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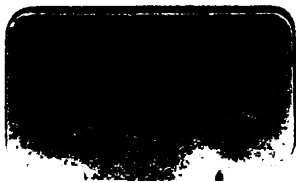
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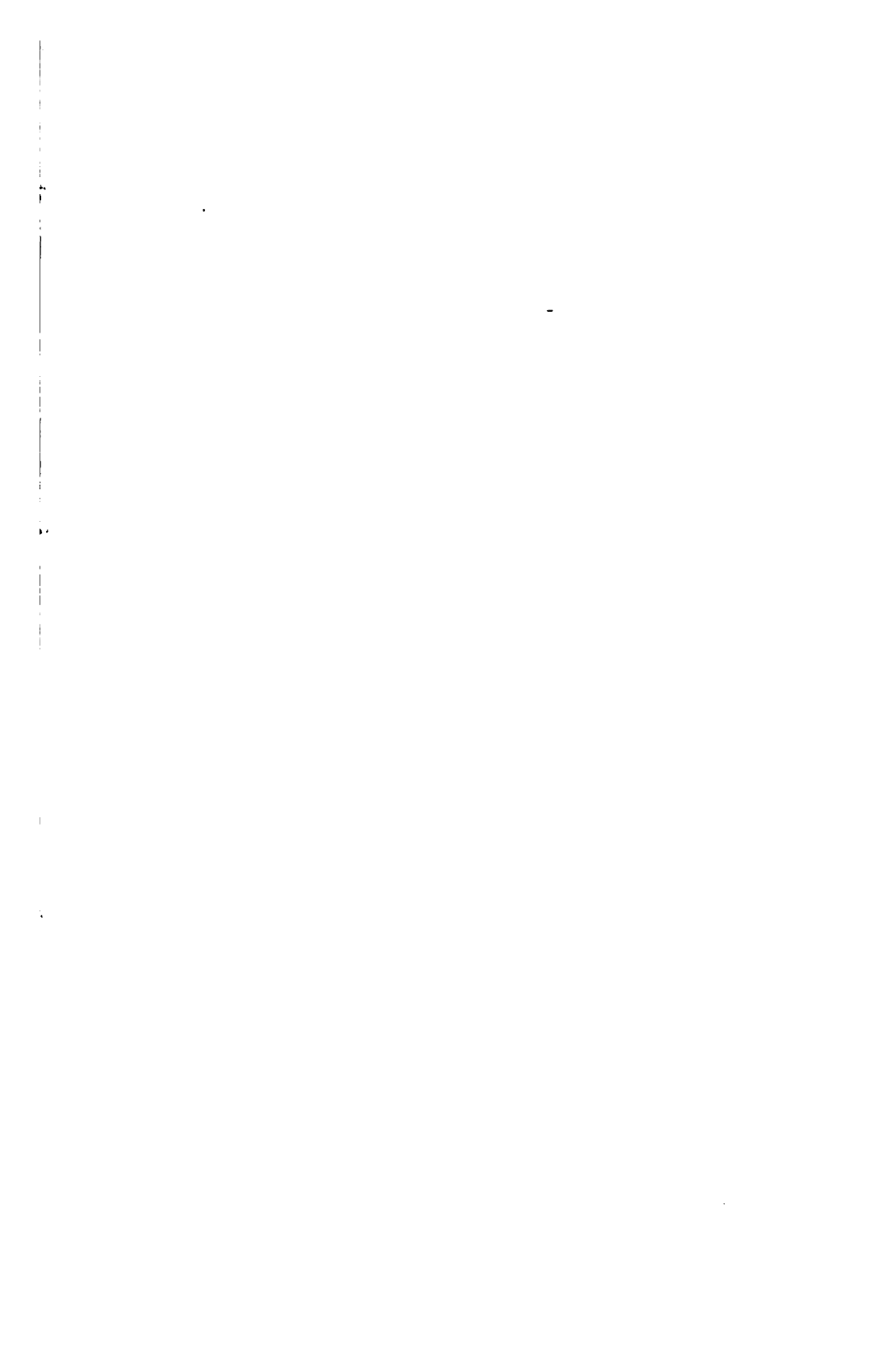
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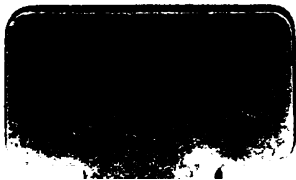
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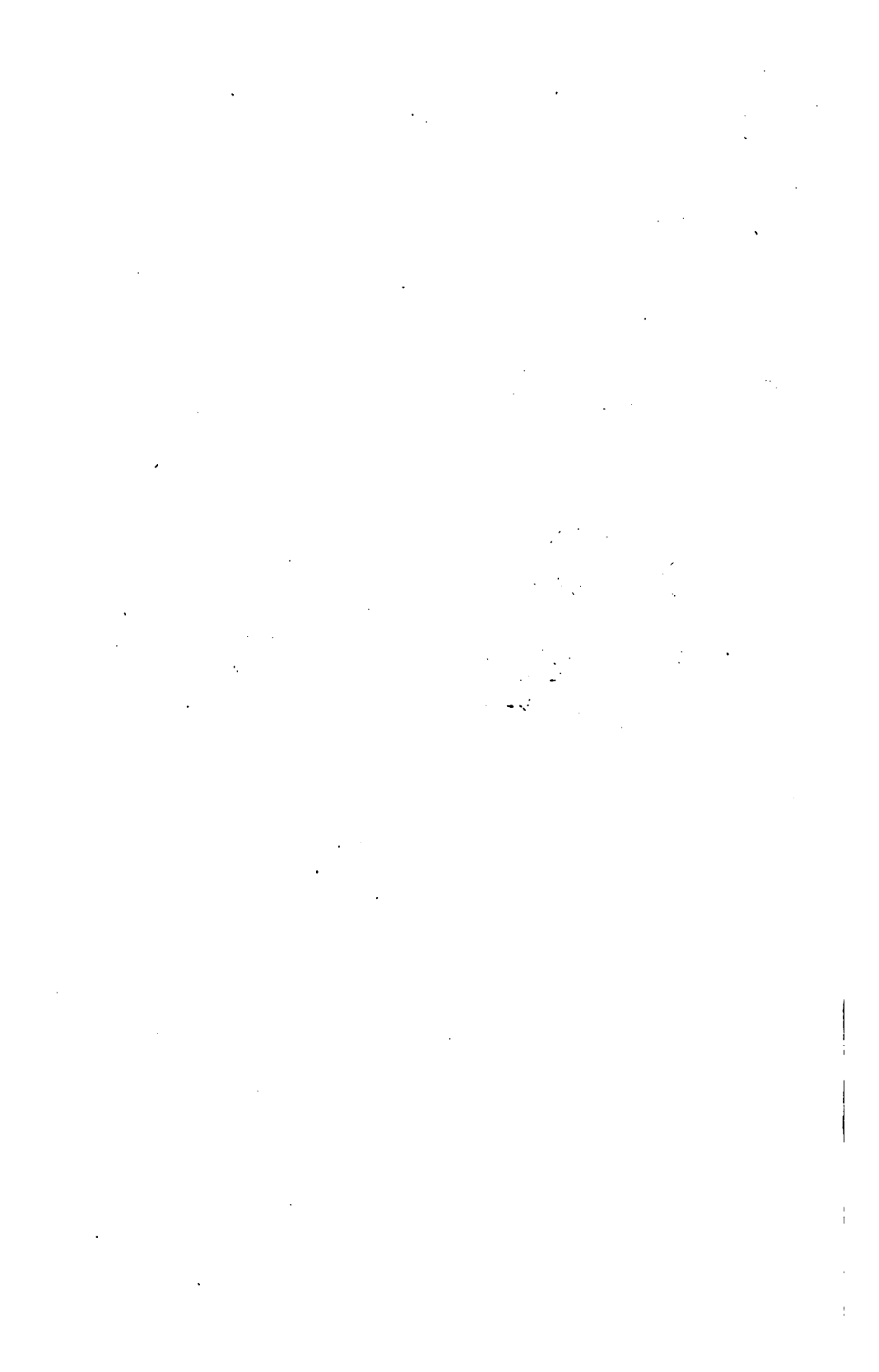
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# ANNALS OF GUIANA.



VOL. 1.



# CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF THE

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

OF

GUIANA.

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1498—1668.

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BY

JAMES RODWAY, F.L.S., & THOMAS WATT.

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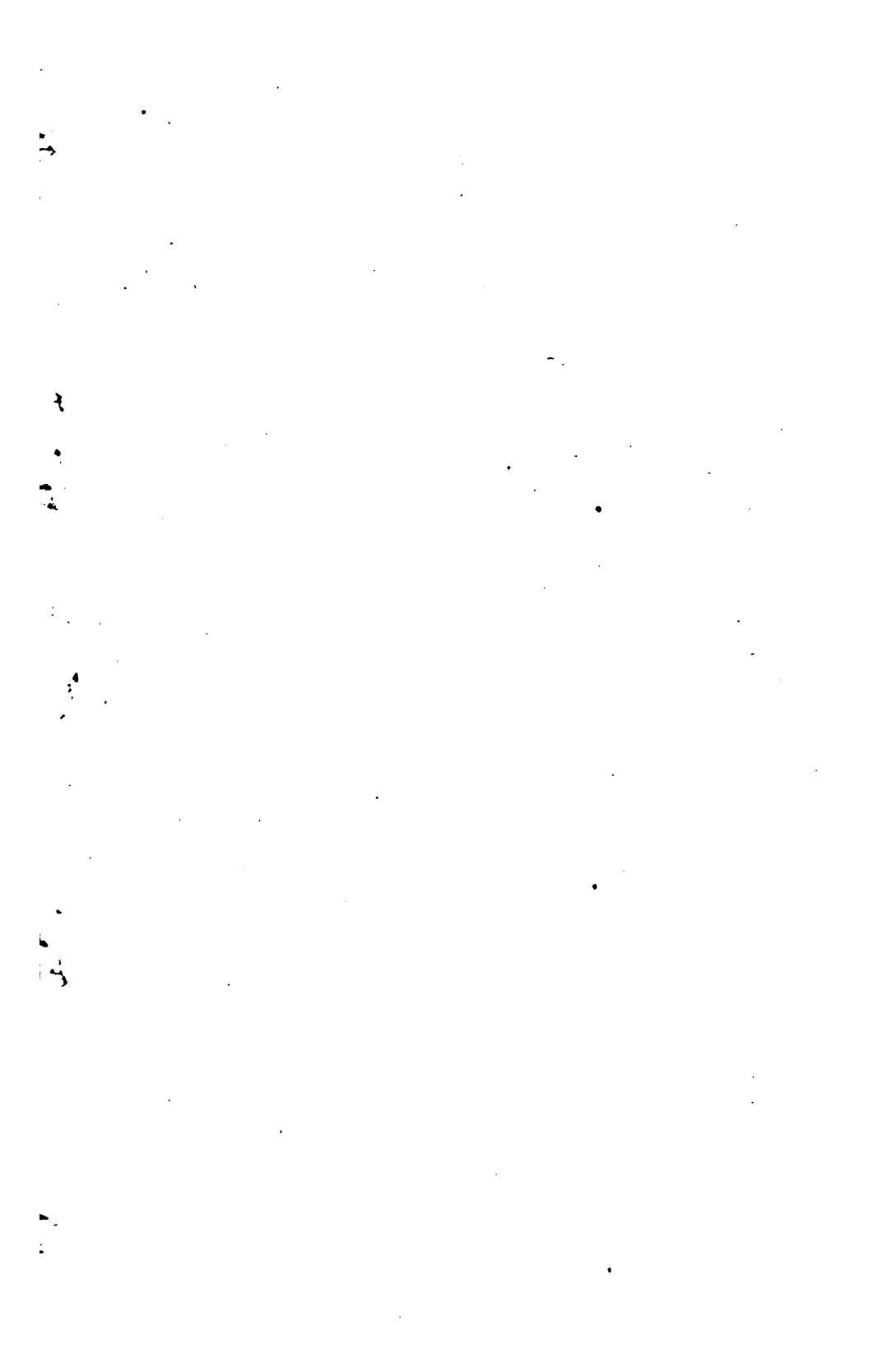
GEORGETOWN, DEMERARA, "ROYAL GAZETTE" OFFICE.

1888.

SA 7625.5.2



*Mrs. J. J. Starrow*





*Raleigh, Explorer of Guiana.*



*" Guiana, whose rich fete are mines of golde,  
Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of starres,  
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,  
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,  
And every signe of all submission making  
Do be her sister.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*And now a wind as forward as their spirits,  
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guiana's breast,  
Where (as if each man were an Orpheus)  
A world of Savages fall tame before them,  
Storing their theft-free treasures with golde  
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,*

\* \* \* \* \*

*And there do Pallaces and temples rise  
Out of the earth and kisse the enamoured skies  
Where new Britannia humblie kneeles to heaven.'*

CHAPMAN (about 1,600.)

PREFACE.

opinions, and expressions of the time. The story of Guiana is very interesting and romantic, in this period will be found accounts of the cannibal Caribs, who kept the country against all comers; the search for Manoa and El Dorado; the depots of Dutch smugglers; the little England, Holland, and France established on its coast, with all the national prejudices; and even a little revolution to match that of King CHARLES I and his parliament.

Since Dr. DALTON published his "History of British Guiana" the English Record office has placed before the world a wealth of information bearing on the early history of the English Colonies, in the "Calendars of State Papers, while during the present year Mr. NETSCHER has made a most valuable contribution to Guiana history by publishing the results of his searches among the Dutch records. Mr. N. D. DAVIS has been kind enough to place at our disposal, copies of several interesting MSS. in the British Museum. We have to thank MESSRS. E. G. FONSECA, G. BOSCH-REITZ, and several other friends, for translations from Dutch and other languages.

To enumerate all the sources of our information would necessitate a Bibliography of Guiana. It was at first intended to give authorities to each item, but as the materials became very copious this was found to interrupt the course of the narrative. Among the principal works consulted are the following:—

- HAKLUYT's Collection of Voyages and Travels
- HARRIS' do. do do
- ACUGNA's Description of the Amazon
- RALEIGH's Discoverie of Guiana, &c.
- HARCOURT's Relation of a voyage to Guiana.
- HAETSINCK's Beschrijving van Guiana.
- SOUTHEY's Chronological History of the West Indies
- NETSCHER's Geschiedenis Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice
- GARDINER's History of England
- RALEIGH's Works, Life, &c., &c.

## PREFACE.

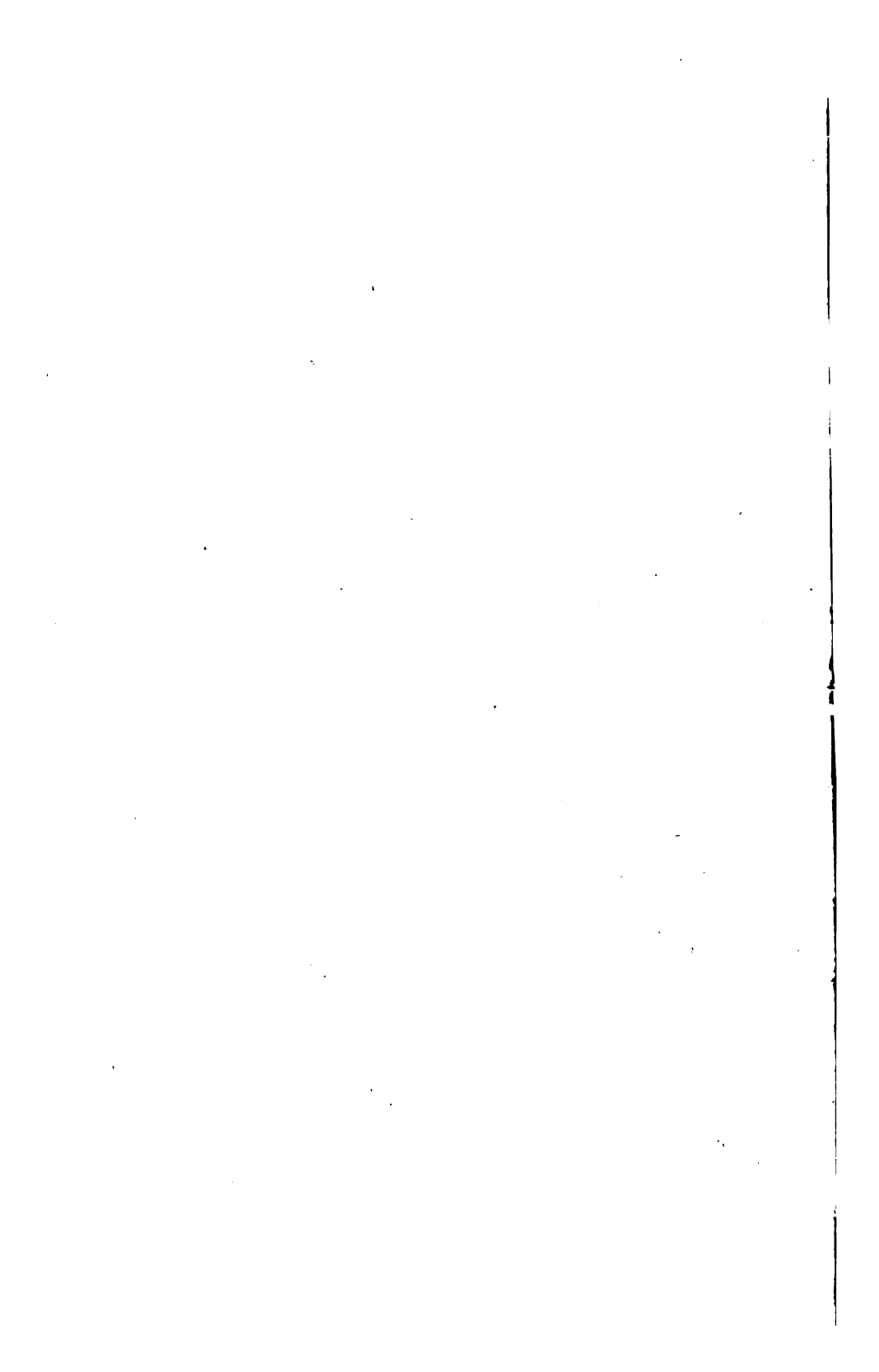
The work is intended to be primarily a History of British Guiana, but as it is well to understand all the circumstances which have combined to produce the present state of things, it was found necessary to comprise the whole country in this account of its discovery and settlement. The history of this Colony naturally divides itself into three sections, comprehending as many periods; first from its discovery to 1668, when the whole of Guiana was claimed by Spain, England, Holland, and France; second, 1668 to 1796, when the three colonies were under Dutch rule together with Surinam; and third, 1796 to the present time when Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice have been (except a short Dutch rule of 10 months) under the dominion of Great Britain. The present volume comprehends the first period.





