‘Beyond the Falls’: Amerindian Stance towards New Encounters along the Wild Coast (AD 1595–1627)

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According to the Treaty of Tordesillas, the Guianas represent the border region of the Demarcation Line that is approximately situated to the East of the mouth of the Amazon River. Both Iberian nations, firmly implanted on both sides of this line by the second half of the sixteenth century (i.e. Margarita and Pernambuco) do not establish themselves in this area. It is possible they do this to avoid confrontations between themselves but this settlement pattern also leaves an opening for the English, Dutch and French to intervene in the area and barter with the indigenous population (Figure 15.1).

After the discovery of pearls off the Coast of Paria in 1508 and their depletion by the 1530s, the focus of the Spanish upon the Aztec, Inca and Muisca gold seemed to diminish their interest in these new parts of the Americas.

FIGURE 15.1 The Guianas, situated between the mouth of the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers

However, once these empires were controlled and plundered, the quest for new El Dorados pointed them back to the unexplored areas of the interior of the Guianas as witnessed by the numerous Spanish explorations upon the Orinoco River (Hemming 1978).

On the other side of the Demarcation Line, the Portuguese had firmly established numerous sugar plantations in Pernambuco since 1534, also leaving a large geographical margin with the Amazon River. From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, this area was soon invested in by French entrepreneurs such as Jacques Riffault, who established themselves at Saint Louis de Maranhao and who were eventually chased out by the Portuguese in 1614 who, in turn, founded Belém two years later.

This is a pivotal moment, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when small coastal trade (dye wood, annatto, tobacco, hammocks, gums in exchange for iron implements, beads...) reaches its peak, with the regular passage of Dutch, English and French ships, while, at the same time, giving gradually way to colonial settlement projects for production of cash crops, i.e., tobacco, annatto, sugar, which will take shape by the middle of the century. This European intrusion on the Guiana or Wild Coast (coastline inhabited by those who are called Savages or *Wilden*) as well as the demographic collapse that it has caused, adversely affected the native populations throughout this region, upsetting the ancient social, economic and also warlike relationships which linked these Amerindian groups (Gallois Tilkin 2005). This led to the creation and reinforcement of new ethnic frontiers as an adaptive response to the changes that were occurring (see Collomb and Dupuy 2009; Whitehead 1992). Thus the history and the territorial inscription of these peoples, settled on the coast, became inseparable from the forms of European colonial expansion in the region; hence, the Amerindians were – to a certain extent – active players in the early colonization of the Guianas as traders and middlemen.

1 The First Confrontations

Despite the fact that Francisco de Orellana had already almost circumnavigated the Guianas in AD 1542, only a few Spanish documents discuss this region that formed the eastern limit of their official possessions. Spanish intelligence about the Guianas, and especially the allied *Aruaca* nation, is principally known through the writings of Figueroa (*ca.* 1520) and Navarrete (*ca.* 1570) (see Whitehead 2011). Although they did not visit this area themselves, they gathered information about the Amerindian population from Aruacas that resided in or visited Trinidad or Margarita. As a result, Figueroa reported

to the Spanish Crown a polarized image of friends (*guatiao*) and enemies (*caribe*). Much like the Lower Orinoco River, the eastern and western Guianas were seen by the Spanish as supply areas of victuals and slaves, which could be exploited through Spanish/Aruaca combined raiding parties.

According to Navarrete's sources, the Aruacas inhabited the rivers of *Bermeji* [Berbice], *Curety* [Corantyne], *Dumaruni* [Demerara], *Desguixo* [Essequibo], *Baorome* [Pomeroon], and *Moraca* [Moruca], which were previously inhabited by the *Caribes*. At first, they lived in peace together but eventually they found themselves fighting each other, which is evidenced by seasonal warfare of large raiding parties to procure slaves, as described by Navarrete. When English explorers, such as John Burgh, Jacob Whiddon, Robert Dudley and Walter Raleigh, arrived by the end of the sixteenth century, they were thus confronted with an indigenous population that was trying to establish a confederation to fight the allied forces of the Aruacas and Spanish.¹

It is evident that the socio-political situation of pre-Columbian times, although already infused with warfare between distinct nations, had been altered by the impetus of another important player, the Spanish, to whom the leaders had to adapt eventually. Raleigh (1596, 5–6) suggests, for example, that this new political situation had changed the status of the Amerindian lords or *cacique*, “called Acarewana in their own language” because they adopted the European military term “Capitaynes”, to acquire, in a way, elite European status.²

2 The Second Confrontation

Arriving at Trinidad, Raleigh instantly took San José de Oruña and its commander Antonio de Berrio. His Virginian experiences coupled with the information gathered from de Berrio made it clear to Raleigh that the key to success in locating *El Dorado* was to have the local Amerindian elite on his side. However, he also recognized that the Spanish were too strong to be conquered, and that he must look for other ways to get to El Dorado rather than sailing up the Orinoco and the *Caroli* River, to reach the lake of *Parimé*. Once back in England, he procured *A Second Voyage to Guiana* under the command of Lawrence Keymis who, in company of William Downe, searched the Guiana coast

1 “The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they live in league and peace” (Keymis 1596, Gr).

