward, at six or seven leagues distance, with soundings between 40 and 46 fathoms, brown sand with white shells. The 15th, we were in latitude 24° 41' S. Varia-

Western Coast of New Holland.

- 15th.

tion 6° 6' W.'

16th.

17th.

'The 16th, at noon, latitude 23° 22' S. The wind coming at EbN, we could not keep the shore on board, but lost sight of the land, and had no ground at 80 fathoms. The wind shortly after came to the Southward, and on the 17th, we saw the land again. Our latitude that day was 23° 2' S, and our longitude 0° 22' East of Shark's Bay.'

18th. A Shoal Point. 'The 18th. In the afternoon, being three or four leagues off shore, I saw a shoal point stretching from the land into the sea a league or more. The sea broke high on it. I stood farther off and coasted along at seven or eight leagues distance. At 12 at night we sounded and had but 20 fathoms hard sand: upon which I steered off West half an hour and had 40 fathoms; and soon after, 85 fathoms; by two, we had no ground, and then I ventured to steer due North, which is two points wide of

of the coast (which lies NNE) being afraid of 'another shoal. CHAP. 7. At the time we were in 20 fathoms, we had abundance of whales about us, blowing and making a dismal noise; but as we went into deeper water, they left us. The bank where we NW Coast had the 20 fathoms, lies in 22° 22' S latitude.'

"We were within the verge of the general trade-wind when we first fell in with the land, and by the' time we were in 25° latitude, we had usually the trade-wind regular from the SSE if we were at any distance from the shore; but when near shore, we had often sea and land breezes; and in Shark's Bay we had a NW wind.'

' In the evening of the 19th, the wind coming from the 10th. ESE, we got out of sight of the land, which now trended away NE.'

' The 21st, we had ground at 45 fathoms, sand; but we did not 2151. see the land till noon, and then only from our mast-head, bearing SE b E about nine leagues distant, which appeared like a bluff head of land. At sunset we anchored in 20 fathoms, clean sand, about five leagues from the bluff point, which was found to be the Easternmost end of an Island five or six leagues in length and one in breadth. There were three or four rocky Islands about a league from us between us and the bluff point, and we saw many other Islands both to the East and West of the bluff. as far as we could see either way from our topmast head : and all within them to the South, there was nothing but Islands of a good height that may be seen eight or nine leagues off. By what we saw of them, they must be a range of Archipelago of Islands Islands, stretching from ENE to WSW, about 20 leagues in along the length, or for aught I know, as far as to those of Shark's Bay : Coast. and to a considerable breadth also, for we could see nine or ten leagues in among them towards the Continent or main land of New Holland, if there be any such thing hereabouts. By the tides I met with afterwards, more to the NE, I had asstrong suspicion that here might be a kind of archipelago

1609. August. of New Holland.

pelago of Islands, and possibly a passage into the great South PART 11. Sea Eastward.' 1600.

" This place is in latitude 20° 21' S, but in the draught I had Tasman's Chart of the of this coast, which was Tasman's, it is laid down in 19° 50' S, West Coast and the shore is laid down all along as joining in one body or of New Holland. continent, with some openings appearing like rivers, and not like Islands as they really are. I found the soundings also shallower than he marks them, and therefore think he was not so near to the shore as he imagined, and not near enough to distinguish the Islands. His meridian distance, or longitude from Shark's Bay, agrees well enough with my account, though we differ in latitude.'

22d.

' The 22d in the morning, I weighed anchor, designing to run in among the Islands; and sent my boat before to sound, but when within two leagues of the bluff head, we had shoal water and uncertain soundings; and abreast the bluff head at two miles distance, we had but seven fathoms, and running in a little farther, but four fathoms, so we anchored, yet when we had vecred out a third of a cable, we had seven fathoms again. I sent the boat to sound for a channel. We were about four leagues within the outer small rocky Islands, but we could see nothing but Islands within us, some five or six leagues long. others not above a mile round; and all appeared dry, rocky. and barren. The rocks were of a rusty yellow colour, which made me despair of getting fresh water on any of them ; but I was in hopes of finding a channel to run within all the Islands, and get to the main of New Holland. We weighed again and sailed about a league farther, when our water grew shoal again, and then we anchored in six fathoms depth, hard sand, being a league within the Island on whose outside is the bluff point. I went ashore with shovels to dig; but found no water. Here grow shrubs of two or three sorts, one of which was like rosemary, therefore I called this Rosemary Island. We saw here Rosemary Island. white pairots, which flew a great many together. Here were limpets