# n Guiana.

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# ANNALS OF GUIANA.



FIRST PERIOD: 1493—1668

## Discovery and Early Settlement.

### *Introduction.*

**Guiana as it appeared to the First Discoverers.** FOR at least a century subsequent to the discovery of America very little was known of the portion of the country of Guiana now owned by Great Britain. Not a few of the early voyagers to these latitudes had sailed along the Guianese coast, and they had now and again ventured inside the mouths of the great rivers, a more or less daring enterprise inasmuch as it exposed the explorers to the imminent risk of being captured and eaten by the cannibals inhabiting the land, and who in respect of numbers were sufficiently powerful to repel the small forces of the Spanish adventurers.

The credit of the first real attempt at an exploration of the coast attaches, however, to LAWRENCE KEYMIS, one of RALEIGH'S captains, whose geographical researches enabled him to publish what purported to be a complete list of all the rivers and larger creeks from the Amazon on the South-east to the Orinoco on the North-west of Guiana. We say "purported," but in reality, if his enumeration of the tribes, Indian towns, and principal Captains, is as exact as that of the waterways, the whole list stamps itself as a most wonderful production for that period. From the Corentyne, where KEYMIS tried to reach the interior in search of "El Dorado," he sailed towards the Essequibo, but hearing that there

were Spaniards in that river he did not think it safe to attempt its exploration. From his "Table of Rivers, &c.," with the light thrown thereon by later writers, the following short description of the country is compiled. Like all the older descriptions of new countries, it must be accepted with considerable hesitation, especially where figures are concerned :—

The country of Guiana was almost entirely free from habitations along the coast-line: where the larger rivers did not make a break in the line, the land was edged with a dense impassable thicket of mangroves and courida trees. At the mouths of the great rivers lived the powerful tribe of Warrows (Warraus). Their huts were built on the severed trunks of the Eta palms, which formed natural pillars. The people are described as living in towns formed of assemblages of these huts, joined together by logs which could be utilized as draw-bridges. They were very expert boat-builders, hollowing out logs of trees by means of stone axes and shells, aided by fire and steam. It can hardly be conceived at the present day what immense waste of time and labour was expended in the construction of their canoes. A suitable tree having been chosen, operations commenced by "ringing" it with the stone axe: after which the tree was left until such time as it had died and withered. A fire was then kindled around the trunk, which was by degrees charred and scraped until the tree fell to the ground. For weeks, or even months, the operations of burning, scraping, and steaming with fires of green twigs were patiently engaged in, the result being the formation of a very creditable craft. But when the Warrows discovered the capabilities of the steel axe in the hands of the strangers, it was only natural they should desire above everything else to become possessors of these tools, which accordingly became the standard of exchange. A canoe or a hammock could be purchased for one axe, or a thousand pounds of letter-wood for the same article with a few trinkets added. The localities inhabited by the Warrow tribe were the mouths of the Corentyne, Essequibo, Pomeroon, and the



islands of the Orinoco, the latter especially. There were very few of them in the Corentyne, but from the Essequibo to the Orinoco it was estimated that they numbered 400 families, or, taking a "family" at the lowest computation of five individuals, say about 2,000 souls. These people were considered a rather dirty race, whose staple food was the produce of the eta in the form of starch, together with fish. Ground provisions they never cultivated. Unlike the Caribs, they do not appear to have practised cannibalism; nor were they votaries of the chase like the races of the interior. A kind of armed neutrality was preserved by the Warrows between the Caribs and the Arawacks, the former tribe effectually holding their own against the powerful cannibals, who were quite unable to conquer them, probably on account of their peculiar mode of living.

The Caribs, however, were the masters of the coast, and they gave the character to the country from which its first name "Land of the Cannibals" was derived. They were scattered all along the coast of Guiana, in the mouths of the great rivers of that country, as well as in the smaller West India Islands. Several tribes are enumerated, but as their languages differed very little—the Jaos of Guiana being understood by the Caribs of Dominica—they could only have formed families or branches of one great people. The number of Caribs inhabiting what is now British Guiana, was computed at the extraordinary aggregate of 28,000 families, or say 140,000 individuals calculating again on the average of five to each family. Of this Caribi population, 40,000 resided on the rivers between the Corentyne and the Essequibo, the remainder occupying the district from the Waini to the Orinoco. Although this great race was vilified by the Arawacks on the one hand, and by the Spaniards on the other, they were ever friendly disposed to the English explorers, and what is most striking and singular in the descriptions of them given by RALEIGH and his captains as compared with the accounts of other travellers, they did not observe any instances of cannibalism among them.

There is, however, no moral doubt that the Caribs of this continent were man-eaters, and probably the habit may have arisen more from pressure of circumstances than from natural inclination. A race of people living in a country and surrounded therein by enemies, could not hunt or fish with full freedom or convenience, and so, given a craving for animal food, the only means open to them of appeasing this appetite was that of eating the enemy. The Caribs lived entirely on plunder from the Arawacks and other weaker tribes, whom they drove from their homes, taking over their provision fields, and leaving them only a partial refuge in the smaller rivers and creeks. When the Spaniards went out to repress them, led and guided by the Arawack enemies of the Caribs, the latter fought to the death. Although the Spanish soldiers were incased in armour, Carib arrows penetrated into their necks, mouths, and eyes, and the clumsy arquebuses or cross-bows of the invaders did little execution where an enemy could safely station himself behind every tree. The history of Guiana is full of accounts of the wars waged by the early explorers and colonists, and always against the Caribs. Cruel in the extreme, were the manners and customs of this people. It was the habit of the males to gash their own faces by way of displaying their powers of endurance. Horrible, is the only term applicable to the system of mutilation practised by them on the unfortunates who chanced to fall into their hands as prisoners. But while we can hardly call them noble *men*, they certainly deserve the character of noble savages.

The Arawacks inhabited the rivers Corentyne, Berbice, Abary, Mahaicony, Mahaica, and Essequibo; and were said to have numbered 8,000 families or 40,000 individuals. They were a very simple and quiet race, who lived in small villages of about four or five huts, each containing two or three families. They appeared to have a community of goods, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of cassava, cotton for hammock making, and anatto for dyeing and painting their faces. The Caribs and Warrows were noted

as warlike and expert navigators, whereas the Arawacks on the contrary were unused to travelling by water along the coasts, their small canoes and woodskins being more suited to the shallower rivers and creeks in which the large Carib corials could scarcely float. The Arawacks were very friendly to all comers, but for continuous labour in the interest of the would-be settlers they do not appear to have been much inclined.

The Accaways (Accawois), another tribe of aborigines, were reported as inhabiting the Demerara River and the Supenaam Creek, but no enumeration of their families is given. Living further in the interior of the country, and in rivers of which little was then known, this people did not come within the cognizance of the first explorers.

The above brief sketch of Guiana at its discovery will suffice to show that the elements of discord were very widely diffused in the country before the Spaniard, Hollander, or Englishman added their quota to the internecine troubles by a policy of playing off one tribe against another.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY.

- 1493      POPE ALEXANDER SIXTH, the illustrious "Borgia,"  
 May 2.    issued a Bull granting to FERDINAND of Spain possession of all lands which had been then, or might be thereafter, discovered, to the west of an ideal line drawn from the North to the South Pole, starting a hundred leagues west of the Azores —discoveries west of this line to be held as belonging to Spain, and those in the opposite direction to Portugal. The explanation of the issue of such an edict from Rome, is to be found in the circumstance recorded by WASHINGTON IRVING that: "During the Crusades, a doctrine had been established among the Christian princes, according to which the Pope, from his supreme authority over all temporal things as CHRIST'S Vicar on earth, was considered as empowered to dispose of all heathen lands to such

1493 Christian potentates as would undertake to reduce them to the dominion of the church, and to introduce into them the light of religion."

1498 COLUMBUS sailed from San Lucar, Spain, with a  
 May 30. squadron of six vessels, in search of the country from whence the inhabitants of San Domingo had obtained spear-heads made of an alloy of gold which they called *Guanin*. On June 19th, the great circumnavigator arrived at Gomara, one of the Canary Islands, where he divided his squadron, sending three vessels to San Domingo while he set sail with the others for the *Guanin* country which had been reported as situated to the south-east of Hispaniola. Taking a south-westerly course, on July 31st he saw land, which proved to be the island of Trinidad, for such it was named by him. Having landed, he proceeded along the coast of Paria where he met some of the natives, of whom it is recorded "Many of them had collars and burnished plates about their necks made of *Guanin*. They said that it came from a high land, which they pointed out, at no great distance to the west, but intimated that it was dangerous to go there, either because the inhabitants were cannibals or the place infested by venomous animals." The islanders were quite friendly and readily exchanged their ornaments for hawks' bells, or even broken pieces of porcelain. After a fortnight's cruise along the coast, COLUMBUS went to San Domingo, where he arrived on the 30th August. [*Vide* Irving's "Life of Columbus" and Southey's "Chronological History of the West Indies."

1499 ALONZO de OJEDA sailed from Port St. Mary in  
 May 20. search of the new land that COLUMBUS had just discovered. After a voyage of twenty-four days he arrived at the continent, about two hundred leagues to the south of Trinidad, *i.e.*, somewhere on the coast of Surinam. From thence he sailed along the

1499 coast, being everywhere astonished at the size of the rivers and the immense volumes of water poured forth by them, which freshened the sea and made it muddy for a long distance out from the shores. OJEDA is supposed to have entered the mouths of the Essequibo and Orinoco, but did not see any of the inhabitants until he arrived at or near Trinidad. He had as companion on this voyage—AMERIGO VESPUCCI, a learned Florentine who on the return of the expedition issued the first account of the New World, an account which was printed in 1503, and from this narrative it appeared that the voyagers had been forced into conflicts with the Warrows and the Caribs, but that from a friendly tribe which was at enmity with the cannibals the strangers met with good entertainment. The territory west of the Orinoco, was named by VESPUCCI, Venezuela or “Little Venice” from the similarity which the Florentine observed between the Warrow village and the “renowned city of the sea.” The letters of COLUMBUS having been kept exceedingly private, only the veriest rumours and the scantiest information relative to his great discovery had penetrated beyond Spain or Portugal, and when, therefore, VESPUCCI’s letter came into circulation, it was perhaps natural that his name should be associated with the news, and on the suggestion of the German geographer, WALDSEE MULLER, the *Mundus Novus* was called “America” after VESPUCCI’s christian name. [*Vide* Irving’s “Companions of Columbus,” and Southey.]

Decr. VINCENTE JANEZ PINZON sailed from Palos with a squadron of four caravels.

1500. On this date he arrived at what is now called  
 Jany. 28. Cape St. Augustine, in Brazil. Sailing north-east, he found the water of the sea so fresh that he was able to fill his casks, and proceeding further towards the land, this navigator discovered the outlet of the mighty river Amazon. Being disap-

1500 pointed in his search for gold among the natives, PINZON continued his voyage along the Guiana coast. Having reached the Orinoco, he loaded his vessels with sufficient Brazil wood to pay the whole cost of the expedition. He has left no account of Guiana, but it is considered probable that he entered some of its larger rivers, one of the traces of his presence being found in the fact that "Pinzon" was the name formerly given to what is now known as the Oyapok river in French Guiana. [*Vide* Irving's "Companions," &c, and Hartsinck.]

1506 It may be interesting to residents in a sugar country, such as this, to know that Southey fixes this year as the date of the introduction of the sugar cane into Hispaniola.

1516 Southey also mentions in his Chronological History, that in 1516 THOMAS DE BERLANGA, a Dominican, carried the plantain from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola, from whence it was dispersed throughout the West Indies.

As the price in these later days of the most important staple both of Guiana and the West Indies generally, is a matter of primary importance, it is interesting to note, on the authority of "REED'S "History of Sugar," that in the year 1516, the value of sugar in London was 14 cents per lb. The quality of the article was probably inferior muscovado. But inasmuch as money was worth three, or, perhaps, four times as much then as it is now-a-days, for the purposes of comparison the price in 1516 may be computed as equivalent to about 48 cents per lb. in the present day.

1530 This year the Spaniards, who had succeeded in establishing themselves on Terra Firma (the Spanish Main) made their initial attempt to settle in the adjoining country of Guiana. One PEDRO DE ACOSTA, with two small caravels and three hundred men, arrived at the Barima, probably from Cumana on

the Main. The party, however, was driven from Barima in the same year by the Caribs, or it should rather be said the remnants of the expedition, for many were killed and eaten by the cannibals, and the few who managed to escape with their lives were compelled to abandon all their goods and the houses they had built. [Vide "Description of Guiana," Sloane MSS.]

1531 In this year we find records of the first endeavours made by Europeans to explore the Orinoco. JOHN CORNEJO sailed a short distance up the river, but his vessel having got aground he was forced to abandon her, and most of his men who had succeeded in reaching the shore were seized by Caribs and by them killed and eaten. [Vide Alcedo's Dictionary.]

Another attempt, however, was made about the same time, fraught with consequences of the utmost importance to the country of Guiana, and giving rise to a highly romantic story of individual adventure. DIEGO DE ORDAS, having been appointed Governor of the coast of Guiana, sailed from Spain at the head of 600 men, and having 30 horses. He proceeded to the mouth of the Orinoco, and sailed up its course as far as the confluence of the Caroni, after which, by some accident, his whole stock of gunpowder exploded. JUAN MARTINEZ, the munitioner, or Captain of Artillery, was charged with negligence in connection with this matter, and was condemned to be executed; but on the intercession of some of the soldiers instead of being summarily dealt with he was placed in a canoe, minus paddles and food, and set adrift at the mercy of the waters—a kind of ordeal which was not uncommon at that time. ORDAS did not meet with the anticipated success in his expedition, and at length set sail again for Spain, but died on the voyage thither.

**El Dorado**  
**or**  
**The Gilded**  
**City.**

And now comes the romantic portion of the history. Some months after the events described in the above paragraph a strange white man was brought to Margarita, by Indians, almost naked and wasted by sickness. By the kindness of some ship captains he was conveyed to Porto Rico and placed in a Dominican monastery to await the departure of a vessel for Spain. Here his sickness grew worse, and being apparently at the point of death he presented two gourds full of gold beads to the priests to pay for prayers for the repose of his soul, and at the same time volunteered a most wonderful statement of his adventures. Professing his identity with JUAN MARTINEZ, he declared that after being cast adrift in the canoe it floated down the river until evening when it attracted the notice of some Indians, by whom he was rescued from his perilous position. These *Guianians* had never before seen a white man, and they determined therefore that MARTINEZ should be carried to their city to show the King what a curiosity they had found. But his guards first took the precaution of blindfolding him, and then led him through forests and over mountains for the space of fourteen or fifteen days until they reached a great city. Arriving there at noon-day, the bandages were removed from his eyes, opening to his sight a marvellous picture of houses covered with shining gold, stretching as far as his eyes could reach. He had to walk up to sunset on that day and also the whole of the next day, ere he got to the palace of the Emperor. Then he was presented to the Sovereign, who treated him well. Here the stranger lived for seven months, the only restriction to which he was subjected being that he was not permitted to walk beyond the city boundaries. The place was situated on a great lake or inland sea called Parima, the sands of which were golden, from which circumstance, together with the



abundance of precious metal he saw in and on the dwellings of the people, he named it "El Dorado."

Some authorities have it that the city was named Manoa, and that the term "El Dorado" was applied to its ruler. They say that every morning the Emperor was anointed with a species of balsam after which particles of fine gold were blown upon him from tubes so as to cover his whole body, and impart the appearance of being gilded.

Being very desirous of returning to his countrymen, MARTINEZ sought for and obtained permission to depart, a number of *Guianians* being deputed to conduct him to the Orinoco, and he was made the recipient of as much gold as he and his guides could carry. But MARTINEZ's adventures and troubles had not yet come to an end. Arrived at the waterside the little party was attacked by Orinoco Indians, who robbed him of all his treasure with the exception of two gourds-full of gold beads which he had contrived to conceal among his victuals. After undergoing a great many further privations, he had succeeded in arriving at Margarita, and thence to Porto Rico, intending to go to Spain and report to the King his discovery of the Gilded City.

The story savours strongly of the fabulous, and may in reality have been merely made up in order to excite the sympathy of the monks, or by the monks themselves. However, real or concocted, it soon spread far and wide over the West Indies, and it naturally resulted in the fitting out of a host of expeditions to the Orinoco in the hope of finding the city of gold in the interior. Twenty of these expeditions are enumerated by KÆYMS, and as a literary no less than a historical curiosity, we reproduce below the whole text of the enumeration, copied from "HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. 3":—

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that have sought to discover and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of *Juan de Castellanos clerigo*, who compiled the booke intituled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias*.