2 Derived from the latin *caput*, head, this term appears in the Middle Ages in its military sense, pointing to one who is head, a leader of war.

for possible Spanish colonies and to obtain intelligence about other rivers that would lead to El Dorado. This voyage, which took approximately six months, was followed by a third voyage under the command of Thomas Masham, accompanied by Leonard Berry, serving the same interests as the second voyage of Keymis but this time carefully exploring the Courantyne River.

The 20th of April 1597, they encountered the *John of London* under the command of John Leigh [Ley] with whom they teamed up to explore the upper reaches of this river, which would join the *Desekebe* River “within a dayes journey of the lake called *Perima*, whereupon *Manoa* is supposed to stand” (Masham 1890, 190). Along with English merchants, such as John Ley, Dutch merchants, lured by the writings of Raleigh about mines, began to appear along the Guiana coast (Netscher 1888, 32).³ But, instead of investing in the construction of expensive (gold) mines in the hostile regions of the Lower Orinoco, private Dutch merchant companies started to install ‘*leggers*’ or traders near Amerindian villages situated upon the lower reaches of various rivers to procure local goods in exchange for European ware (Hulsman 2010, 2011).

In fact, the English assistance along the Guianas is also accounted for in the French voyage to the *Wiapoco* and *Caliana* Rivers, as written by Jean Mocquet (1617). In 1604, this expedition, under the command of Daniel de la Ravardière, set sail towards the Guianas to check for goods to be procured among the Amerindians of this region and possibly to pinpoint a location for a colony. It is noteworthy that a large part of this crew and even the pilot were English (Mocquet 1617, 148). They were accompanied by the “Indian” guide that once belonged to “milord *Ralle[gh]*” who was “the son of a King from the Island of Trinidad” (*ibidem* p. 97).⁴

3 *Wiapogo: a Place of Trade*

Since the first Spanish attempts, the Island of Cayenne as well as the Oyapock River [“*Wiapogo*”], were quickly landmarked as the most important ports of call for trade with the Amerindians (Collomb and van den Bel 2014). In fact, the embouchures of these rivers are easily recognizable along the Guiana coast because of their large table mountains that stand directly in the Atlantic

3 Although the Dutch were already trafficking salt from Punta de Araia within Spanish territory, they relied on English intelligence when calling on ports for barter upon the Guiana coast (Goslinga 1971, 486).

4 Earlier French visits to Guiana have been noted by Keymis (1968 [1596], F4r) but may be related to the French colony at Maranhão, Brazil.

Ocean (Figure 15.2). The Oyapock River, in particular, was soon targeted as an important river for European settlement as attested by the (failed) colonies and eye-witness reports of the Leigh brothers [1604–1606], Robert Harcourt [1608–1613, 1630], Jan Pietersz [1615], Lourens Lourensz [1618–1626], Jesse de Forest [1624–1625] and Jan van Ryen [1627]. Their accounts allow us to establish a list of the numerous groups dwelling here (Table 15.1).

When he entered the Oyapock estuary, Keymis found only empty houses at Mount *Caripo* [Montagne Bruyère]. Similarly, Masham did not encounter any

FIGURE 15.2 Eastern French Guiana between the Kourou and the Oyapock Rivers

TABLE 15.1 Overview of Nations dwelling in the Oyapock basin during the early seventeenth century. All names can be found in the bibliography

	Wanari	Wiapogo	Arracow
Keymis	<i>Charibes</i>	<i>Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco</i>	<i>Marowanas</i>
Ley		<i>Iayos</i>	<i>Morowonow and Marawen</i>
Mocquet		<i>Caripous</i>	
Leigh		<i>Yaioas, Arwarkas and Sapayoas</i>	<i>Marauvas and Marraias</i>
Wilson		<i>Yayes, Arwackes and Supayes</i>	
Harcourt	<i>Yaios and Arwaccas</i>	<i>Yaios, Arwaccas and Marashewaccas</i>	<i>Arracoories</i>
Fisher	<i>Areecole</i>	<i>Areecola</i>	<i>Yaios</i>
de Forest	<i>Arouakes</i>	<i>Yayos, Maraons and Nourakes</i>	

inhabitants when sailing up this river until the first waterfalls (today known as Saut Maripa) because he was likely preceded by John Ley. Eventually, Keymis met the fled Yao captain Wareo at the Cawo River whereas Masham met the Caribes captain Ritimo at Chiana. When meeting Keymis, the Yao, who had fled from Moruga, feared that they were Spanish whereas Masham was asked by the Caribes to join forces in order to attack the Spanish on the Orinoco. Although Keymis did not meet any people on the Oyapock, it is possible that he gathered this information from Downe who told him that he sailed up the Wiapoco until the first falls when they met eventually at large of the Orinoco Delta (Keymis 1968 [1596], D4v).

According to John Ley, the Yao are firmly installed on the Kaw and Oyapock Rivers at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Lorimer 2006, 326). Ley does not mention any other nations upon this river such as those suggested by Keymis and, later on, by Leigh. It appears that the Yao had clearly promoted themselves as the one nation with whom the English had to trade upon this part of the Guiana coast. Ley does not mention any other nations upon this river, which may have arrived some time later, but neither remarks the presence of any (autochthonous) local groups except for the Morowonow of the

Arowcoa or modern Urucauá River, affluent of the Oyapock in its embouchure, facing Mount Caripo.

After this first English survey and their publications in English and subsequent translations in other languages, a large number of English, Dutch and French entrepreneurs frequented the Guiana coast for trade with the Amerindians. As mentioned before Dutch private companies, such as the *Compagnie op Guiane en de Wiapoco* based in Amsterdam (established in the early 1600s), issued contracts for a two-year stay upon the Oyapock for a trader in service for that particular company (Hulsman 2009, 61). These traders may have lived among the Amerindians but they also built warehouses with stockades in order to secure the goods that were coming and going. They were sustained by the local population for they provided them with European objects, notably iron tools, in exchange for Amerindian wares, such as tobacco, dye wood, annatto, cotton and feathers, as well as with victuals such as fish, game and local bread or cassava. Frequently, perhaps every six months or every year, the European companies sent a ship to the trader to bring back the traded goods and to render another stock of barter goods (Figure 15.3).

FIGURE 15.3 Detail of an anonymous Dutch map of the Eastern Guianas between the rivers Kaurro and Mayhekarj, showing the different Amerindian villages upon this coast to be visited for barter by the Dutch (Nationaal Archief, Den Haag 4.VEL652, ca. 1615). One observes the Oyapock Bay in the middle of this picture where the Urucauá, Oyapock and Wanari Rivers all come together. It is noteworthy that nearly all Amerindian villages, except for Cayenne, are situated a little distance up river.

By 1610, there were various companies trading along the Guiana Coast as well as in the Lower Amazon River, with a fairly large number of European ships calling on the numerous traders, as witnessed by the published journals of Jean Mocquet (1617), Charles Leigh (1625), John Wilson (1625),⁵ Robert Harcourt (Harcourt [1625] 1928) and Unton Fisher (Harcourt [1625] 1928). According to Wilson, the Dutch traders were very well equipped for their tasks which appeared small in comparison to their own failing colony: "Neither had we any store of commodities to trade up in the Maine, as the two Hollanders hath which are there, and were left there at our comming from thence by John Sims, Master of a Ship called the Hope of Amsterdam, of the burthen of one hundred tuns Fraughted by the Merchants of Amsterdam, and by their Charter partie was bound to lye in the River of Wiapoco, and of Caliane six moneths time" (Wilson 1625, 1264).⁶

It may be likely that these traders were completely dependent on their relationship with the Amerindians, not only for their work but also for their life. An intimate relationship may have existed between the local population and various traders who certainly lived among them and married indigenous women, e.g., the post-scriptum of the journal of Lourens Lourensz explains that the wife of an Amerindian *Captain* bore a daughter from a Dutchman (Wassen-aer 1627, 64v).⁷ Subsequently, if the local population was not content with the presence of a certain colony or any person in particular, a sudden death would most certainly be brought upon the latter.

After the observations of Keymis and Ley up the Oyapock, the French entered this land (Mocquet 1617), but interestingly they only refer to the *Caripous*⁸ of *Yapoco*. Mocquet further states that the King of Yapoco is a certain *Anacaioury* (Figure 15.4) who is waging war upon the *Caribes* of Cayenne, their

5 The Zelander that sailed up the Oyapock River wanted to sell African slaves to Charles Leigh: "His comming unto us to Wiapoco, was to have sold unto our Generall Negroes, whose kinnesse we did requite in helping him to such commodities as wee had, and did get the Indians to provide Cassavi and Guinea Wheate for bread, with Potato Roots for his Negroes to eat, who departed on the one and twentieth of May (after he had bin some three weekes in the River of Wiapoco) for Point de Ray [La Brea], where he shipped of our company into his Countrimens ships" (Wilson 1625, 1262).