The enterprise of Guiana was undertaken by Diego de Ordas of the Kingdome of Leon, in the year 1531. Hee was one of the Captains of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the river of Orenoque, which wee past in fiteene. Hee named the rives by which hee entered, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth south from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterward at sea in returning for Spaine.

2. Juan Corteso arrived at the river of Amazonas or Orrellana with three hundred men: Hee marched up into the country, but neither hee nor any of his companie did return againe.
3. Gaspar de Sylva, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazonas: but staying there a short time, they fell down to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.
4. Juan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discover Guiana. He reposed himself more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so far as he entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Upon such proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his reports, many others adventured to follow his steps.
5. 6. Philip de Vren, and after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almaines were leaders in this action. Limpias was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.
7. Jeronimo de Ortal undertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great travell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.
8. 9. Ximines, brother of Don Ximines de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua, were both at sundray times in the same conquest.
10. Father Iala, a frier taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the provinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other jewels of golde, An. 1580. He essayed the second time to passe in like maner, but was slaine by Indians.
11. Hernandez de Serpa also undertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgotto killed him, and defeated his armie.
12. Afterwards, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Juan followed this enterprise and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.
13. Cacares undertooke this discovery from Nuevo Reyno de Granada, Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders upon the sayd kingdome of Granada. He rested there and peopled that place.
14. It was also attempted by Alonzo de Herera, at two severall times. He endured great miserie but never entred one league into the country

ee sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15. It was also undertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado joyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawunear a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1538 to discover El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this journey hee got much golde, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom he manacled in yrons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the river Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.
  16. Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53 footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaine, served well his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre untill he came to an Indian Casique named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gave him for a present some rich jewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, tenne young slaves, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three provinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These provinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and have an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwards to requite the manifold curtesies that they received in that countrey, took and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay hold on: they conveyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaves. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.
  17. Diego de Losado succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men, who in the ende wasted themselves in mutinies: those that lived returned to Cubagua.
  18. Reynoso undertooke this journey: but having endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfourt of his minde, he gave it over, and was buried in Hispaniola.
  19. Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560 sought it with 400 Spaniards by the river of Orellana. He imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Moryones. As they passed downe the river, they found Synamon trees. His men murdered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his travels unto death.
  20. Frier Francis Montesino was in the province of Maracapana with 100 souldiers bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended journey is not expressed.
- In this discoverie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who discovered the river of Amazonas An. 1542, and of Berreo, with others that have trode this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to finde this countrey.

- 1542 Dutch Settlements were established in this year at Araya on the coast of Venezuela. Here was established a lucrative trade in salt which was obtained from certain lagoons in the neighbourhood. This was apparently the first Dutch depot for the contraband trade with the Spanish possessions in the West Indies and South America, which was afterwards carried on from the Pomeroun and the island of Curaçao. [*Vide* SOUTHEY.]
- 1547 The Caribs having been charged with molesting the Spanish Colonies in Venezuela and the West Indian Islands, it is also mentioned in SOUTHEY'S Chronology that the King of Spain ordered that they should be taken for slaves, being cannibals, but the other tribes were to be protected.
- 1563 Sir JOHN HAWKINS' first voyage from Guinea with slaves. Three hundred negroes having been procured by "the sword and other means" were exchanged in the West Indies for hides, ginger, sugar, and pearls. [*Vide* HAKLUYT.]
- 1568 GASPARE DE SOTELLE, with 126 families from Spain, made a settlement in Cayenne, from whence he was driven by the Caribs five years afterwards. [Sloane MS. "Description of Guiana."]
- 1576 Two Jesuit fathers, IGNACIO LLAURI and JULIAN DE VERGARA, proceeded up the Orinoco and commenced a Mission, on the site, there is reason to believe, of what was afterwards called Old St. Thome. The missionaries obtained a fair measure of success, but three years after the establishment of the mission it was destroyed by Captain JANSEN. [*Vide* ALCEDO.]
- 1579 Capt. ADRIAN JANSEN, above mentioned, who was a Dutch smuggler, in this year journeyed up the Orinoco as far as the "new town" or mission village

of St. Thome with the view of trading with the natives for tobacco and other products. JANSEN had previously visited the spot on a similar errand; but in 1579 the authorities of the town having received strict injunctions to allow no traffic with the Hollanders, he was refused permission. Naturally the smuggler did not submit readily to being thus repulsed, and he pleaded that one of the objects of his voyage was to recover certain debts due to him from the former trip. His representations were then listened to and he was allowed to anchor opposite the town; but at nightfall he stealthily landed his men, broke open the stores and took therefrom whatever he wanted, and set fire to the place.

The illicit trade with the Spanish possessions in South America and the West Indies, engaged in by the English as well as the Dutch, was at this period beginning to attract the attention of the Castillian Government, and very stringent proclamations were issued in order to suppress it. But the smugglers always had some excuse for anchoring in the Spanish harbours. Either they wanted provisions, wood, or water, or else the vessel had sprung a leak,—a very common occurrence in those times,—which necessitated careening, or a discharge of the cargo. Having sent a petition to the principal officer of the place, accompanied by a handsome bribe, the smuggler was allowed to land his goods in warehouses under the superintendence of the authorities. Here they generally managed to empty the packages and refill them with the produce of the country, the Spaniards being very eager to buy, on account of the rarity of the goods, and the low prices at which they were offered, as compared with those of their own merchants. When most of the cargo had been got rid of in this way, a hint was given to the authorities, together with another bribe, that the smuggler could not pay for his repairs, or

could not buy his provisions, unless he was allowed to sell a part of his cargo. The necessary permission was usually granted and the Spanish traders who had already bought large quantities of goods, procured a few pieces more, so that when the articles were offered for sale there should be no suspicion of illicit trade. On the other hand, sometimes the smugglers were in such force that the colonists were compelled either to buy or have their produce taken away without any payment whatever. [*Vide* HARTSINCK, and "Account of the Spanish Settlements in America."]

1580 Smallpox introduced into Venezuela. The natives of the coast suffered greatly by the epidemic, some villages being left entirely without inhabitants. There is no record of its introduction into Guiana at this time, but it is probable that it was one of the causes of the depopulation of the coast at a later period. [*Vide* ALCEDO.]

About this time some of the Dutch traders (smugglers and pirates as the Spaniards called them) made a depot for goods in the river Pomeroon, from whence they could easily supply the Indians of Guiana with tools and trinkets, in exchange for tobacco, hammocks, and letter-wood. Here they built a fort or block-house, which they named "New Zealand," and commenced a Settlement, from whence ultimately resulted the Colony of Essequibo. There was also another small settlement at a place in the Abary Creek, called Nibie, or "bush-ropetown". For some time previous, Dutch vessels had been trading along the Guiana coast, but their illicit traffic having been lately discountenanced by the Spanish authorities, some central depot was found necessary. These small settlements could not have been of much importance for many years, as neither RALEIGH nor his Captains make any mention of any Dutch Colony in the neighbourhood,

although they met several Dutch vessels off the coast of Guiana. [Vide Hartsinck, and Sijpesteyn's "Beschrijving van Suriname."]

1581 According to LAET, Resolutions were passed by June 10 & 14 the States General of Holland, that it had no July 7 & 22 objection to free navigation on the coasts of Guiana by private individuals, but on the contrary, it would give them every encouragement in the shape of rights of possession to their discoveries. The Burgomaster of Middelburg, ADRIAN HENDERICKS TEN HOOF, is the first merchant whose name is mentioned in connection with Guiana enterprise as being engaged in trading expeditions to this country. [Vide Laet's "Beschrijvingen van West Indien," "Hartsinck," and "Sijpestyn."]

1582-4 GONZALES XIMINES DE QUESADA, Adelantado or Governor, of New Granada, having made a disastrous attempt to reach El Dorado, married his heiress to ANTONIO DE BERREO, who took his oath that he would follow the same enterprise to the end of his means or his life.

BERREO left his father-in-law, and set out on his journey with 700 horsemen, accompanied by many women, and a thousand head of cattle driven by Indians, some of whom were slaves. Commencing his undertaking on the banks of the river Casanare, he led his company along it until he arrived at the river Meta, and thence, partly by land and partly by canoes, (which he was compelled to build at intervals), arrived in the Orinoco. "After he entered that great and mighty river he began daily to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers islands sharp pointed with rocks, but after one whole year, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew daily to fewer numbers; for both by sickness, and by encountering with the people of those regions

through which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by divers encounters with the Amapaiaans, who disputed his entrance into their country, and in all this time he could never learn of any passage to Guiana, nor any news or fame thereof," until he came to Amapaia, the country bordering the Orinoco above the river Caroni. In this district he had several fights with the natives, and lost sixty of his best soldiers, as well as all the horses that had survived the hardships of the previous journey. Having at last made peace, the people brought BERREO many presents of gold including ten images so very beautifully wrought, that he considered them a suitable present for the King of Spain. He described the province of Amapaia as being very low and marshy, and the water which was red, as issuing in small creeks from the boggy ground (pegass). The Spaniards, as well as their horses, from drinking this water, were all so troubled with dysentery, that at the end of the six months they had resided in the country only a hundred and twenty men were left, and not any of the horses or cattle. Proceeding from this country down the Orinoco he came to Emeria, a province which extended along the Orinoco from about 30 miles below the Caroni to the sea, and included the whole country watered by the Waini, Barima, and Amacura. Here he found a friendly tribe and a plentiful supply of provisions. The king was named CARIPANA, "a man very wise, subtile, and of great experience, being little less than a hundred years old." It may be presumed that the Emerians were a tribe of Caribs, although the authority implies otherwise, as CARIPANA in giving some of his experiences, stated that, in his youth he had taken part in a war against another tribe of Indians in Trinidad, and had also been several times to Cumana and Margarita. BERREO having rested his company



for six weeks, the Spaniards proceeded in canoes to Trinidad, from whence they coasted to Margarita.

While living in Emeria, BERREO had learnt from CARIPANA that a chief named MOREQUITO knew all about El Dorado and could tell him where to find it. MOREQUITO was captain of the whole or a part of the province of Arromaia, and his village was situated in the South-east angle formed by the the rivers Caroni and Orinoco, near the present town of Las Tablas. He had gone to Cumana and Margarita some two or three years before with a large quantity of gold plates to exchange for axes and trinkets. Here he was feasted and introduced to the Governors of those places and stayed among them about two months, during which time VIDES, the Governor of Cumana, having been dazzled by the splendour of the gold brought by MOREQUITO, sent to Spain for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing that BERREO had already applied for and obtained a patent to the same effect which the latter affirmed had been signed first. Having been mutually informed of this circumstance, the two Governors of Guiana became bitter enemies, and VIDES being friendly with MOREQUITO apparently influenced him to put every obstacle in the way of BERREO. When therefore an expedition of ten men was sent up the Orinoco in charge of one of BERREO's Captains with a friar as interpreter, they were attacked by the Arromaians as soon as they arrived in that province, and only one escaped to tell the news. The ten soldiers who formed the party had amassed about forty thousand pesos (dollars) of gold by trading with the natives. BERREO, on receipt of the news, raised as many soldiers as he could, and sent an expedition to Arromaia, which, coming to the ears of MOREQUITO, he escaped to Cumana, expecting to be safe under the protection of

VIDES. This coming to the knowledge of BERREO he demanded the Chief in the name of the King of Spain, and VIDES not daring to hide him on account of the murder of the friar, allowed him to be taken and executed, although he (Morequito) is said to have offered three quintals (three hundred pounds weight) of gold as a ransom.

The expedition against Arroamaia burnt the villages and took away a great number of the inhabitants as slaves, as also the successor to MOREQUITO, his uncle, named TOPIAWARI, who was kept a prisoner for some time but afterwards ransomed for a hundred plates of gold and a number of precious stones called Spleen-stones. This chief was very friendly with RALEIGH as will be shown later on. [*Vide* "Raleigh's Discoverie, &c."]

1585  
April. A large number, about 2,000, of colonists of all ages and conditions embarked at St. Lucar for the new government of BERREO in Trinidad and Guiana. Arriving safely at Trinidad, a part of the company settled in that island, and the remainder, in six vessels, proceeded up the Orinoco to establish a new settlement on the site of the mission of St. THOME that had been destroyed by Captain JANSEN. After much trouble with the Caribs, in which half the company were destroyed; the remainder settled on or near the site of the old Mission. The village could not have been of much importance, as RALEIGH makes no mention of it, although he passed the place and resided for some little time in the neighbourhood. It is most probable that the settlement was abandoned for a time, as BERREO is reported to have carried on his trade with Guiana a few years later by means of the Indians of Caripana (Barima district). [*Vide* "Raleigh."]

1594 SIR WALTER RALEIGH sent his first expedition to Guiana.

Although the whole of RALEIGH'S life is very interesting to the student who wishes to obtain a thorough acquaintance with the history of Guiana, we shall here give only a bare outline of his career. Like so many of Queen ELIZABETH'S gallant defenders, he was a Devonshire man, born about the year 1552, and having received a good education at Oxford, he proceeded to France where he served in the Army of HENRY of Navarre for about five years. By some means he managed to escape the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew", and returned to England in 1575. After a short residence in London, in 1577 he took part in an expedition to assist the Dutch in their struggle with Spain, from whence he came back the following year. In 1579 he accompanied his half-brother, Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, in an expedition to discover new lands in North America, but after an action with some Spanish vessels in which one of Sir HUMPHREY'S ships was lost the expedition returned to England. The following year he proceeded to Ireland where he took an active part in the troubles of that country. On his return in 1581 the romantic incident of the cloak is said to have led to his introduction to Queen ELIZABETH, but, however this may have been, he was employed in the Queen'S service in 1582. He fitted out a barque to accompany Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT'S unsuccessful venture of 1583, but fortunately his vessel was obliged to part company with the fleet and return to Plymouth, by which his company lost their opportunity of taking part in a most disastrous expedition in which GILBERT lost his life. Undeterred by the misfortunes of others he obtained a grant for himself in 1584, to discover and possess new lands, and the same year sent two vessels under Captains AMADAS and BARLOW, by which expedition Virginia was discovered. He sent several subsequent expeditions there with indifferent success, and in the meanwhile took an active part in

the defence of his country against the "Great Spanish Armada." In 1592 he was engaged in an expedition against the Spaniards and Portuguese in which was taken a very valuable prize worth about £500,000. On his return from this voyage he was sent to the Tower of London on account of his intrigue with ELIZABETH THROCKMORTON, whom he afterwards married. After his release in 1595 he became a Member of Parliament, and made himself conspicuous as a public speaker. Having lost the favour of the Queen, he retired to Sherburne in Dorsetshire where he matured his project for the "Discoverie of Guiana." As the opinion of a foreigner is often more correct than that of a fellow countryman, the following estimate of his character by the Abbe Raynal, is as interesting as it is unbiassed:—"He was one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in singular characters. He was passionately fond of everything that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation equal to that of the greatest men; he had more knowledge than those whose immediate pursuit was learning; he possessed a freedom of thinking uncommon in those days; and had a kind of romantic leaning in his sentiments and behaviour." He must have had a thorough acquaintance with all the history of the Discovery of America by the Spaniards, which could be gained from the published accounts; as well as others given by the personal relations of English adventurers who were continually hovering round the coast of the New World. Before carrying out his project of searching for the "Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana" he sent Captain WHIDDON in this year as a pioneer to make every enquiry as to the way to "El Dorado," and also to report on the state of the Spanish Settlements in that part of the world. BERREO had established a small town in the

island of Trinidad named St. Joseph, which like most of the early settlements, was situated some miles from the coast, the port being on the site of what is now Port of Spain. On WHIDDON'S arrival at Trinidad he anchored off the port on the pretext that he required water, which excuse was apparently accepted by BERREO, who professed to be very friendly. The Captain, however, having occasion to leave his vessel for a short time, the Spanish Governor took the opportunity to decoy eight of his men ashore to take part in a deer-hunting expedition for which purpose he had provided Indians and dogs. They had hardly landed before they were attacked by BERREO'S soldiers who were lying in ambush at the entrance of the forest and were all taken or killed. WHIDDON returned to RALEIGH with such a report of the wonderful riches of Guiana that he was encouraged to proceed in his venture.

In this year certain letters of Spaniards "concerning Guiana and the countries lying upon the great river of Oronoko" had been "surprised at sea as they were passing for Spain, by Capt. GEORGE POPHAM" by whose ship the Spanish craft was captured. One ALONSO wrote to his brother the Commander of St. Lucar, and also to certain merchants of that place, concerning El Dorado (Nuevo Dorado.) After informing the merchants of the discovery of Nuevo Dorado, two days sailing to the windward of Margarita, where there was gold "in such abundance as the like hath not been heard of," ALONSO sent them "part of the information of the said discovery that was sent to His Majesty" the King of Spain. The report to His Majesty ran as below :—

\*In the river of Pato, otherwise called Oronoko, in the principal part thereof called Warismero, the 23rd of April, 1593, DOMINGO DE VERA, master of the camp, and general for ANTONIO DE BERREO, governor and captain general for our lord the King, betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene, alias Oronoko and Marannon, and of the Island of Trinidad, in presence of me RODRIGO DE CARANCA, register of the sea, commanded all the

soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of battle. The master of the camp standing in the midst of the captains and soldiers, said unto them :—"Sirs, soldiers and captains, you understand long since that our general ANTONIO DE BERREO, with the travel of eleven years, and expence of more than 100,000 pesos of gold, discovered the Royal provinces of Guiana and Dorado. Of the which he took possession to govern the same, but through want of his people's health, and necessary munition, he issued out at the Island Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they have sent me to learn out and discover the ways most easily to enter and to people the said provinces, and where the camps and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to do in the name of his Majesty, and the said governor ANTONIO DE BERREO; and in token thereof, I require you, FRANCIS CARILLO, that you aid me to advance this cross that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towards the east." And the said master of the camp, the captains and soldiers kneeled down, and did due reverence unto the said cross. And thereupon the master of the camp took a bowl of water, and drank it off and took more and threw it abroad on the ground. He also drew out his sword, and cut the grass off the ground, and the boughs off the trees, saying, *I take this possession in the name of the King Don Philip our master, and of his governor, Antonio de Berreo.* And because some make question of this possession, to them I answer, that in these our actions, was present the cassique or principal Don ANTONIO, otherwise called MOREQUITO, whose land this was, who yielded consent to the said possession, and was glad thereof, and gave obedience to our lord the King, and in his name to the said governor ANTONIO DE BERREO. And the said master of the camp kneeled down, being in his liberty, and all the captains and soldiers said, that the possession was well taken; and that they would defend it with their lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the camp having his sword drawn in his hand said unto me, *register that are here present, give me an instrument or testimonial to confirm me in this possession which I have taken of this land, for the governor Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needful I will take it anew.* And I require all you that are present to witness the same; and do further declare, that I will go on taking possession of all the lands wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus:

DOMINGO DE VERA. And underneath *before me*, RODRIGO DE CARANCA, Register of the army.