6 Here we refer to the well documented dissertation of the late Lodewijk Hulsman (1950–2016) for further readings and archival research on Dutch factors and their different companies, later to be fused into *De Guiaansche Compagnie*, upon the Guiana coast for this early period (Hulsman 2009, 2010).

7 A first English translation of the Lourensz journal is published by M. van den Bel (2009).

8 According to F. Grenand and P. Grenand (1987, 10) *Caripous* is considered "a new bourgeon for the old word Charib-Karipuna." Whitehead (Raleigh 1997, 62) states that the term *caripou* is "a garbled attempt to render 'Palicour' since the substitution of 'p' for 'b' and 'r' for 'l' is common in European transcriptions of native American languages," and that the Caripou

FIGURE 15.4 "Comment les Caribes tirent le poisson (CC). Amazone allant à la guerre (D).
Forme de danse des Caribes DD." Engraving taken from Jean Mocquet, *Voyages
en Afrique, Asie, Indes orientales & occidentales* [...], Livre II, Paris, 1617, p. 157
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eternal enemies (Mocquet 1617, 81). Although Caripous are not mentioned by other Europeans, Anacaioury is met by them and represents an emblematic personality of the Oyapock River and chief of a larger geographical area, as esteemed by Robert Harcourt (Harcourt 1625, 1271): "Beyond the Country of *Morrownia* to the Southward bordering the River of *Arwy*, is the Province of *Norrak*; the people thereof are *Charibes*, and enemies both to the *Morrowinnes*, the inhabitants of *Morrownia*, and to the *Wiapocoories*; who are also under the subjection of *Anaky-u-ry*, the Principall and greatest Lord, or *Cassique* of all the *Yaios* in those Provinces, bordering upon the Sea betwixt the *Amazones*, South-eastward, and *Dessequebe* North-westward."

Anacaioury, a Yao far away from his homeland in Trinidad, was probably able to obtain an important socio-political position in a newly conquered and occupied country (Oyapock) depending heavily upon European interaction in this region. In this manner, the "King" Anacaioury would be able to control access and distribution of "new" iron tools among the important leading groups as well as among their alliances; thus reshaping and establishing a new political balance in the region. The historical and famous warfare between the Caribs of Cayenne and the Palikur of the Oyapock River must therefore be seen within the light of this Yao arrival and subsequent new balance of regional power.

4 Indigenous Networks

Despite some archaeological evidence, the interior of the Guianas remains virtually unknown, just as it was at the beginning of the seventeenth century, compared to the better explored coastal zone. Nevertheless, some observations shed light on complex processes which linked the native societies throughout the Guianas and Greater Amazonia, embedded in large social, economic, cultural spaces. In this regard, it is worthwhile to note the social and commercial networks, which operated beyond the region where the local group lived. These societies were integrated into these networks, in which alliance, war and

described by Mocquet are actually the Yao described in the English documents. It must be noted here that Mocquet (1617, 133) remarks that "*il y en a de plusieurs sortes, et celle des Caripous est aucunement différente de celle des Caribes, et ont assez de peine à s'entendre, encorequ'ils ne soient pas fort éloignés les uns des autres,*" suggesting that the Caripous and Charibe language were actually different languages. However, if Caripou are Yao, as suggested by various authors, they must have understood each other better since the Yao language is supposed to be of Cariban stock (Taylor 1977). This argument favours an interpretation of Caripou as an Amerindian idiom for social or political status instead of a group name.

trade were opportunities to periodically reactivate social relations between different groups.⁹ These trade relations were based upon ties forged between trade partners, i.e. *pawana*, *banare*, sometimes separated by great distances, along trade routes that connected peoples, step by step, throughout the interior of the Guianas, from the Orinoco and the Rio Negro to the Amazon and the Atlantic coast (Butt Colson 1973; Dreyfus 1992; Dupuy 2008). The European goods that arrived in large quantities on this coast were exchanged for local goods by the Amerindian middlemen who traded them again for other goods in these extensive networks.

It is pertinent to note that Wilson ([1625] 1906) is in awe that the Amerindians of the Oyapock were already aware of the future arrival of a (Dutch) ship upon their river since three ships, according to Amerindian intelligence, had already sailed up the Amazon River, revealing a possible land route between these river basins. One can recall here the complete crossing of the Guiana interior accompanied by Amerindians (probably by some Aruã) from the Lower Amazon, by ascending the Rio Paru (tentatively) and descending the Suriname River towards the ocean, accomplished by the Irishman Bernard O'Brian in 1625 (Mathews 1970, 92). Moreover, there are many testimonies of the antiquity of an important native commercial route connecting Essequibo and deeper Guiana through the 'Pirara portage' in the Rupununi area (Edmundson 1904, 10–13). Thus, Acuña reported the presence of iron arms and tools amongst groups living near the Rio Branco and said these goods were obtained by trade with peoples living near the sea, who themselves bartered them with Dutch merchants settled in the Essequibo (Acuña 1641, 30v–31r).