And in prosecution of the said possession, and the discovery of the way and provinces, the 27th of April of the said year, the master of the camp entered by little and little with all the camp and men of war more than two leagues into the inland, and came to a town of a principal, and conferring with him, did let him understand by means of ANTONIO BISANTE the interpreter, that His Majesty and ANTONIO DE BERREO had sent him to take the said possession. And the said friar FRANCIS CARILLO, by the interpreter, delivered him certain things of our Holy Catholic Faith; to all which he answered, they understood him well, and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should advance the cross, in what part or place of the town pleased them, for he was for the governor ANTONIO DE BERREO, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the camp took a great cross, and set it on end toward the East, and requested the whole camp to witness it. And DOMINGO DE VERA firmed it thus:—

*It is well and firmly done.* And underneath, *before me* RODRIGO CARANCA, register of the Army.

The story went on to relate how on the 1st of

May "they prosecuted the said possession and discovery to the town of Carapana," thence to "Toroco, whose principal is called Topiawari, being five leagues farther within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited." Here another cross was erected as a sign of possession, and the invaders next journeyed to Revato province, where they obtained some gold and were told wonderful stories as to how and where the precious metal came from. The narrative proceeds:—

The 8th of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues. At the foot of a hill we found a principal called ARATACO, with 3,000 Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sorts of wine. He intreated us to go to his house, and to rest that night in his town, being of 500 houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens. He said they were brought from a mountain not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea, so many as grass on the ground, and that these men have the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads, and had so many hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them jew's-harps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian and gave him 500 harps; the hens were so many that he brought us, as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither, they told us they were now in their borracheras, or drunken feasts, and would kill us. We asked the Indian that brought the hens if it were true, he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their borracheras, or drunken feasts. He said, they had many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, and pearls in their ears, and that they danced, being all covered with gold. The Indian said unto us, if we would see them we should give them some hatchets, and he would bring us of those eagles. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet (he would give him no more, because they should not understand we went to seek gold) he brought us an eagle that weighed 27 pounds of good gold. The master of the camp took it and shewed it to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making show not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian, and said unto him, *give me a pickaxe and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders mean to do.* The interpreter told the master of the camp, who commanded one to be given him. He then told us, those Indians were coming to kill us for our merchandize. Hereupon the master of the camp caused the company to be set in order, and began to march. The 11th day of May, we went about seven leagues from thence to a province, where we found a great company of Indians apparelled. They told us that if we came to fight they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see christians. And there they told us of all the riches that were. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it, but it shall appear by the information that goeth to His Majesty; for if it should here be set down, four leaves of paper would not contain it.

1595      ROBERT DUDLEY (who was afterwards knighted),  
 Feb. 1.    being well acquainted with RALEIGH's project,  
 arrived at Trinidad in the expectation of finding  
 that adventurer in the neighbourhood, but after  
 waiting for some weeks, without seeing any sign of  
 his presence, he proceeded to make an exploration  
 on his own account. He had heard some of the  
 El Dorado stories from one Captain HARPER who  
 had been a prisoner at the Canaries. DUDLEY con-  
 sidered that BERREO's force, which he estimated at  
 three hundred, was too strong to be attacked by  
 his small contingent, and therefore kept at some  
 distance from the "Puerto de los Hispanioles," and  
 the town of St. Joseph, anchoring in Parico Bay  
 just inside the "Serpent's Mouth." The natives of  
 Trinidad were very friendly, and brought "hens,  
 hogs, plantains, potatoes, pines and tobacco, to  
 exchange for hatchets, knives, hooks, bells, and  
 glass buttons." From an old Indian chief he ob-  
 tained information as to the names of the countries  
 of Guiana and their inhabitants. Among other  
 matters he learnt that there was a rich gold mine in  
 the country of Orocoa (a district that extended  
 from the Orinoco southward to the Imataca moun-  
 tains and the sources of the Yuruari), and after  
 some trouble in getting his men to embark in an  
 expedition to this gold mine, he managed to fit out  
 his ship's boat with fourteen men and sent them up  
 the Orinoco. They found the mainland full of fresh  
 rivers running into each other and abounding with  
 fish, while the land was covered with forests,  
 "seeming to have great store of strange beasts and  
 fowls, and very populous." Having arrived in one  
 of the rivers called Mana, a chief of the Tivitivas  
 (Warrows) offered to bring them a canoe full of gold  
 ore from Orocoa. Having sent off the canoe the  
 expedition waited at the Warrow village until it  
 returned empty with an answer from ARMAGO, the



captain of the town and gold mine, to the effect that if the party would come to him they should have their answer. Upon this the boat proceeded to the place appointed by ARMAGO, who met the party with about a hundred men in canoes and told them that "by force they should have nothing but blows, yet if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and Jews' harps he would trade with them. "To prove that he had a mine he gave them four half-moons of gold and also two bracelets of silver. The party being satisfied that they were not strong enough to do anything, more especially as their provisions were expended, returned to the ship. DUDLEY urged his men to take part in another expedition, but met with such a strong resistance on their part, that although he had a commission of life and death he could neither induce nor compel a single man to go with him. The men had come back in a very bad plight, almost dead from famine and thirst, as for the three days during which they had been in the mouth of the river before arriving at the ship they had been unable to procure drinking water. In a list of Indian words as spoken in Trinidad he gives the derivation of the name Oronoque as being from Oronuie, (water) which is very probable as so many rivers in Guiana have this word as a termination. During DUDLEY'S stay at Trinidad Captain POPHAM arrived in a pinnace from Plymouth, but as RALEIGH did not make his appearance they proceeded on a cruise in the West Indies where they took several Spanish vessels. [*Vide* "Hakluyt."]

1595  
 Mch. 22. RALEIGH arrived at Trinidad after a voyage of forty-four days from Plymouth. He had fitted out five vessels, but only two of them were ready in time; he therefore started with these leaving directions for the others to meet him at Trinidad. Here he landed at several places in the island on his way to Port-of-Spain and found at a point called

Tierra de Brea, such an abundance of "stone pitch" that "all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence." Having arrived at the Port he found a company of Spaniards at the "landing place" who made signs of peace, and seemed desirous of trading, as RALEIGH says, "more for doubts of their own strength than for aught else." He sent Captain WHIDDON ashore to speak with them, who on their pledges of friendship brought some of them aboard. In the evening an Indian chief named CANTYMAN stole aboard and gave him all the information he wanted as to the strength of the Spaniards and the distance from their town of St. Joseph. He remained at anchor before Port of Spain for some days, during which time he was visited by many of the Spaniards, who under the influence of the good cheer provided "vaunted of Guiana and the riches thereof and all what they knew of the ways and passages," not thinking that he intended to search for that country, but that his expedition was meant for the relief of Virginia. Although BERREO had given orders that no Indian should visit the ships "upon pain of hanging and quartering (he executed two of them for the same), yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty;" how he had given the land and people to his soldiers and kept some of the Chiefs as slaves, while five others were imprisoned in chains and tortured by dropping the fat of burning bacon on their naked bodies. On these complaints RALEIGH resolved to attack the town and thought it no dishonour to follow the treacherous example set by BERREO in the case of WHIDDON's men. His quaint account of the matter is thus given:—"Considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400 or 500 miles from my ships, and to leave a garrison in my back interested in the same enterprize, who also daily expected supplies out of Spain, I should have savoured

very much of the Asse : and therefore taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the *Corp du guard* in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captain CAULFIELD onwards with 60 soldiers, and myself followed with 40 more and so took their new city which they called St. Joseph by break of day : they abode not any fight after a few shots, and all being dismissed but only BERREO and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new city of St. Joseph on fire”.

On the same day arrived two more vessels of the expedition under Captains KEYMIS and GIFFORD with several gentlemen and soldiers as well as a full supply of provisions. Before proceeding with his expedition he assembled the Indian chiefs of Trinidad, and by means of an interpreter made them understand that he was the servant of a Queen who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgin, and who had more chieftains under her than all the trees on their island, that she was an enemy to the Spaniards, and had freed the northern nations from their oppression, and had now sent him to deliver Guiana and Trinidad from their invasion. He then showed them the Queen’s portrait which they so “admired and honored” that they were ready to worship it.

Having gained the friendship of the natives of Trinidad he took his ships to Curiapan and made preparation to proceed up the Orinoco. BERREO, who was retained as a prisoner, tried to persuade him to abandon his design, by relating his own disasters, but these only increased RALEIGH’S desire to proceed with his adventure. Finding the entrances in the neighbourhood too shallow for his vessels he caused his carpenters to cut down a “Gallego” boat, and to fit it with banks to row on, so that she might not draw more than five feet. In

this extemporised deckless barge he embarked sixty men, including himself, Captains KEYMIS, WHIDDON, and other gentlemen, while forty other persons were carried in four of the ship's boats. He had managed to secure for a pilot an Arrawack from the Barema, who had been captured with his brother while on the voyage from that river to Margarita with a canoe-load of cassava bread. Having embarked with a supply of provisions for a month, he proceeded, under the direction of the pilot, to find one of the many entrances to the Orinoco, by which he might reach the interior of the country. They had to cross twenty miles of open sea to reach the nearest entrance, but the currents being so strong they were driven out of their course and did not reach the river for four days. RALPH thus describes the winding of this labyrinth of rivers:—

“ All the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take. And if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle among multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any farther than the breadth of the river, or length of the breach.”

Having at length arrived within one of the greater rivers, more by accident than from the knowledge of his pilot, which he called the Red-Cross (the Cano Manamo), he captured a canoe with three Indians, and saw a number of others on the bank, who after their first alarm finding themselves uninjured offered to trade with him. The Arrawack pilot being invited to go ashore for some fruit, as well as to take a friendly calabash of piwarrie went up to the village, taking his brother with him, who, when they arrived, were set upon by

the Chief, who wished to kill them because they had brought a strange nation into their territory. What followed is best described in RALEIGH'S own words:—"The pilot being quick and of a disposed body, slipped their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain. With that we set our hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again we would presently cut off his head. This old man, being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save FERDINANDO our pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer-dogs, and with so main a cry that all the woods echoed with the shout they made. At last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting leaped down and swam to the barge half dead with fear." Keeping the old Indian on board to act as pilot (the Arrawack having proved quite incapable) they proceeded up the river, passing the islands of Pallamos, which were inhabited by the Warrows, of which people he gives a description, with the usual exaggeration that they lived in trees during the rainy season. Also that they traded with Trinidad for tobacco and Guiana for gold, in exchange for their canoes, and were the greatest tobacco smokers known.

Proceeding up the river according to the state of the tide, they suffered great hardships, being exposed to the burning sun and the heavy tropical showers, having to lie on the hard boards at night without sufficient space for comfort and to bear the disagreeable smell of their wet coverings. They were unable to change their clothes during the voy-

age, and the strain of rowing even with the flowing tide was so great that their rotten garments were torn up to rags. RALEIGH is represented in some of the old engravings as being clad in armour while on board his boat, but it can hardly be conceivable that such could have been the case. The inconveniences of heavy armour under a burning sun in an open boat must have been terrible, yet it is almost certain that the early explorers of America did wear it as a protection against poisoned arrows. Day after day the men wearily rowed along with nothing to be seen but banks of forest on either side and interminable reaches of the river in front. To add to their distress their provisions, which had been bad at the best from exposure to rain and sun, became less and less, so that they were driven to a reduced allowance which made the men weaker, as the stream with which they had to contend became more powerful. RALEIGH and the captains encouraged them in every possible way by assuring them that it was only a little farther or round another reach of the river, at the same time taking their turns at the oars. Sometimes they caught a few fish, shot some of the birds, or picked up edible fruits, but the supply was quite insignificant among so many hungry men.

When their provisions were quite exhausted the old Indian took them up a creek where they managed to get a small supply. Proceeding on their way they came into a beautiful country; "whereas all they had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes and thorns; here they beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose; and still as they rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river

there were great store of fowl of many sorts, divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness, but for Lagartos (alligators) it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents." One of his company, a negro, while taking a swim was caught by one of these monsters and devoured in their sight. They succeeded in getting another supply of cassava bread by the capture of two canoes which were bound to Margarita with that commodity. The Indians had managed to get into the bush where they were pursued by RALEIGH and his party. In creeping through the bushes he found a gold refiner's basket which had been hid by some Spanish prospectors who were in one of the canoes. In the basket were quicksilver, salt-petre, and other things for the trying of metals, as well as a small quantity of gold dust. Five days later they came to the principal town of Carapana (*Caribana*) where they found the Casique of Toparimaca, who came down to the river with a large company of servants bringing presents of meat, fish, and fruits. While his men were feasting RALEIGH held a consultation with the Chief as to the best way to El Dorado, and received from him the services of a pilot. Leaving this town the following day, they soon emerged from the Delta, and the river being open, they were able to spread their sails to a favourable breeze and spare the labour of rowing. Arriving at the port of Morequito, one of the pilots was sent to call TOPIAWARI, the Chief of Arromaia, a very old man aged 110 years, who came from his village the following day, having walked a distance of fourteen miles. He brought presents of "venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, and fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits and roots, and great abundance of Pine apples, the Princess of fruits;" also cassava bread, piwarrie and several curiosities among which was an Armadillo, all barred over with small plates like a rhinoceros, "with a

white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they (*the Indians?*) use to wind as a trumpet." SCHOMBURGHK in a note to this passage implies that RALEIGH meant to say that the Armadillo used its tail as a hunting horn, which is manifestly absurd. After the old chieftain had recovered from his long walk RALEIGH entered into conversation with him on the barbarities of the Spaniards and the execution of his predecessor, and told him that Queen ELIZABETH had sent him to deliver all the inhabitants of Guiana from their present servitude. TOPIAWARIE was very well disposed and gave him a very full account of the road to "El Dorado", and also of the various nations that stood in the way. According to this statement MOREQUITO had obtained his gold from the people of MACUREGUARAI, whose chief town was situated four days distant, from the Casique's dwelling, and that the Lake Parima, a city of Manoa, was at some distance beyond. From this it may be gathered that the precious metal had been collected from the mines of Caratal or in their immediate neighbourhood.

Having dismissed the chief with a number of his Queen's portraits in the shape of twenty shilling pieces, RALEIGH proceeded up the Orinoco as far as the mouth of the Caroni, up which tributary his boats were rowed for some distance until he was startled by a tremendous roaring noise, and encountered such a strong current that with all the strength that could be mustered the boats were driven back. Being compelled to land he went to the top of a hill to see the cause of the commotion in the river, from whence at a distance of twenty miles "there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seem as if it



had been all covered with a great shower of rain." The Indians of the neighbourhood having been conciliated, the company was divided into several exploring parties to search for gold, of which they saw indications all around. They never saw a more beautiful country, "hills so raised here and there over the vallies, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand easy to march on, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that they picked up promised either gold or silver by his complexion." Soon finding out that they had made no provision for digging a mine, and that the rainy season was coming on, causing the rivers to rise several feet daily, RALEIGH very unwillingly consented to return, first taking samples of quartz which the Spaniards had told him was *El madre del Oro* (the mother of gold), and some specimens of the sand. Captain WHIDDON found some rock crystals, and some of the Indians promised to take him to a mountain where these were in abundance, but RALEIGH had his doubts as to their being "Bristol Diamonds."

Embarking in their boats they proceeded very quickly down the river, again making a call on TOPIAWARIE, who entrusted his son CAYWORACO to RALEIGH to be taken to England where he was afterwards baptized with much ceremony. Leaving behind FRANCIS SPARREY, who wished to remain for the purpose of describing the country, and a boy named HUGH GOODWIN to learn the language, also making a solemn promise to return the next year with a larger company, he proceeded on his return voyage and arrived at his ships without the

loss of a single man, except the negro who had been swallowed by the alligator.

According to CAYLEY "before RALEIGH bent his course homeward he appears to have coasted Terra Firma, and touched at Cumana, St. Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha. The inhabitants of the first refusing him a contribution which he demanded, he fired their town; and also made a slight attack upon the latter places." He then steered for Cuba where he fell in on the 13th of July with the expedition of Captains PRESTON and SOMMERS, who had also been making a raid on Cumana which had been partially frustrated by information having been given to the Spaniards by two Dutch vessels from Middelburg. "He arrived in England probably late in the summer of 1595.

RALEIGH does not state what became of BERREO during the time the former was occupied up the Orinoco, but it may be presumed that he was kept a prisoner on board one of the vessels. The story of this adventurer is told in such a vague manner that it is very difficult to make a consecutive narration, and the dates given by different authorities disagree so much that there has been considerable hesitation in adopting the figures given above. There is not room here for a critical discussion on the reasons why the dates of one authority are preferred to those of another, but we may state that with the whole evidence before us, we have had to choose the most probable. The events that followed RALEIGH'S return are thus described by KEYMIS. Presuming that BERREO was released, which is not directly stated, he went to Cumana, and being disheartened at the loss of his town, as well as the destruction of all his hopes in Trinidad and Guiana, he seemed to have given up all his projects. This being known to the governors of Caracas and Margarita, they sent with all speed to Spain and informed the King

that Guiana had been abandoned, and that it was likely to fall into the hands of the English. For these reasons they asked that BERREO's grant should be revoked, and that the country should be given into their hands to be protected. DOMINGO DE VERA being also in Spain where he had gone to raise five hundred soldiers, however, succeeded in so protecting his master's interests that an order was given for the manning and victualling of ten vessels for Trinidad. BERREO hearing that his rivals were busy, set off at once for Caribana with only fifteen men who were the remnant of his late colony. His rivals, seeing the probability of failure in their schemes, followed him into Guiana and drove him to the Caroni, where he expected succour from his son, who was to come down the Orinoco from New Granada. The Margaritans spread themselves over the country; one party went as far as the Essequibo, while another made a raid on a Carib village in the Moruca of which WAREO was Captain, who when "twenty Spaniards came to his town and sought to take his best wife from him, before they carried her away, he at time and place of advantage killed half of them, while the rest fled, most of them sore hurt." A third party went as far as TOPIAWARIE's town, where they took FRANCIS SPARREY prisoner and carried him to Cumana. After making these raids in which they took a large number of Indians to sell as slaves, they proceeded to re-establish the settlement in Trinidad, but before anything had been done, the arrival of the fleet from Spain under DOMINGO DE VERA put an end to their projects. BERREO then returned to Trinidad to commence the new settlement, and is said by ALCEDO to have died of grief at the loss of his fortune in the same year, and to have been succeeded in the government by his son.

It will be noticed that RALEIGH gained the

good-will of the natives wherever he went, which may be accounted for by his strict justice and the thorough discipline of his men. The Indians had been accustomed to treachery and cruelty on the part of the Spaniards; when therefore, they were treated with respect, and their possessions left untouched, they felt so grateful, that they were prepared to do anything that lay in their power for the great virgin Casique of the North. The friendship thus developed was used to the great advantage of later settlers as will be shown in the accounts of LEIGH and HARCOURT. RALEIGH'S disciplinary code will be given at a later stage

The "Discoverie of Guiana" was published soon after RALEIGH'S return, and almost immediately translated into the principal languages of the continent as well as Latin. Some of the translators gave great prominence to the fables of headless men, Amazons and the City of Manoa, the accounts of which had been given to him by the Indians and Spaniards. At this period Books of Marvels were in great request, and from the mutilation of RALEIGH'S work the author obtained the character of a liar or storyteller. Within the last thirty years the discovery of the Caratal Gold Fields has thrown a light upon his story of El Dorado which wonderfully refutes the cavils of Hume who says: "RALEIGH'S account of his first voyage to Guiana, proves him to have been a man capable of the most extravagant credulity, or most impudent imposture." As for the men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders," he gives the story as he received it, and qualified it by saying: "For mine own part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report. Whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination." The

myth of the Amazons belongs to the Old World, and was localized by Orellana and fully reported by Acugna long before RALEIGH came into Guiana. Where, however, he describes what actually came within his knowledge, every native of Guiana will recognize the truthfulness and accuracy of the account.

[Here is a story quite equal to some of the old fables of Guiana, as told by Captain ALEXANDER in his "Transatlantic Sketches" published in 1833. In 1829—Mr. SMITH and Lieut. GULLIFER, R.N., left Georgetown, and proceeded up the Rio Negro, and thence sailed down to Para, where SMITH died, while his companion proceeded to Trinidad, and there hanged himself. Captain ALEXANDER being allowed to look at their note book found a memorandum that they had met a tribe of cannibals high up the Essequibo, who received them courteously and gave them fish to eat with a very savoury sauce, after which two human hands were brought in, and a steak of human flesh. The travellers did not partake of the flesh, but the chief, after picking the bones of the hand with evident relish, asked them how they liked the fish and its sauce; to which they answered that the fish was good, and the sauce better. On which he replied, "Man's flesh makes the best sauce," and informed them that the hands had been dressed with the fish. The chief then showed them some Macusi prisoners which they kept as slaves, and afterwards took them to a logie where were confined the wives of the slaves, who were penned in with bamboos like cattle until they should be required for the barbecue and pepper pot. The travellers afterwards visited a cave in which was an enchanted pool of water wherein they were warned not to bathe, or they would die within the year. "*They laughed at their brown monitors, bathed, and sure enough were both clods of the valley before the twelve months had expired.*" Captain ALEXANDER should have added the nursery story of the imprisoned women putting out their fingers for the Caribs to see whether they were fat enough. No wonder the writer hanged himself.]

1596  
Jan. 26. Captain KEYMIS sailed from Portland Roads in the *Darling*, accompanied by a pinnace, the *Discoverer*, which was lost sight of four days afterwards. RALEIGH having been received at Court, was unable to accompany this expedition in redemption of his promises to the several Carib chieftains, and he therefore sent his captain. KEYMIS arrived in Guiana at the mouth of the Amazons on the 14th of March, where

he anchored first a short distance up the river Arowari. From thence he proceeded on a north-westerly course along the coast, making observations of every river, until he arrived at the Orinoco. Until he came to the river Cawo (CAXO) he could not meet with a single Indian, but here they spied a canoe, the occupants of which supposing them to be Spaniards, kept at a distance until they were assured by the interpreter that the newcomers were English. As soon as the Indians understood that the vessel had been sent by RALEIGH they were very much pleased. Their chief, whose name was WAREO, had been lately driven from the Moruca by the Spaniards, where he had heard of the exploits of the English and was very desirous of their help against his enemies. According to WAREO's account, his people, the Jaos (a Carib tribe) were at one time masters of all the coast from the Amazons to Trinidad, but latterly having become somewhat disorganized, they had suffered greatly from the raids of the Spaniards, who were led against them by their enemies the Arawacks. The old Arawack pilot, FERDINANDO, was one of WAREO's subjects, and had given an account of the great English Queen, which had put him and his people in a ferment of expectation relative to RALEIGH's return. He was rather disappointed however, at the small force of the expedition, and told KEYMIS that the country was large enough to receive as many of their friends as would come, and also that the Caribs were in great need of aid to preserve their liberty. He offered them a cargo of Brazil wood, which he informed them was an article of trade with the French, but KEYMIS having very little room for stowage, and intending a further prosecution of his discovery, thought it better to postpone taking in a cargo to a fitter opportunity. Having received a pilot from WAREO he proceeded to Cayenne, where they found a very

pleasant bay which KEYMIS called Port Howard. Speaking of the rivers in this neighbourhood KEYMIS says :—"These rivers, as also those nearer Raleana (Orinoco), do all fall out of the plains of this empire over rocks, and in most places within the utmost hedge of woods ; the land within is plain, void of trees, and beareth short grass like Aromaya." He has something to say about most of the great rivers ; in the Corentyne there was plenty of honey ; the Orinoco Indians never came farther east than the Berbice ; and on the Essequibo the Spaniards intended to build a town. The last river led to a lake called Roponowini, which he supposed to be the place "whereon Manoa standeth." The Spaniards had made so many raids between the Orinoco and the Essequibo that the Caribs were trying to combine together so as to make a firm resistance. The Dutch say that their settlements on the Essequibo were destroyed during this year by the Spaniards and Arrawacks. KEYMIS, however, either knew nothing of such a colony, or purposely avoided mention of it as being likely to invalidate RALEIGH'S rights of discovery.

On the 6th of April, he arrived in the Orinoco after spending twenty-three days in exploring the coast, and was there joined by twelve canoes full of Indian warriors ready equipped to join him in a raid on the Spaniards. When KEYMIS heard of their expectation, he was obliged to inform them that he only came to trade and had not sufficient force to make any attack on the Spaniards ; at present he was only come to find out what was going on, but on his return he believed that a large fleet would be ready to go on with the enterprise. The Chieftains were much disappointed when they found that no attack was contemplated, but nevertheless, they were willing to do what lay in their power to help the English, and sent up the river to give their friends

intimation of KEYMIS's arrival. Going ashore with them KEYMIS learnt what had been done during his absence. He sat talking with them in their hammocks for some hours, during which time they were smoking tobacco, "until their pipes were all spent, (for by them they measure the time of their solemn conference), no man must interrupt or trouble them in any sort: for this is their religion and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princess of the North, their Patron and defender." The following day, they accompanied him on his voyage to CARAPANA's port, where they were obliged to return, having heard that some Spaniards were gone to their homes in the Barima to buy cassava bread, and fearing they would take away their wives, and plunder their dwellings. They also resolved to destroy their enemies, in which they succeeded, "for when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassavi, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped."

In eight days' sailing before the wind KEYMIS arrived at Topiawarie's port, where he found the Spaniards had "seated their Rancheria of some twenty or thirty houses,' (St. Thome.) On seeing the English the inhabitants retired to the mouth of the Carono where they lay in ambush to defend the passage to the Gold mine. As they rode at anchor before the town an Indian came on board who informed them, that BERBEO's son with fifty men and a few Arrawacks were hidden in the forest, and that TOPIAWARIE was dead and his people nearly all dispersed. He enquired for the son of their chieftain, who had remained in England with RALEIGH, and stated that the Spaniards had reported the latter to have been slain at Cumana and all his vessels sunk. After staying here two days, he went twenty miles down the river, where he expected to find an Indian village



and a guide to another gold mine that he had heard of the year before, but the people having all fled he was compelled to abandon this attempt also. Fearing that his small force might by lingering be taken by some of the Spanish marauding parties who were expected from Trinidad, he resolved to return to England. On arriving at the mouth of the river he met his lost pinnace the *Discoverer*, which had been searching for him along the coast from Cayenne, and had passed into several rivers. Thence he proceeded to England, after burning the pinnace, which had proved unseaworthy, taking with him, by their own consent, two of the Indians who had been pilots to the vessels. [*Vide* HAKLUYT.]

The results of this voyage are well stated by the writer as the discovery of forty rivers, most of them navigable for some distance from their mouths, from which, while promising some hope of gold, he could only warrant such commodities as Brazil-wood, honey, cotton, balsam, and drugs to give a profit to such English merchants as should trade thither. Here is a copy of KEYMIS'S table of Rivers, &c., to which has also been added the modern names of the Rivers:—

Rivers.	Nations.	Towns.	Captains.	
1 Arrowari (Araouari), great	Arwaos Pararweas Charibes			<p>1. These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and green stones. They speak the Tivitivas' language; so likewise do the nation of the Arricarri, who have greater store of those monies than any others.</p> <p>2. Here it was, as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his emerald. In one of these two rivers certain Frenchmen that suffered shipwreck some two or three years since do live.</p> <p>3, 4, 5. These with the other two seem to be branches of the great river of Amazons. When we first fell with land, we were by the Indian's report but one day's journey from the greatest</p>
2 Iwaripoco (Mepicuco), very great	Mapurwanas Iaos			
3 Maipari (Mayacare), great	Arricarri			
4 Caipurogh (Cachipour), great	Arricarri			
5 Arocoa (Kericour), great	Marowannas Charibes			
6 Wayapoco (Oyapok), great	Coonoracki Wacacoia Wariseuco Charibes			
7 Wanari (Ineri),				
8 Capurwacka (Aprouage), great	Charibes			
9 Cawo (Caxo), great	Iaos	Icoomana	Wareo	

Rivers.	Nations.	Towns.	Captains.	
10 Wia, great	Maworia Charib	Parammona, great	Mashwipo	river that is on that coast.
11 Caiane (Cayenne), great	Wiaco, Ch.	Canawi, great	Parawatteo	6. The first mountains that appear within land, do lie on the east side of this river. From the mouth thereof the inhabitants do pass with their canoes in twenty days to the salt lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another; where it falls into the sea, hills do inclose it on both sides.
12 Macuria (Macouria),	Shebaio	Orinikero		
13 Cawroora (Kourou)	Arawaccos Charib			10. The freshet shoots out into the sea with great force; the sea doth here sometimes camp high and break, as if it were full of rocks; but in proof, it is nothing else but the pride and force of the tides. In this bay, and round about, so far as the mountains do extend, there is great store of brazil-wood, some of it bearing far darker colour than other some. Here are also many sorts of other good woods.
14 Manmanuri (Sinemary),	Ipaio, Ch.			
15 Cureey (Cureibo).	Shebaio			14. These speak the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind and eat them alive piecemeal. This torment is not comparable to the deadly pain that cometh of hurts or wounds, made by those arrows that are envenomed with the juice of the herb wapototo. These Indians, because they eat them whom they kill, use no poison. The sea-coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves in mutual wars. But now in all parts so far as Oronoko, they live in league and peace.
16 Curassawini (Corassuni),	Shebaio	Musswara, great	Ocapanio	
17 Cunanama (Conamana),	Iaos Arwaccas	Waritappi, great	Carinamari Curipotoore	21. Near the head of this river Capeleppo fall eth out of the plains, and runneth into the sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians live in this river.
18 Vracco (Iracouba), Moruga	Arwaccas Arwaccas		Marwabo Eramacoo	
19 Mawari (Waraganaba),	Winicinas Arwaccas	Iwanama	Aranacoo	29. This river, as also most of the rest, is not navigable above six days'
20 Mawarpari	Arwaccas	Awaricana	Mahahonero	
21 Amonna (Mana), very great	Charibes	Iaremappe, very great		
22 Marawani (Marowyne),	Paracuttos			
23 Owcowi (Kweriman)				
24 Wiawiami (Wiawia)				
25 Aramatappo (Matappica),				
26 Wiapo (Warappa)				
27 Macuruma				
28 Carapi (Caropina)				
29 Vraca (Parica?) great				
30 Chaimawinini (Commweyne),	Carepini Charib			
31 Ecowto (Cottica),	Upotommas		Caponaiarie	
32 Pawro (Para), great	Arwaccas	Maripomma		
33 Shurinama (Surinam), great	Caripini Chari			
34 Shurama (Saramacca), great	Carepini Chari	Cupari		
35 Northumbria or Cupanama (Coppename), very great	Arwaccas			
36 Wioma (Nickerie)		Tawroomene		
37 Cuahwini (Caronie),	Neekeari		Neperwari	
38 Inana (Nanni), great	Carepini	Owaripoore		

Rivers.	Nations.	Towns.	Captains.	
39 Curitini (Corentyne), great	Arwaccas Parawianni	Madwronama		<p>journey by reason of rocks. It is ten days journey to the head, where the Guianians do dwell. Honey, yarn or cotton, silk, balsamum, and brasil-beds, are here to be had in plenty, and so all the coast along eastward. Some images of gold, spleen-stones, and others, may be gotten on this coast, but they do somewhat extraordinarily esteem of them because everywhere they are current money. They get their moons, and other pieces of gold, by exchange, taking for each one of their greater canoes, one piece or image of gold, with three heads; and after that rate for their lesser canoes, they receive pieces of gold of less value. One hatchet is the ordinary price for a canoe. They have everywhere divers sorts of drugs, gums, and roots, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.</p> <p>*So called after the name of the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex.</p>
40 Winitwari (Canje or Wieronie) great		Mainapooe Cariwacka Aneta Manacobeecce Eppera Parawiannos Lupulee	Warawaroco	
41 Berbice, great	Arwaccas			
42 Wapari (Abary),	Shebaïos Arwaccas	Madewini	Benmurwagh	
43 Maicawini (Mahaicony),	Panapi Arwaccas	Itewee	Caporoça great cap.	
44 Mahawaica (Mahaica)	Arwaccas	Maburesa great		
45 Lemerare (Demerara), great	Wacawaïos	Maburesa, great		
46 Devoritia or Dessekebe* (Essequibo), very great	Arwaccas Iaos Shebaïos Arwaccas Charibes Maripai Wocowaïos Parawianni			
Itorebece	Iwarewakeri	Caiaremappo Waroopana		
47 Pawrooma (Pomeroon), great	Iaos	Maripa Chipariparo	Macapowa	
Aripacoro (Arapiaiku) Eowini (Accawini), Manurawini (Manawarina)	Panipi	Towtwi Sarinbugh Wariwagh	Shuracoima	
48 Moruga (Maruca), great Piara (Baïara), Chaimeragoro	Iaos Arwaccas	Cooparoore great Awipari Topoo	Manarecowa  Iarwanrema	
49 Waini	Charibes	Tocoopoima great	Parana	
50 Barima Caitooma (Kaituma), Arooca (Aruka),	Charibes Arwaccas	Pekwa, gr Arwakima	Anawra Aparwa Arracurri	
51 Amacur, great				
52 Aratoori (Arature), great Cawrooma (Imataca), great Raleana or Orenoque Maïapar Itacaponca Owarecapotar Warucanassa	{ Islands in the mouth of Rale- ana.			

## Names of poisoned herbs.

Ourari.	pareepo.
Carassi.	Parapara.
Herbs	against poison.
Turara.	Wapo.
Cutarapama.	Macatto.