In such networks, of which some remained active until at least the nineteenth century,¹⁰ circulated objects (and information) in which different

9 War not only allowed the consumption of enemies, through which is achieved the "social production of persons by persons," as pointed out by Carlos Fausto (2001). It was, as well, a means to capture wives, and finally to renew social relations through peace and spouses exchange (Collomb and Dupuy, 2009). See also Harcourt (1928, 86): "But with the Charibes inhabiting the in-land parts upon the Mountaines, they have as yet no peace at all; for they doe often times come downe upon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of warre and hatred amongst them." Also see Santos-Granero (2009) for Amerindian warfare during late pre-Columbian and early historic times.

10 As evidenced, for example, by Im Thurn at the end of the nineteenth century: "To interchange their manufacture the Indians make long journeys. The Wapianas visit the countries of the Tarumas and the Woyowais, carrying with them canoes, cotton hammocks, and now very frequently knives, beads, and other European goods; and, leaving their canoes and other merchandise, they walk back, carrying with them a supply of cassava-graters, and leading hunting dogs-all which things they have received in exchange for the things

groups were specialized such as trained dogs for hunting, cassava graters, ceramics and manufactured products traded on the coast, but also valuable assets, such as greenstone frog-pendants which came from various production centers in Guiana or the Lower Amazon River (Boomert 1987) as well as the gold ornaments were brought up on the coast from the interior of Guiana or Andean foothills (Whitehead 1990). The sometimes long trips comprising these exchange networks were often ended in lengthy visits and celebrations. However, the networks were eventually transformed as a result of the contact and the arrival of European goods, especially by shifting perpendicular to the coast, where new goods were arriving. These exchange networks constituted a chain of different populations in which the value of the goods depended on their provenance, manufacturers and cultural interest per group.

“At our returne to Wyapoco we gave to the Indians for their paines, and providing of us victuals in our journey an Axe, for which they would have travelled with us two or three moneths time if occasion had required. And for an Axe they found us victuals two moneths time at our houses, as Bread, and Drinke, and Crabbes, and Fish, and all such kinde of flesh as they killed for themselves, for the same price: but if we desired any Hennes or Cockes of them, then we were to have given them some small trifles, as Beades ; so likewise if they brought us in our travell to any of their friend Indians houses, we must doe the like as at our departure, to give them some trifles, as Knives and Beades. So that we lived very good cheape” (Wilson 1625, 1263). John Wilson’s comment also shows how the exchanges with the Amerindians were unfavorable to them, and how what economists designate as ‘terms of trade’ were unbalanced. The novelty of European manufactured products, the attraction towards objects that Native Americans could consider as desirable goods because of their exoticism, the technological advantage that metal tools provided in the exercise of most daily tasks, gave the traders an important advantage in negotiating. This allowed them the opportunity to make huge profits that warranted the necessary down-payment and risk-taking that the transatlantic trip represented.

Similarly, the coastal indigenous population, who were controlling the trade and alliances with the European merchants, were now able to manipulate to their advantage the value of the goods they sent to the interior along the indigenous routes, as Keymis (1968 [1596], Gv) explained: “Some images of golde, spleenestones, and others may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of them, because every where they

which they took. [...]. In this way, travellers with goods and with news constantly pass from district to district” (Im Thurn 1883, 273).

are current money. They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receive pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa."

5 New Tools

The circulation of European manufactured goods in the indigenous networks signified important technological changes for the peoples who adopted them, but these changes remain difficult to assess and to describe with precision, insofar as the effects of the use of these new tools were gradual and likely different depending on the groups concerned. We know, for example, that the introduction of the axe allowed an increase of up to ten times the efficiency of tree cutting for slash and burn cultivation. This technological leap had consequences far beyond the technical sphere, leading perhaps to a deep transformation of methods of cultivation and ways of life, by allowing the transition from intensive agriculture to itinerant agriculture, associated with an increasing mobility of villages which had to follow the moving of agricultural parcels in the forest (Denevan 2001).