1596      After Raleigh's return from the famous action  
Oct. 14      at Cadiz, he fitted out another small expedition for Guiana in a pinnace named the *Wat*, under command of LEONARD BERRIE, which sailed from Limehouse on this date, and arrived at Cape Nassau in Cayenne on the 27th of February in the following year, having been delayed for three months near the Canary Islands. Proceeding from thence the pinnace sailed eight leagues up the Oyapok where she got aground, but the bottom being oozy she soon got clear and went another 8 leagues to the foot of the falls. Here the captain landed and tried to get to the head of the rapids, but could not find it, for as he got to the top of one fall he saw another rising above it, so as there were no Indians to be seen in the river the vessel was put about, proceeding along the coast until they came to the Seven Islands which they found uninhabited. While at anchor here, BERRIE sent a boat to an Indian town called Armatto, where they found many inhabitants from whom they obtained victuals and tobacco. Here also they were visited by a large number of Caribs who expressed their wishes that the English should settle in the country to protect them against the Spaniards. Leaving their anchorage, they proceeded up the Marowyne where they were entertained at an Arrawack town in which the people had been keeping up a festival, and were "something pleasant, having drunk much that day." They were at first ready to run away at sight of the white men, but on the assurance of HARRY, an Indian interpreter, that the strangers were their friends, they were ready to trade, and took them from house to house, making them eat and drink at every house they came to. Taking the vessel as far as was safe they proceeded in canoes to the falls of this river, meeting friendly tribes of Arrawacks and Caribs

at several places. Not being able to go farther they returned and sailed along the coast, (being prevented from entering several of the rivers of Surinam by the shallowness of the bars) and arriving at the Corentyne, they proceeded up that river as far as Warrawalle (Oreala) where they met the barque *John of London*, Captain LEIGH. Here BERRIE heard that there were three hundred Spaniards in the Essequibo. Taking the two vessels up the river they came to the town of Mawranamo, from whence proceeding in boats and canoes, part of the expedition, reached the falls of this river, where they were prevented from proceeding farther in search of the Lake Parima, which was said to be situated at a short distance from the upper Essequibo and could be reached from the Corentyne, by a quarrel which had occurred previously between BERRIE's friends the Caribs and the Accaways. Less than a month before, the latter had come from above the fall, and killed ten of the Caribs. Not wishing to be led into this quarrel, which might cause trouble in the future, BERRIE decided to return to the ships. Here it was reported that the Spaniards had gone out of Essequibo, and also that ten canoes of them had come into the Corentyne, stories which he found to be untrue. Speaking of this river, BERRIE's sailing master, MASHAM, the writer of the account, says that it is full of islands, and about fifty leagues distant from its mouth to the first falls. The country he described as very fertile, with plenty of Cassava bread, great store of fish, fowl, tortoise, deer, swine, fruits and potatoes, so that during the time the vessel remained on the coast, the ship's provisions were untouched.

Leaving the Corentyne on the 13th of May, they proceeded to Dominica, and passing some of the other West Indian Islands, journeyed to England, arriving at Plymouth on the 28th of June, 1597.

1598

A Dutch vessel, commanded by Captain CABE-LIAU, being on a trading voyage to Guiana, met with an English, and four other Dutch vessels at Cayenne. An arrangement was made by the Captain with two of the Hollanders that they should join him in an exploration of the coast and up the Orinoco, partly for the purpose of trading with the natives, and also to search for a few of the gold mines which they had understood from reading RALEIGH'S "Discoverie" were plentiful there, and easy to be reached. Leaving two of their vessels at Trinidad, the other, together with the ship's boats, proceeded up the Orinoco to St. Thome, where they found FERNANDO DE BERREO with 60 cavalry and 100 musketeers. The Spaniards appear to have put no obstacles in their way, so they searched the whole neighbourhood, without however the least success. They were told by an Indian that there was a mine near the place, but that it was then under water. They did not cultivate the acquaintance of the Caribs, not wishing to offend the Spaniards, and after their failure came to the conclusion that gold seeking was not as profitable as trading.

1599  
Nov.  
23

ADRIAN HENDERICKS TEN HOOF, petitioned the State of Zeeland to place on each of his vessels engaged in trading to Guiana, sixteen experienced soldiers. About this time the Dutch attempted to settle in the mouth of the Amazon, where they built two forts, from whence they were afterwards driven by the Portuguese. The publication of RALEIGH'S voyage may have had some influence in attracting vessels to the shores of Guiana, for whereas the country was almost unknown before 1595, in the four following years, Dutch, French, and English ships were trading in all the principal rivers. The number of Indians who went to England about this time must have been considerable, as every homeward bound expedition carried hence one or two natives

as pilots and interpreters, and no difficulty appears to have been experienced by returning expeditions in procuring these indispensable guides. 1599

By a Grant of the States General of this date, the Zeeland merchants, VAN PEERE, VAN RHEE, DE MOOR, LAMPSIUS, DE VRIES, and VAN HOORN were allowed freedom of convoy to their vessels, which were trading to Guiana and the West Indies under Captain RYK HENDRIKSZON and others. HARTSINCK says that the vessels of these merchants attempted to trade up the Orinoco at this time, but were prevented by the great number of Spaniards who were located there. 1602  
July  
10

Sir WALTER RALEIGH was tried on a charge of High Treason. Lord COBHAM had been arrested for being concerned in a plot to place the Lady ARABELLA STUART on the throne of England instead of JAMES I., after the death of Queen ELIZABETH. RALEIGH had apparently gained the ill will of JAMES before the King had left Scotland, and almost immediately his office of Captain of the Guard was taken from him and given to a Scotchman. RALEIGH probably resented this somewhat, and the charge of High Treason was trumped up to get him out of the way. The most absurd part of the supposed conspiracy as connected with Sir WALTER was the charge of being concerned in procuring the help of his great antagonist, the King of Spain, at the very time when he was trying his best to attack that Sovereign in his possessions both at home and abroad. The only evidence before the Court was a written examination of Lord COBHAM, who had probably implicated another to throw part of the blame from himself. There was not even a witness to prove that COBHAM had made the statement on which the charge was founded, and the Court refused to bring the accuser face to face with the prisoner when this was demanded by him. He was, however, found guilty and sentenced to be 1603  
Nov.  
17

1603 hanged with the horrible accompaniments of the age. The sentence was so manifestly unjust that the King dared not carry it into effect, so he exercised his clemency by sending him to the Tower, where RALEIGH lingered till 1616.

1604 Captain CHARLES LEIGH attempted the first real settlement in Guiana. He sailed from Woolwich in a barque of about fifty tons named the *Olive Plant*, with a company consisting of forty-six men and boys, on the 21st of March, and arrived at the river Oyapok, on the 22nd of May. At an Indian town of the same name as the river the settlers made an agreement with the inhabitants, who received them kindly, by which they were allowed some land and houses in consideration of their assisting in the defence of the town against inimical tribes. This agreement was made by means of two of the Guianese who had been in England and learnt the language, and for the better security on the part of the natives, five of their head men were by their own consent sent to England as hostages. The first settlement of these pioneers was made on the side of a hill on the west bank of the river Oyapok, to which they gave the name of Mount Howard. On the 2nd of July LEIGH sent his small vessel with ten men to England for fresh supplies of such things as he required. According to the Calendar of State Papers his letter to the Privy Council requests the King's protection and free passage to those who will come and settle there, and states that the natives desire him to send for men to teach them to pray. The settlers were able to carry on a trade in the neighbourhood as well as up the river in wax, feathers, tobacco, parrots, monkeys, cotton wool and yarn, gums, red pepper, spleen stones, several kinds of wood, medicinal roots and dyes. After a few months, dysentery and fever carried off several of the colonists, including Captain LEIGH, who was on the point of going back to Eng-



land for full supplies. On the death of their leader the company became disorganized and every one shifted for himself; some returned to England in their own vessel, others in a French ship, and the remainder in two Hollanders, much to the regret of their Indian friends. 1604

Sir OLIVE LEIGH, before he had any account of the progress of his brothers' colony, fitted out another vessel called the *Olive Blossom*, which sailed from Woolwich for Guiana on the 14th of April. What with contrary winds and unskilful management the vessel got so far to the leeward that the Captain despairing of ever reaching his destination put in at Barbados and afterwards proceeded to St. Lucia. Here they were well treated by the Caribs for some time, but the Captain seeing some plates of guanin adorning some of their arms, and being told that the metal was obtained from a certain mountain, took a party in search of it, during which expedition all save one were cut off by an ambush of the Caribs. The remnant, to the number of thirteen, after great hardships, arrived at some Spanish settlements on the main, where they were treated with great humanity. 1605

This was the year of HARCOURT'S Expedition, an account of which is given as under in HARRIS'S "Collection of Voyages and Travels":— 1609

"This voyage was performed under the direction and command of ROBERT HARCOURT, of Stanton Harcourt, in the county of Oxford, Esq., and the vessels employed in it were, the *Rose*, a ship of eighty tons; the *Patience*, a ship of thirty-six tons; and the *Lilly Shallop*, of nine tons, (the last carrying only four men). They set sail from Dartmouth the 29th of March, and arrived the 17th of May in the Bay of Wyapoco (Oyapok). It was not long before several canoes of Indians came to see what they were; and finding they were English, came on board them

1609 without any fear or ceremony: Such an advantageous idea had Sir WALTER RALEIGH by his courteous behaviour imprinted in them of the English nation.

“These people, who were very forward and ready to traffic with the English, were of the town called Caripo, on the east side of the hill, at the mouth of Wyapoco River. Their King, or Chief, who had been many years in England, (probably one of those sent to England by LEIGH,) was then with Mr. HARCOURT, and another of his countrymen came passenger with him, though he had not discovered his quality, till the joy of his subjects at the sight of him made him known. Among the Indians who came first on board was one who spoke the English tongue perfectly well, and was known to some of the ship’s companies, having served Sir JOHN GILBERT in England many years; and the Indian who accompanied the King or Chief, having been fourteen years in England; these two were of singular service to the Adventurers.

“The first ceremonies being past, Mr. HARCOURT acquainted them that the occasion of his coming among them was to settle a colony there and to take possession of the country for the King of England, by virtue of their grant of it to Captain LEIGH, and by some of their countrymen before to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, assuring them at same time that His Majesty intended no unjust usurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like slaves and vassals; but only to be their Friend and Protector, and to deliver them from the insolencies and oppressions of the Caribbees. After some debate, the Indians gave their consent that they might live among them, and promised to furnish them with houses, and all other necessaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear some diffidence in their performing their promises since Sir WALTER RALEIGH had been so dilatory in accomplishing those he made them.

“This being done, they all went ashore, where they met with the best reception the Indians could give them; and were dispersed up and down the town, on the side of a hill, while their ships rode at anchor, at the foot of it. The great rains which confined them near a month, being over, the Captain set himself to discover the Golden Mountain, which had been the spur to this undertaking; but their guide, who had promised such great things, failed in the performance of them, and either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himself; for when he came to the spot he had built his hopes upon, nothing was to be found: And yet they were convinced the country afforded gold, as well by the assurances given them by the natives, who showed them certain images, which upon an Essay appeared to contain at least one third gold, (*guanin*) as by ocular demonstration of great quantities of the white spar in which the gold is contained, and which they found to hold both gold and silver; but they had reason to believe those mines were too far up in the higher parts of Guiana, and perhaps too strongly guarded for them to hope they should be able to reach them. And, besides, they had then neither time nor power to search in the manner requisite for finding these mines.

“This disappointment had like to have excited a mutiny among those who came out with no other view than to tumble at once into riches; but the captain, with great prudence, and with no less conduct, prevented its running to such a length; and to keep them employed, not only went himself up the River of Wyapoco upon discovery, but sent his brother with some others on the same errand to the River Arrawary, and the country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the river of Amazons. He went also and took possession of the Mountain Gomoribo, which is the utmost point of land to the

1609 northward in the Wyapoco. This he did, according to custom, by the ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the presence both of his own people and the Indians. After possession taken, the mountain was delivered over to an Indian, to hold and possess the same for himself and his heirs, of His Majesty JAMES, King of England, paying the yearly Duty of a tenth part of the tobacco, cotton, wood, annotto, and all other commodities growing within the limits of the same. The attempt of the Captain's Brother, and Captain HARVEY, in discovering of the river Arrawary, was attended with great difficulties and hazards; for the length they run by sea to this river was nearly one hundred leagues, through terrible breaks of flats and sholes. They went likewise fifty leagues up the river, and all this only with flat-bottomed canoes, something larger than the common Thames wherries, but not so broad.

“The Indians they met with in this river plainly discovered they had never seen any Europeans before. It was long before they could be brought to any sort of trade or conversation with them, though they had other Indians in their company. But at last the sight of their toys wrought upon them, and induced them to exchange for provisions; a want of which however at last obliged them to return to Wyapoco. They took possession nevertheless of the country in form, as Mr. HARCOURT had done of Gomoribo. Not long after this, Mr. HARCOURT was obliged to return for England, purely for fear of wanting casks to contain sufficient beer and water for the voyage, the master having neglected to have his casks iron-bound before their departure, which occasioned many of them to burst their hoops in that hot country.

“Mr. HARCOURT left his brother to command in chief in his absence, to whom Captain HARVEY was

joined as assistant, and Mr. GIFFORD as his Lieutenant, and with them he left fifty or sixty of his men. He departed on the 18th of August; and Mr. HARCOURT, in his way home-wards, made several discoveries upon the coast, and in some of the rivers; and came from thence to England. Being come to London, by the favour of Prince HENRY, he obtained a large Patent for all that coast, called Guiana, together with the famous river of Amazons, to him and his heirs: But he was involved in so many troubles that he was not able to supply his colony, and only sent over some few people, with eighteen Dutchmen, but to little purpose. Captain HARCOURT, however, kept possession of part of the country in which he was settled for full three years, in all which time he lost but six of his people.” 1609

The following description of the Manatee by HARCOURT is very interesting:—“There is also a sea-fish which usually commeth into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season. It is of great esteeme amongst us, and we account it halfe flesh for the bloud of it is warm. It commeth up into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth upon grasse and weedes: the Indians name it “coiunero”, and the Spaniards “manati” but we call it the sea-cow. In taste it is like beefe, will take salt, and serve to victuall ships. Of this fish may bee made an excellent oile for many purposes, the fat of it is good to frie either fish or flesh. The hide, as I have heard, being dried in the sunne and kept from wet, will serve for targets and armour against the Indian arrowes. In the wet season the store of them are infinite. Some of these hides were heretofore brought into England by Sir WALTER RALEIGH.”

On some complaints of the people under his government, FERNANDO DE BERREO, son of RALEIGH’S prisoner, was suspended from the government of “Guiana, Trinidad, and El Dorado.” He was succeeded by DIEGO PALOMEQUE Y ACUNA, who was killed in the attack of St. Thome in 1618, after which 1610

1611  
Feb. 28

**BERRERO** returned and governed the country till 1622. In a letter of this date from Sir **THOMAS ROE** to Lord Salisbury, written at Trinidad, the former says he has seen more of the coast from the river Amazon to the Orinoco than any Englishman alive, having passed the Wild Coast and arrived at Port of Spain. He states that the Spaniards there are proud and insolent, yet needy and weak; their force is reputation, their safety, opinion. They treat the English worse than Moors. The King of Spain intended to plant on the Orinoco, and men, cattle, and horses are arriving daily to be employed in fortifying the place, raising a new city, and conquering Guiana. He thought it would all "be turned to smoke," as the Government was lazy and had more skill in planting and selling tobacco than in erecting colonies or marching armies. **DON JUAN DE GAMBO**, the late Governor of Caraccas, had been proscribed for treating the English well and had fled into the interior. **ROE** would try to confer with him as he was a great soldier and might be of great service to England. **ROE** had been sent on a voyage of discovery to the West Indies, and had spent a year or two trading on the coast of Guiana where his ships were commanded by Captain **MATTHEW MORTON**. (*Vide* Calendar of State Papers.)

**RALEIGH**, while imprisoned in the Tower, managed to keep up his connection with Guiana by sending messages and presents to the Indians by every opportunity. Two natives of this country, named **HARRY** and **LEONARD REGAPO**, lived with him as servants for several years during his imprisonment. He had a small laboratory in the Tower garden, where he at one time made an assay of twelve grains of the ore he had brought from Guiana, with the result of a quarter of a grain of gold. A great part of **RALEIGH**'s imprisonment was passed in the Bloody Tower and the adjoining

garden house writing at the grated window, working in the garden, or pacing the terrace. Hither came some of the greatest men of that time: JONSON, BURRELL, HABLOT, and PETT, where they discussed philosophy and the science of the day while he wrote his History of the World and assayed the Guiana ore in the little garden. Here he also, it is supposed, discovered the art of distilling salt water. With the exception of BACON and SHAKSPEARE more books have been written about RALEIGH than about any other Englishman.

In this year he made the following proposition to the Government:—

“An Agreement betweene Sr. WA. RALEIGH and the Lords for the journey of Guiana, to be performed by Captaine KEEMISH in Anno 1611.

“Your Lordships as I remember did offer to be att the charge to transport KEEMISH into Guyana with such a proportion of men in twoe shippes as should be able to defend him against the Spaniards inhabiting upon Orenoke if they offered to assaile him (not that itt is meant to offend the Spaniards there or to begin any quarrell with them except themselves shall begin the warre). To know what number of men shall be sufficient may itt please your Lordships to informe your selves by Captain MORE, a servant of Sir JOHN WATTS, who came from Orenoke this spring, and was oftentimes ashore at St. Thome, where the Spaniards inhabite, which numbers made known to your Lordships and to the Captains which you shall please to imploy with KEEMISH, those Captains shall be able to judge with what force they will undertake to secure KEEMISHE'S passage to the mine, which is not above five miles from the navigable river taking the nearest way.

Now your Lordships doe require of mee that if KEEMISH live to arrive and shall be guarded to the

1611 place, and shall then faile to bring into England half a tunne, or as much more as he shall be able to take up of that slate gold ore whereof I gave a sample to my Lord KNEVETT, that then all the charge of the journey shall be laid upon mee and by mee to be satisfied whereto I willingly consent, and though itt be a difficult matter of exceeding difficulty for any man to finde the same acre of ground again in a country desolate and overgrowne which he hath seen but once, and that sixteene years since, which were hard enough to doe upon Salisbury Plaine, yett that your Lordships may be satisfied of the truth I am contented to adventure all I have (but my reputacion) upon KEEMISH's memory, hoping that itt may be acceptable to the King's Majestie, and to your Lordshipp's soe to doe, considering that if KEEMISH misse of his marks my poore Estate is utterly overthrowne, and my wife and children as utterly beggared.

Now that there is no hope after the Tryall made to fetch any more riches from thence, I have already given your Lordships my reasons in my former letter, and am ready upon a Mapped of the country to make demonstracion thereof, if itt shall please your Lordships to give me leave, but to the King's Majestie's wisdom, and your Lordships I submitt my selfe.

But that which your Lordships doe promise is that halfe a Tunne of the former oare being brought home that then I shall have my libertie, and in the meane while my free pardon under the greate Seale to be left in his Majestie's hands till the end of the journey."

This proposition was not accepted at that time, but it is probable that some such arrangement was made later.

1613 Letters Patent granted by JAMES I., to ROBERT HARCOURT, Esq., Sir THOMAS CHALLONER, JOHN



ROVENSON, Esq., and all their heirs; of which we 1613  
note the following extracts :—

“ Whereas our trustie and well-beloved ROBERT HARCOURTE, of Stonton Harcourte, in the countie of Oxon, Esquire, Hath by vertue of commission under oure greate Seale of England, bearing date the Thirteenth daie of February, in the sixte yeare of our raigne of England, Fraunce and Ireland, and the two and fortith of Scotland, adventured to putt him selfe and many other his good freinds and associates into great travailes, charges and expences by undertakinge many and sundrie long journeyes by sea and shippinge unto the South parte of America to thend to discover and take a full view and survey of all the regions, clymates, and territories, beinge parte of the countrye called or knowne by the name of Guiana, soituat and lyinge betweene the River of Amazones, and the River of Dessequebe, and the islandes, landes, and territories thereunto adjoyninge, which are inhabited by Heathen and Savage people, that have no knowledge of any Christian religion, nor of any morall virtues, for the salvacion of their soules or educacion of their persons, nor are subjecte to any Christiane State, Government, or Commonwealth. By which marrine travailes into the forreyne countries, the said ROBERT HARCOURTE, his friendes and associates have herefore exposed themselves to many perills and dangers.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ All that parte of Guiana or continent of America lyinge betweene the river of Amazones and the River of Dessequebe, situate in the south parte of America, and all the landes, islandes, soyles, groundes, havens, portes, creekes, rivers, mynes, mynneralls, pearls, and pretious stones, woods, quarris, marshes, waters, fishinges, huntinges, hawkinges, fowlinges, commodities and hereditamentes whatsoever, togeather with all prerogatives, jurisdictiones, royalties, privileges, franchizes, and preheminenences, within any the saide territories, between the saide two rivers of Amazones and Dessequebe, and all and singular islandes, landes, and territories beinge within twenty leagues thereunto adjacent, not beinge actualle possessed or inhabited by any Christian Prince or State in amytye with us.”

The said territory and lands were to be holden by the grantees and their heirs, of the king and his heirs and successors as of “his mannor of East Greenewiche

1613

within the countie of Kent in free and common socage and not in *capite* nor by knights service, yealdinge and payinge only therefore to us, our heirs and successors the fiftie parte onlie of all oare of Gould and Silver that from tyme to tyme and att all tymes hereafter shal be there gotten had and obteyned, for all manner rentes, services, and commandes whatsoever."

The following "Notes" published by HARCOURT soon after he received the above Grant may be considered as having taken the place of the Emigration Pamphlets which are so common now-a-days :—

*"The Plantation in Guiana is most easy to be performed: and may in brief appear by the notes following, which are here added (to Harcourt's 'Relation')* for the better Comfort and Encouragement of the Adventurers and Planters of the meaner sort.

"First, the climate in Guiana, although it be hot, yet it is habitable, and affordeth healthful habitations: For in three years space, that my brother, Captain MICHAEL HARCOURT, and his company, remained in the country, of thirty persons there died but six.

The natural inhabitants of that country are a loving, tractable, and gentle people, affecting and preferring the Englishmen before all nations whatsoever, and desiring commerce and conversation with them: With those barbarous people we may live in safety, without suspicion of treachery, or dread of danger; if willfully we offer them abuse, and harm issue, the fault is ours; for a worm, being trodden on, will turn again. If they at any time do give offence to us, they will suffer and abide such moderate chastisements, as we, in our discretions, shall think fit to lay upon them.

The soil of the land there, as is said before, is exceeding rich, never yet broken up, nor overworn with tillage, but still remaineth in the greatest perfection of fertility.

The provisions of that country, for victuals, are mentioned before: But it is fit they be again remembered for the comfort of the ordinary people, that in person shall adventure in this action. There is a great store of deer of all sorts; wild swine, hares, and conies; besides divers other beasts unknown in these parts, pheasants, partridges, wild fowl of all sorts, and every house hath cocks, hens, and chickens, as in England; and the variety of fish is wonderful beyond compare; But the chiefest comfort for our countrymen is this that the beast called Maypurry (the Tapir) and the fish called the sea-cow (the Manatee) being severally as big as a heifer of two years old, and of which kind there are very many, are in eating so like unto our English beef, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them; and may as well as beef be salted, and kept for our provision.

There is also a beast in colour like a fawn, but fuller of white spots; in stature somewhat less than a small sheep, and in taste like mutton, but is rather better meat: the Baremo (Ant-eater) is also of the same taste.

These for the time will give us good content, until we can be stored with the breed of our English sheep and cattle.

The store of maiz, or Guinea wheat is very plentiful, which grain doth make

an excellent good bread, and very wholesome. So likewise doth the cassavi, whereof there is also great abundance; and much more may be, as we please to plant.

Of the cassavi bread, the Indians do make good drink, which in colour, taste, and strength, doth equal our March beer in England.

Of the Guinea wheat, we may make good malt, which also maketh as excellent strong ale as can be possible.

The soil being rich, fruitful, and never nipped with frost, doth give us hope that in a few years space, by planting vines, we shall make good store of sack, and Canary wine, which in those parts are needful, and very wholesome, and will greatly comfort and lighten the hearts of our countrymen and make them jovial and courageous to undertake and execute the greatest labours and most difficult adventures of discovery.

The commodities already found in Guiana, are at large described in the former discourse; yet for the better memory of those that are disposed to adventure in this action; I have again in brief remembered them. First, within a year, without much labour, there may be transported thence good store of cotton wool; divers kinds of dyes; sundry sorts of gums, drugs and feathers, many kinds of rich woods; jasper and porphyry stone; balsam, wax, honey, and tobacco. And hereafter, within few years, we shall return thence great plenty of sugars: And I hope, discover as rich mines as ever the Spaniards found, either in New Spain, Peru, or any other part of the Indies.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Planters, in general, are all adventurers either in person or in purse. The meanest adventurer in person shall have five hundred acres as a single share.

Every one that adventureth twelve pounds ten shillings, shall have five hundred acres as a single share; and so rateably according to the adventure, be it more or less.

The plantation and adventure are intended to be partly general, and partly particular.

In the general plantation and adventure, all persons of all conditions and estates, even to the poorest servants and labourers, men, women, and children, may adventure as much or as little as they please, from ten shillings upwards, and shall have in fee simple the assured ratable increase and gain, according to the quantity of his adventure; so as for every ten shillings adventured, he shall have twenty acres in inheritance, and so much yearly profit as those twenty acres may yield.

A register shall be truly kept of the names of every adventurer in person, and of every adventurer in money, and of the sum by him adventured, to the end that they may proportionably receive the full benefit of their adventures.

During the first three years, the whole benefit shall go towards the advancement of the plantation.

At the end of those three years, a fourth part of the clear profits remaining, shall be divided betwixt all the adventurers in purse or person, ratable according to their shares and adventures.

Yearly, for seven years after the first three years ended, three parts of the whole clear yearly profits upon every return, shall be in like manner divided; and the other fourth part shall go towards the advancement of the plantation.

In those ten years the land may be surveyed and fit distribution and allotments made thereof to the adventurers and planters.

After those ten years, it shall be free for every one to make the best of his allotments at his own discretion by himself, or else to deal in common, as he did before with others, which perhaps will be most convenient for all small adventurers, and a settled order shall for that end be continued, for a continual joint and common trade and commerce for ever: for otherwise it might prove hard for adventurers of small sums to reap any benefit after the ten years ended: But by a common

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continued commerce, they or their heirs, or assigns, shall be sure to have it,

A treasurer-general for the plantations shall be resident in London, and when the return of profit dividable shall be, he shall forthwith deliver to a particular treasurer, resident in every shire, the proportionable part or profit due to the adventurers of that shire, which particular treasurer shall deliver to the high constables of every hundred the proportionable part due to the adventurers of that hundred: And the high constables shall deliver to the constables and minister of every parish within their hundreds, where any adventurers shall be, the proportionable part due to the adventurers of that parish: And the constable and minister shall deliver to any person in that parish his due, according to the proportion of his adventure.

To this end a register shall be kept by the constable and minister of each parish, of the names of each adventurer in that parish, with their several adventures, and the time when they brought in the same, so as such as be removed out of a parish where they adventured, to some other place, shall either themselves, or their heirs, or assigns, receive his proportionable profit in the parish where he adventured, without further trouble or travel.

The like register shall remain with the high constables of the adventurers in their hundred.

And the like with the particular treasurer of that shire, of the adventurers of that shire.

And the like of all the adventurers whatsoever, with the treasurer-general for the plantation.

But yet, such [as adventure not before this next intended voyage which we account the first voyage for the plantation, or before the second, but stay longer, expecting the event, must not expect equal shares with the first adventurers: But if his adventure come in after the second voyage, and before the third, he shall want a fifth part of that which the first adventurers shall have: And such as come in before the fifth voyage shall want three fifths parts: And such as come in before the sixth voyage, (which perhaps may be the last voyage in the first three years, a voyage being set forth every half year) shall want four fifth parts of what the first adventurer shall have: And so a single share for so late an adventurer, of twelve pounds ten shillings, will be but one hundred acres in inheritance, and his profits accordingly in proportion, and so for a greater or lesser rate, so lately adventured,

Every adventurer in person, if he die, having neither wife nor child in Guiana living, his next kinsman, that will go in person at the next voyage, or sending after his decease, shall have his share or part: But if none such will go in person, then the next heir of the deceased person in England, shall have a fifth part of that share in inheritance, being about one hundred acres; and the residue, being four hundred acres, shall be disposed of to some other that will go in person; that so, by the death of the party deceased, the number of planters, in person, may not be diminished, and that yet his next heir here may have some competent benefit by the adventure of his kinsman's person.

If a man and his wife go, each of them shall have five hundred acres; yet so that the share of the wife be at the husband's disposal as is used by husbands in England that marry women heirs, who cannot alien the same without the wife's consent.

If a man and his wife go, the survivor shall have the wife's share, if they have no children born in Guiana; but if they have children born there, then only the survivor shall have the share of the deceased until the child be twenty-one years old, and then the child shall have it; for that the share of the personal adventure of the survivor will be a competent maintenance, so as the child may have the other share.

If a man and his wife, and a child of theirs go, each shall have five hundred acres.

The shares of commanders, officers, and men of place and quality, that adven-

ture in person, are not to be rated according to single shares of inferior and common persons, that adventure in person; but according to their place, quality, and merit, in such sort as shall be fit to give them content, and encouragement to adventure their persons in so honourable and worthy an action.

Divine preachers, that will imitate the glorious examples of the apostles (who ceased not to travel among all sorts of heathen and savage people, for the plantation of the holy gospel) are worthily numbered amongst the persons of place and quality, and shall have such worthy shares for the adventure of their persons, in his service of the Blessed Trinity, as shall give them good content. This much concerning the general adventure and plantation.

In the particular plantation and adventure, there shall be certain signiories, or other portions of land, allotted them and granted to such, as like not to be partakers of the general plantation and adventure; but have otherwise, a desire to join together in several companies, or corporations, of select friends and acquaintance; or else to plant apart and single by themselves, as lords of manors, or as farmers.

These signiories, or portions of land, shall be conveyed and assured unto them in fee simple, with all such royalties, liberties, privileges, franchises, and commodities, as shall be fit and necessary for the advancement of their plantations, and can, by virtue of the patent, be granted unto them.

They shall plant and people the same at their own proper costs and charges, and convert the profits thereof to their own use and advantage, under the conditions following:—

They shall yearly pay unto such officers as shall be appointed for that purpose, the fifth part of all ore of gold and silver that shall, at all times hereafter, be found and gotten within the bounds and limits of the signiories and lands granted unto them, which fifth part of the ore is, by the patent, reserved to his Majesty.

The fifth part being deducted for his Majesty, they shall also pay to the patentees, or unto their officers for that purpose appointed, all such rents and duties, as, betwixt the said patentees and them shall be agreed upon; and such as have been usually paid by the planters and inhabitants of the like plantations, whereof there are extant many precedents; and also from time to time, shall observe' pay, and perform all such other customs, as are mentioned or expressed in the said patent.

And, for their safety and defence in all the said particular plantations, they shall be aided, protected, and defended, both by sea and land, against all assaulters, invaders, and intruders, according to the power and strength of the undertakers of the general plantation, which I hope, with God's assistance, shall be sufficient to resist and repel the malice of our greatest enemies.

JOOST VAN DER HOOGE established a colony on the River Essequebo about this time, and called it Nova Zeelandia. He found the remains of a fort on a small island at the mouths of the Cuyuni and Mas-saruni, which he repaired and put in order to protect the colony behind, the headquarters of which were at Cartabo. It was named from its restorer FORT TER HOOGE, but it afterwards obtained the descriptive name of Kyk-over-al (Look over all) from its advantageous position, from whence the mouths of the three rivers could be well watched. The above

1613 statement of HARTSINCK differs so much from the English authorities—SLOANE MS. Description of Guiana, and another MS. in the Sloane collection—that we cannot reconcile them, and therefore give the account of the former, which is as follows:—

“The sixth colony (*in Guiana*) was undertaken by one Captain GROMWEAGLE, a Dutchman, that had served the Spaniards in the Orenoque, but understanding a company of merchants of Zeeland had before undertaken a voyage to Guiana, and attempted a settlement there, he deserted the Spanish service, and tendered himself to his own country, which was accepted, and he despatched from Zeeland anno 1616, with two ships and a galliot; and was the first man that took firm footing on Guiana by the good liking of the natives, whose humours this gentleman well understood. He erected a fort on a small island 30 leagues up the river Disekeeb which looked into two great branches of that famous river. All his time the Colony flourished; he managed a great trade with the Spaniards by the Indians with great secrecy; he was a great friend of all new colonies of Christians of what nation soever, and Barbados oweth its first assistance both for food and trade to this man’s special kindness anno 1627, at which time they were in a miserable condition; he died anno 1664, and in the 83rd year of his age, a wealthy man, having been *Governor of that Colony forty-eight years.*\* In this Colony the author had the good fortune to meet with some ingenious observations of the former Governor of what had been transacted in Guiana in his time, to whom the world is obliged for many particulars of his story.”

As will appear later the Dutch authorities not only disagree as to the founder of the Colony but also as to GROMWEAGLE being Governor.

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\* The italics are ours.

Inasmuch as the settlement of the date of the foundation of the Fort at Kyk-over-al is of importance in the history of the colony of Essequibo, and recently published information, to which the compilers have just had access, proves the obvious inconsistency and incorrectness of the above accounts, the following notes will help to elucidate the matter, although only on the negative side:—

JOOST VAN BORSSELEN VAN DER HOOGEN (probably the VAN DER HOOGE of Hartsinck) was born in 1585, married in 1612, and died in 1666. From 1618 to 1630, he was six times Burgomaster of Middelburg; from 1631 to 1659, Treasurer to the States General, and was a supporter of the West India Company. It is highly improbable that he was ever in Guiana, but it is most likely that the Fort was named in his honour, and from that circumstance the notion became prevalent that he built it. There was also a "Huis ter Hooge" (wooden fort or block house), in the Pomeroon.

AERT ADRIAENTZ GROENWEGEL was Commandeur of Essequibo from 1657 to 1666, and he was probably the person referred to by SCOTT in the Sloane MS., but there is no account of his being connected with Guiana before the date when he went from Holland to take over his command, while the first Commander was JACOB CANIJN or CONIJN who governed from 1624 to 1627. The colony would certainly be in existence for some time before it was officially recognized, and probably, was originally founded by some persons who were left by trading vessels for the purpose of collecting a cargo against their return. This was customary in these early times as it prevented the great delays that would otherwise occur [*Vide* NETSCHER'S "Essequibo," &c. 1888.]