The case of a tool such as the metal canoe adze (*canoodissel*) is less known but just as significant. Its introduction has gradually transformed the manufacturing technique of the canoes, which were previously made by controlled burning of wood, and likely had effects on the of navigation and fishing activities of the people who had adopted it. In fact, specific tools were in high esteem and demand and were necessary to keep good faith in the existing alliances between Europeans and Amerindians. A good example is given by the translator Jan Andries, a Dane and trader on Cayenne since the early 1630s for the Dutch WIC. He stated in 1640 that the cargo transported by Cornelis IJsbrantsz van des Sluijs, master of the *St Jan* which arrived in Cayenne was not good enough for the Amerindians, notably the straight adzes, which were not curbed and grooved; hence these were considered useless by the Amerindians and bad for trade according to Andries (Table 15.2).¹¹ For the contemporary Kali'na who dwell in eastern Surinam and western French-Guiana and are

11 West Frisian Archives, Hoorn, Notariele akten 1685 975, f.175r (16401020). Furthermore, Andries also stated that the color of the beads was not wanted by the Amerindians and the axes of the "noordhoeck" type were also useless for trade.

TABLE 15.2 Overview of trade goods shipped to the Guianas. The journal of Paulus van Caerden is found in the University Library of Göttingen (Germany), Cod. Ms 837, folio 5 ; the Fortuin cargo is found in the Commission Books of the States General in the National Archives of The Hague (The Netherlands), 1.01.02.12561, n° 32 ; the statement of trader Jan Andries can be found in the Notary Acts of the West-Frisian Archives in Hoorn (The Netherlands), 1685 975, folios 175–176 ; the listing of the Argyn can be found in the archives of the Old West Indian Company (OWIC) stored in the National Archives in the Hague (The Netherlands), 1.05.01.01, n° 25 but have also been translated for the British Guiana Boundary Commission 1898, p. 129–130 ; the delivery for Berbice by Van Pere is found in the same archive but another register 1.05.01.01, n° 42, folio 82 (Transcription and translation by M. van den Bel)

Ship	Den Hollantschen Tuijn	Fortuijn	St Jan	Argyn	Middelburgh
Capitain	Paulus van Caerden, Antilles / Wild Coast, 1604	Pieter Swaeroogh, Amazone, 1616	Factor Jan Andries for Cornelis Ijsbrantsz der Sluijs, Cayenne, 1640	Essequibo, 1642	Cornelis van Pere, Berbice, 1647
	16 gross dog-bells	63 lb <i>terwasge</i> ?	200 <i>noortheckse</i> axes	400 large and small axes	Parcel of presents 100 large axes
	2 lb cut <i>margrieten</i> [glass beads]	60 lb <i>cakoenen</i> ? with and without straps [<i>stroppen</i>]	150 large and small knives	400 small axes	500 large shark-knives? [<i>haeymessen</i>]
	168 bundles of <i>quispelgreijnen</i> [bead strings]	10 assorted <i>quispelgrauwen</i> white, blue and lavender	All kinds of small beads	300 medium cut-lasses with curved points	4 gross large and small copper bells <i>caniseros</i>
	half of 500 Spanish	200 violet <i>magariten</i> [glass beads]	100 canoe chisels	300 small cutlasses with curved points	236 <i>deekens</i> 50 dozen black straight knives

the [other] half of 500 cheap needles	29 lb blue and white with eyes [beads]	cutlasses	60 cassava chisels	30 pairs of shoes	50 boatmen knives
4 gross trumps [mouth harp]	56 lb blauwe ende witte met ogen [pen]	small handaxes	3000 <i>cariseros</i> [butcher knives?]	30 costumes of canvas clothes	6 dozen metal mirrors
20 bunch of coloured <i>teijcken</i>	250 <i>deecken</i> <i>cariseros</i> [butcher knife?]	large red and blue beads	1500 large boatmen knives	1 bundle canvas <i>petris</i>	3 dozen scissors
24 <i>deeckens carniceros</i> [butchers knife?]	80 <i>decken taruse-</i> <i>ros</i> [knife?]	large and small harpoon points	800 small boatman knives	50 shirts	1 dozen large scissors
40 <i>deeckens</i> Bohemian [knives]	24 bushels trumps	small pins and needles	40 dozen razor- blades, large and small	4 dozen stone pitchers	10 dozen trumps
8 lb margarita beads [<i>margriettijnen</i>]	50 dozen metal mirrors	cleijne en grote visch hoecken	20 dozen razorblades	50 lb thin copper sheets	1250 fish-hooks
14 dozen mirrors	20 dozen scissors	wooden combs	10 dozen framed mirrors	100 lb coarse gunpowder	140 lb beads or <i>quispelg[rijn]</i>
	diverse long rectangular, en- graved and striped <i>pullenarij</i>	small rectangular mirrors	10 large black mirrors	50 lb fine gunpowder	41 lb <i>cassoeren</i> [beads, see Biet 1664, p. 427 ; Renault-Lescure 1999, p. 276]

TABLE 15.2 Overview of trade goods shipped to the Guianas. (cont.)

Ship	Den Hollantschen Tuijn	Fortuijn	St Jan	Argyn	Middelburgh
Captain Paulus van Caerden, Antilles / Wild Coast, 1604	Pieter Swaeroogh, Amazon, 1616		Factor Jan Andries for Cornelis Ijs- brantsz der Sluijs, Cayenne, 1640	Essequibo, 1642	Cornelis van Pere, Berbice, 1647
	1812 lb axes and cutlasses		box of Venetian ear-rings	40 dozen double thimbles	4 lb coloured cassoeren
	200 hand-axes		glass beads	10 gross trumps [mouth harps]	1 dozen rasorblades
	200 plane chisels			2 cases wooden combs	20 [v. <i>potuer?</i>]
	220 cassavi-adzes			300 large fish-hooks	2 [loot roers?] [arquebus]
	200 chisels			200 large tinned fish-hooks	20 [<i>potte slessen?</i>]
	<i>argies</i> , hooks, mirrors, <i>kissers</i>			400 cod-fish hooks	1400 assorted nails
	250 large axes			30 dozen flintlocks	

divers	2 dozen letter pins
merchandise	200 large needles
	100 lb yellow
	<i>quispelgreyn</i> [bead strings]
	200 lb violet
	<i>quispelgreyn</i>
	50 lb green
	<i>quispelgreyn</i>
	60 lb white
	<i>quispelgreyn</i>
	60 lb tubular beads
	[<i>tierenarisen</i>]

respected navigators, these small adzes have been, until today, among the most wanted items of trade with Europeans.¹²

Other examples of particular iron tools for the Amerindian market are the cassava-picks (*cassavisteeckes*) and / or cassava-adzes (*cassavibeytels*) (Hulsman 2011, 188). Apparently, these cassava irons were frequently exported to the Guianas and were needed for daily work, such as manioc harvesting and / or tuber-peeling. Another example is the metal grater, or a copper plate pierced with holes and attached to a wooden plank in order to grate manioc tubers. It is believed that these metal graters were traded in order to facilitate the production of cassava and have replaced the use of stone and wooden graters (van den Bel 2015).¹³

Therefore, it can be concluded that the introduction of these new iron tools was indeed a highly interesting novelty for the Amerindians, but they soon demanded some changes in this hardware to better meet their daily needs. European smiths responded by producing iron tools which were more in line with Amerindian preferences.

6 Given to the Dead...

But beyond the technical benefits that these goods provided, their use and access represented an important symbolic and also political issue that justified the implementation of strategies to control access to trade and to the redistribution of the goods inward. An indication can be found in the Amerindian urn burials where they are most often discovered. Amerindian groups inhabiting the coastal fringe between the Lower Amazon and the Oyapock Rivers buried their dead in anthropomorphic urns such as those known from Late Aristé, Mazagão, Maracá and Aruã archaeological complexes. These urns have been attributed to the Late Ceramic Age and contact period since European trade items were found in them (Goeldi 1900; Meggers and Evans 1957; Nimuendajú 2004; Petitjean Roget 1995) (Figure 15.5). These objects consist primarily of glass beads whereas other items such as iron tools are less common. It is perhaps difficult to imagine but since the end of the sixteenth century literally tons of European barter goods, i.e., glass beads, trumps, bells, fish hooks, axes,

12 The contemporary Kali'na, amongst others, are the descendents of the historic *Caribbees* (English) or *Galibis* (French). See Collomb and Tiouka 2000.

13 An exemplary shipping list or 'cargasoen' for the Essequibo colony can be found in the proceedings of the wtc Zeeland Chamber dated 30 June 1642, revealing the presence of '50 lb thin, yellow [colored] copper plates' (British Guiana Boundary Commission 1898, 129–130). See also Table 15.2.

FIGURE 15.5 Glass beads found in Aristé urns on the Lower Oyapock at the archaeological sites of Trou Rélique and Trou Delft (Courtesy Jean-Paul Gess, IRAMAT-CR-P2A, UMR 5060 CNRS-University Bordeaux-Montaigne). Karlis Karklins (pers. comm. January 2017) commented that these beads are rather common and have a large time-span ranging between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Facetted amber and blue beads are probably made in Bavaria after 1650. Chemical analysis of different blue beads suggests a tentative date after 1600 due to the high arsenic-cobalt ratio (Ollagnier et al. 2011). A Delft faience which accompanied these glass beads is also dated after 1650 (Le Roux 1994) suggesting a late seventeenth-century collection for these funerary sites. This corresponds well with the trade beads found on Amerindian burial sites in the Brazilian State of Amapá as identified by Kenneth Kidd (Meggers and Evans 1957, 588)

hatchets, knives, needles, pins, mirrors, nails, etc., were dispatched and distributed in the Guianas of which only a handful have been retrieved by archaeological research. It is suspected that most of these goods have been exchanged within the interior since so few have been found in the first regions of contact, such as Cayenne, despite the fact that considerable archaeological research has been done there.¹⁴

The fact that these items are found in burial contexts also suggests that they were sufficiently important to be 'given to the dead' which, according to Amerindian burial practices, may reveal political hierarchy and/or social stratification (see Guapindaia 2001). This is confirmed by the first historic documents of the Eastern Guianas and Lower Amazon River.

Beyond their technical use, European objects were therefore also a symbolic object and probably represented a source of prestige for groups or individuals who possessed them, confirming trade alliances. In this context, they could sometimes travel through time, as suggested by the example of an archaeological site, near Kourou: here, objects imported during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to have acquired a genuine heritage value (heirloom) and have been transmitted between generations, to finally be placed in an Amerindian tomb during the second half of the nineteenth century (van den Bel 2010b; van den Bel et al. 2015). These items were considered valuable and integrated into the local trade system, already containing spleen stones (*muiraquitãs*), crescent-shaped golden plates (*caracolis*), and strings of shell beads (*quiripás* or *ocayes*) which were used as gifts, status symbols and heirlooms among the multiple groups of the entire Guiana Plateau. The vastness of this early colonial trading network is evidenced by the geographical distribution of stylistically similar objects such as green stone (nephrite) frog-shaped pendants or *muiraquitãs* as well as particular techniques of decoration on specific vessel shapes which have been attributed to Late Ceramic Age Koriabo pottery (van den Bel 2010a; Boomert 1987, 2004; Cabral 2011; Rostain 1994). The latter ceramic ware is found between the mouths of the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers as well as in the Guiana Highlands and the Tumuc Humac Mountains, showing stylistic homogeneity within this vast area. However, further research is needed to locate a possible origin or to discern various regional production centers, which apparently, shared interregional production methods.

14 Conversely, little is left of the large quantities of tobacco and annatto balls, precious wood, golden objects and spleen stones that were shipped to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, either. Only a few (personal) trade objects are still present in European museums.

7 Final Remarks on the 'Yao Connection'

The stories of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tell us, indirectly, about the nature of the trade between Native Americans and Europeans but also about the political strategies that each developed to ensure the maximum benefit from these exchanges. Furthermore, they also allow us to better understand the way in which Amerindians sought to draw political and warlike profits from the relationships they established with the newcomers.

The Yao presented themselves as the absolute partners of the English, relying upon their early contacts with Raleigh and their role as guides.¹⁵ With this partnership the Yao controlled the flow of European and Amerindian goods in the Oyapock basin. The Yao controlled the local production of tobacco, annatto and cotton, and also kept an abundance of precious hard wood and victuals, which were supplied by their allies or the Amerindians from 'above the falls.' A similar operation can be suggested for the Charibes of Cayenne who represent the premier trading partner for the different European Nations in this part of the Guianas. In this manner, these Amerindian powers created a 'zone franche,' or mutual trading ground, which they ruled and controlled the access of trade goods. Hence, it can be argued that the deadlock war between Cayenne and the Oyapock was an elite-war for prestige of who will eventually possess all trading privileges with the Europeans. By the end of the 1620s the trade was abandoned on the Oyapock where numerous skirmishes between traders and Amerindians took place (de Laet [1644] 1932 t. ii, 16–18; van Ryen 1924). This social pressure was probably exacerbated by the European demand to have larger and more permanent settlements. This led to more aggressive intrusions into indigenous politics and created a less controllable situation for the ruling indigenous group. The English and Dutch traders who fled the Portuguese attacks upon the Lower Amazon River settled in other regions such as the Lesser Antilles, leaving the Oyapock vacant of European powers (Lorimer 1989, 1993; Williamson 1923). Although the Island of Cayenne was still being considered for settlement by the Dutch and French by 1630 (De la Roncière 1910, t. iv, 668–669; de Vries 1655), more permanent colonies such as Berbice (van Pere family) and Surinam (Marshal) provided new and more successful territories on this part of the coast. Again, this was based on trade with the Amerindians in which the Aruacas and Charibes played important political and economic roles.

15 For a wider discussion on the Indian guides of Walter Raleigh, see Vaughan (2002).

Eventually, during the 1630s, the Dutch had finally swept the Caribbean free from Spanish ships, which made the Europeans turn to the Lesser Antilles for permanent settlement (Lorimer 1989, 101). By this time a long stretch of coast, roughly between Cayenne and the Greater Antilles, was to be explored further and exploited by the Europeans. At the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century, they introduced larger settlements and a sugar economy reliant on the labor of African slaves, thus resulting in Amerindian warfare over the loss of their land.

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