A settlement of 160 French families was attempted at Cayenne in the same year. At first, the

- 1613 Indians were very friendly, but afterwards they refused to help the colonists, many of whom in consequence died of privation, and the remainder were obliged to abandon the place.
- 1615 Two small vessels from Zeeland landed 280 colonists at Cayenne, but not gaining the good-will of the natives they were unable to trade, and, suffering a great deal from want of that help which was generally given so freely, they were obliged to abandon the post and return to their own country the same year.
- 1616 By means of a bribe of fifteen hundred pounds  
 March to the uncles of Buckingham, the King's favourite,  
 17 RALEIGH obtained his release from the Tower, unpardoned, but under a similar agreement for a Guiana expedition as that already noticed. It is stated that he might have obtained a free pardon for another bribe of an equal amount, but feeling confident of his success in Guiana, he did not think it necessary. In one of the Sloane MSS. written by him, he has given a long string of arguments in favour of the rights of England to this country and the desirability of the voyage to Guiana. The following extracts will show his manner of reasoning :
- “Touching the voyage for Guiana it is to be considered first, whether it be to be undertaken: Secondly, the manner of subduing it: And lastly, the means how to subdue it, and annex it to the Crown Imperial of the Realm of England.
- “That it is to be undertaken will appear if it be proved to be (1) honourable, (2) profitable, (3) necessary, (4) and with no great charge or difficulty, accomplished. It is honourable, both for that by this means infinite numbers of souls may be brought from their idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignorance, and incivility, to the worshipping of the true God aright to civil conversation, and also their bodies freed from the intolerable tyranny of the



Spaniards, whereunto they are already or likely in short space to be subjected, unless her excellent Majesty or some other Christian prince do speedily assist, and afterward protect them in their just defensive wars against the violence of usurpers, which if it please her Highness to undertake, besides that it will stop the mouths of the Romish Catholics, who vaunt of their great adventures for the propagation of the Gospel, it will add great increase of honour to the memory of her Majesty's name upon earth to all posterity, and in the end be rewarded with an excellent starlike splendency in the heavens, which is reserved for them that turn many unto righteousness, as the prophet speaketh.

“Likewise it is profitable, for hereby the Queen's dominions may be exceedingly enlarged, and this Realm inestimably enriched with precious stones, gold, silver, pearls, and other commodities which those countries yield and (God giving good success to the voyage) an entrance made thereby to many other Empires (which haply may prove as rich as this) and it may be, to Peru itself and other kingdoms of which the Spaniards be now possessed in those parts and elsewhere.

“Lastly, the necessity of attempting Guiana in regard of our own security (albeit no profit should redound thereby to the Indians, or to ourselves directly from those countries) ought greatly to weigh with us. For if the Spaniard by the treasure of those Kingdoms which he hath already, be able to trouble the better part of Christendom, what would he do if he were once established in Guiana, which is thought to be more rich than all other lands which he enjoyeth, either in the East or West Indies. Whereas if her Majesty were seized of it, he might be so kept occupied in those provinces, that he would not hastily threaten us with any more of his invincible navies.”

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He goes on further to demolish the Spanish rights to the country, arguing that the right of the Pope had even been disputed by some of their own authorities, and recommending that the Guianians be trained in such a manner that they would be able to hold their own, after the English should obtain their complete alliance and friendship.

As soon as RALEIGH was released he began to make preparations for his voyage, and managing by his own confidence to infect others, he received help in vessels, men, and money from several merchants and gentlemen.

During the summer and autumn of this year RALEIGH was engaged in victualling and arming his vessels. As soon as it was known that he was bound for the Orinoco, GONDOMAR the Spanish Ambassador protested against the expedition as being intended to attack the possessions of a friendly nation. The whole of Guiana was claimed by Spain, and it was believed that the story of a gold mine was only a blind to other projects. RALEIGH declared that he had no intention to attack any Spanish town, as he believed that he could arrive at his mine without passing St. Thome. The locality was kept secret by both RALEIGH and KEYMIS, but it is evident that it was the same mine which had been mentioned by the latter as having been pointed out to him by an Indian. It was situated at some distance south-east of Mount Aio, about twenty miles below the mouth of the Caroni and two leagues below BERREO'S town. With only an Indian's vague statement of distance it may have been many miles from the bank of the river, and possibly as far as the sources of the Yuruary; at any rate it was situated somewhere between the Orinoco and the present Caratal mines. It is not improbable that the exact locality may be yet discovered, as it is certainly within the gold district.

After considerable hesitation JAMES I. granted 1616  
 RALEIGH the following commission :— Aug.  
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JAMES, by the grace of GOD, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them, greeting :—

Whereas Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and find out some commodities and merchandises in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for these our kingdoms and dominions, whereof the inhabitants make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue, by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith and reformed religion amongst those savage and idolatrous people: And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships and others well disposed to assist the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH in this his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH now standeth: And whereas also we are informed that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and adventure their lives with him in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration of the premises, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely furtherance to the said WALTER RALEIGH, his friends and associates herein, to the encouragement of others in the like laudable journies and enterprises, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffick, and merchandises, used by our subjects of this our Kingdom, being most famous throughout all nations: Of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, full power and authority, and free licence and liberty out of this our realm of England, or any other of our dominions, to have, carry, take and lead, for and towards his said intended voyage into the said south parts, or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, and to travel thither, all such, and so many of our loving subjects, or any others, strangers, that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obeysance and allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, ammunition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, wares and merchandises as are esteemed by the wild people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses and mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his voyage, and for the use of and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandises, and premises to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH and his company, and such other person or persons as shall be adventurers or assistants with or unto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey and bring into this our Kingdom, or any other of our Dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares or merchandises, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdom, or any other of our dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and his said company, and other persons, adventurers and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the lett, interruption, molestation and disturbance of us, our heirs or successors, or any the officers or ministers unto us, our heirs or successors,

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whatsoever, paying and answering unto us, our heirs and successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided of all such gold and silver, and bullion, and ore of gold or silver, and pearl, and precious stone, as shall be so imported, over and besides, and together with such customs, subsidies and other duties as shall be due for, and in respect of, any other goods, wares or merchandises whatsoever to be imported by the true meaning of these presents. And to the end the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him, or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his proceedings: We do hereby, "in verbo Regio," for us, our heirs and successors, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and all other persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers, or assistants, with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them, or any of them, to be imported into this our Kingdom of England, or any other of our dominions, from any of the south or other parts of America, possessed or inhabited as aforesaid, shall be attached, seized or taken by us, our heirs or successors, or to the use of us, our heirs or successors, whatsoever, but that the same and every of them (the fifth part of the said gold, silver or bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and pearl, and precious stone, and other the customs and duties aforesaid, being duly answered and paid), shall be and remain to the sole proper use and behoof of the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and his said company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this his voyage. any law, statute or act of parliament, proclamation, provision or restraint, or any right, title, or claim of us, our heirs or successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of our more special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said south, or other parts of America, so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule them, or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH shall be from time to time established as well in cases capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and other; so always as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government and policy, of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian faith now professed in the church of England. And because that, in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the mariners and sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient authority to punish them according to their offences: We do therefore by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise martial law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or lieutenants in our counties, within our realm of England, have had, or ought to have by force of their commission of lieutenantancy. And we do further, by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captains, and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his company, and the good of the voyage. And further, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, straightly charge and command the wardens of our Cinque-Ports and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, that they, and every of them, do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and all person and persons that shall be willing to adventure with him in this voyage with

their ships, and ammunition, goods, wares and merchandises whatsoever out of this our realm, or any other our dominions, to pass into the said south or other parts of America possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, and from thence to return and import into this our realm, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares or merchandises whatsoever, and there to sell, or dispose of the same to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and his company, and such other persons as shall be adventurers with him in this voyage, paying the fifth part of all gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and of pearl and precious stone imported, and other the customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the enrollment thereof shall be unto the said warden of the Cinque-ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Sir WALTER RALEIGH, that these our letters-patents or the enrollment thereof, and all and singular grants, clauses and things therein contained, shall be strong, sufficient, and effectual in law according to our gracious pleasure and meaning herein expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordinance, or restraint, or any other matter or thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. in witness whereof, &c. Witness ourselves at Westminster, the six and twentieth day of August, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.

“Per breve et privato Sigillo.”

[“A Declaration, &c., &c.” London, printed by BONHAM NORTON, and JOHN BILL, Printers to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1618.]

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In March of this year four or five of Sir THOMAS ROE’s men returned to England from Guiana, in a Dutch vessel, bringing home a valuable cargo of Tobacco which sold for £2,300, and some ingots of gold. A number of Colonists were left (in the Oyapok ?) planting, to whom the others intended to return. Captain HARVEY went over in December in a vessel of 200 tons with 70 men, and victualled for eleven months. He had been three years in the Oyapok colony with HARCOURT and intended to settle his men in the same locality. [*Vide State Papers.*]

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RALEIGH sailed from the Thames and proceeded to Plymouth in order to finish his preparations for what was destined to be his last enterprise to Guiana. He had realised all his fortune as well as that of his wife, and employed it in fitting out ships for the expedition.

Mch.

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Prior to RALEIGH’s setting out on his expedition he issued at Plymouth on this date, “Orders” or regulations for guidance of “the Commanders of the Fleet, and Land Companies” under his charge and

May

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1617 conduct. This elaborate code attests RALEIGH'S ability as an organiser, and a decidedly religious tone is one of its marked characteristics. First, "Because no action or enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty GOD, the LORD and strength of hosts and armies" divine service was without fail to be read in each ship morning and evening, in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper; or at least (if there be interruption by foul weather) once a day, praising GOD every night with singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch." Secondly, especial care was to be taken that GOD should not be blasphemed in any ship; "but that after admonition given if the offenders do not refrain themselves you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventure, by which course, if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal. For if it be threatened in the Scriptures that the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer, much less from the ship of the swearer." Thirdly, the duty of obedience to the commands of superiors was strictly enjoined upon the men: "no man (being in health) shall refuse to wait his turn as he shall be directed; the sailors by the master and the boatswain, the landmen by their captain, lieutenant and others." Then close watch was to be enforced every night against the carrying of fire or candle-light about the ship, &c., "for there is no danger so inevitable as the ship's firing, which may as well happen by taking of tobacco between the decks, and therefore forbidden to all men but aloft the upper deck," Landmen were required to familiarise themselves with the names and places of the ropes, to assist the sailors in deck work; and the commanders were to instruct the sailors as they did the landmen registering them in the company lists without any distinction of profession further than "that all be

esteemed sailors and all soldiers. For your troops will be very weak when you come to land, without the assistance of your seafaring men." Chase was prohibited of any ship, and the boarding of any except under order of the General; nothing was to be taken from any ship belonging to prince or state: in league or amity with the King, "although in manifest extremity or want, you may (agreeing for the price) relieve yourself with things necessary, giving bond for the same, provided that it be not to the disfurnishing of any such ship, whereby the owner or merchants be endangered for the ship or goods." Then follow comprehensive rules to be observed in cruising and in action; and further the men were restricted from feasting or drinking between meals, and drinking of healths "on the ship's provision": whosoever purloined apparel or anything else belonging to his fellows rendered himself liable to punishment as a thief, but for stealing victuals either by breaking into the hold or otherwise, the penalty was "the punishment of a thief and the murderer of his fellows." Again, no man could strike an officer or offer any violence to any of them "but the supreme officer to the inferior," in time of service, upon pain of death; and no private man might strike another under pain of such punishment as a martial court should think him worthy: "No man shall play at cards or dice, either for his apparel or arms, upon pain of being disarmed, and made a swabber. And whosoever shall shew himself a coward upon any landing or otherwise, he shall be disarmed, and made a labourer and carrier of victuals for the rest:" "No man shall land any men in any foreign parts, without order from the general, the serjeant-major or other chief officer, upon pain of death; and wheresoever we shall have cause to land no man shall force any woman, be she Christian or heathen, upon pain of death,

1617 And you shall take especial care, when GOD shall suffer us to land in the Indies, not to eat any fruits unknown; such fruits as you do not find eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under the tree, you shall avoid:” “ You shall not sleep on the ground, nor eat any new flesh till it be salted two or three hours, which otherwise will breed a most dangerous flux; so will the eating of over-fat hogs or turkies. You shall also have a great care that you swim not in any rivers but where you see the Indians swim, because most of the rivers are full of alligators. You shall not take anything from any Indian by force, for from thenceforth we shall never be relieved; but you must use them with all courtesy. And for trading or exchanging with them, it must be done by one or two of every ship for all the rest, and the price to be directed by the chief-merchant, for otherwise all our commodities will be of small price, and greatly to our hindrance:” “ For other orders on land, we will establish them (when GOD shall send us thither) by general consent.”

He sailed from Plymouth in the early part of July in command of seven vessels, and, before leaving the coast, was joined by seven others, some of which however, left him on the voyage and returned home. The largest of the fleet was the *Destiny*, of 440 tons, of which he was commander, manned with 100 sailors, 20 watermen, and 80 gentlemen, besides servants and labourers, and armed with 36 guns. One of the other vessels, the *Page*, was of only 25 tons burden, carrying ten men and three rabinets (small brass cannons.) Among the vessels which joined him in the Channel, was the *Couvertine* commanded by Captain KEYMIS, who was always ready to follow his great leader.

Having encountered a gale in the Channel the fleet was compelled to put into Cork for shelter.



RALEIGH proceeded on his voyage to Guiana. 1617  
 Instead of arriving at his destination in Aug.  
 about six weeks, he was delayed by contrary 19.  
 winds and calms, so that the men became very sickly  
 from want of water and other necessaries, and Sir  
 WALTER himself was obliged to keep his bed with a  
 "burning fever."

After a voyage of nearly three months Nov.  
 the expedition arrived on this date at 11,  
 the North Cape, where a skiff was sent to  
 enquire for RALEIGH'S old servant LEONARD the  
 Indian, who had been with him for 3 or 4 years, "the  
 same man that took Mr. HARCOURT'S brother and 50  
 of his men when they came upon that coast and were  
 in extreme distress, having neither meat to carry  
 them home nor means to live there but by the help  
 of this Indian." LEONARD having removed to a dis-  
 tance of thirty miles up the country, and the anchor-  
 age being bad, RALEIGH proceeded to Caliana  
 (Cayenne) to look for HARRY, another Indian, who  
 had lived in the Tower with him for two years. His  
 account of the matter is thus given in his Journal of  
 the voyage:—"I sent my barge ashore to enquire  
 for my servant HARRY the Indian, who sent his bro-  
 ther unto me with 2 other Casiques, promising to  
 come to me with provisions if I came not into the  
 river within a day or two. These Indians stayed  
 with me that night, offering their service and all  
 they had. Mine own weakness which still continued,  
 and the desire I had to be carried ashore to change  
 the air, and out of an unsavoury ship, pestered with  
 many sick men who were unable to move, poisoning us  
 with a most filthy stench, persuaded me to adventure  
 my ship over a bar where never any vessel of burden  
 had passed. In the road my barge found one JANSON  
 of Flushing, who had traded that place about a dozen  
 years, who came to me where I rode without,  
 offering me his service for the bringing in of my

1617 ship, and assuring me that on the top of a full sea there was 3 fathom, whereupon the rest of my fleet went into the river and anchored, and by the help of JANSON I got over the bar." After he had stayed a day or two here, HARRY came to him ("who had almost forgotten his English") and brought a large quantity of cassava bread, plenty of roasted mullets, and a great store of plantains and pine apples. At first he was so very sick that he could not even touch a pine-apple, but after being carried ashore and resting under his tent for a day or two, he had an appetite for the fruit as well as the "pork of the country," (bush hog or labba,) and even armadillo. Here he landed his sick men, who soon began to recover under the fresh provisions supplied by his Indian friends, and also put together the barges which had been provided for river navigation. Captain JANSON, the Dutchman, being homeward bound, RALEIGH sent Captain ALLEY in his vessel, who carried a letter to Lady RALEIGH, giving an account of his progress so far, and the hopes he entertained of further success.

Leaving the Cayenne river on the 4th of December, he came to the Triangle Islands (Iles du Salut) where he anchored and prepared five of his vessels for the Orinoco, under command of KEYMIS, who was to have the principal charge when in the river, while the land companies were commanded by Captain GEORGE RALEIGH, (his nephew), PARKER, NORTH, WALTER RALEIGH, (his son), THORNHURST, HALL, and CHUDLEY. On the 10th of December, the expedition, consisting of 400 soldiers and sailors, departed with a month's provisions, being ordered to try to procure pilots from the Surinam river. They were also directed to send into the Essequibo, as RALEIGH assured them that "they could not want pilots there for Orinoco," being the next great river adjoining unto it, and to which the Spaniards of

Orenoke had daily recourse. Having despatched his river expedition, he followed along the Coast, arriving at Barima point on the 15th of December, and the same evening saw Trinidad. On the last day of the year he anchored off Tierra de Brea, where he trimmed his boats with the stone pitch found there. 1617

RALEIGH sent one of his vessels from his anchorage to Port of Spain to see if the Spaniards would trade for tobacco and other necessaries, "but when her boat was near the shore, while they on the shore were in parley with Captain GILES, who had charge of the boat, the Spaniards gave them a volley of some 20 muskets at 40 paces distant, and yet hurt never a man: as our boat put off they called our men thieves and traitors with all manner of opprobrious speeches." 1618  
Jany. 19.

RALEIGH remained in the gulf of Paria during the whole month of January, on the watch for the arrival of a Spanish fleet, which he expected daily, and not daring to leave the entrances of the Orinoco unprotected for fear that his expedition should be surprised. On the 29th of this month one of his men was shot by a Spaniard as he was engaged ashore in boiling pitch. It appears that three men and a boy were attacked by six Spaniards, who had hid in the bush until the opportunity of attack occurred. One of RALEIGH's men managed to swim aboard, another hid in the forest, while the boy was missing, and supposed to have been taken prisoner. RALEIGH pursued the enemy, but they succeeded in getting into the woods, leaving their canoes and arms.

Meanwhile KEYMIS had arrived at Punta Barima early in January, where his fleet was espied by an Indian fisherman, who hastened to inform PALOMEQUE the Spanish governor, who lost no time in making preparation for the defence of St. Thome. Calling

1618 together as many men as he could obtain, to the number of only fifty seven, he proceeded to the town, which had been removed farther down the river since KEYMIS' last voyage, and then consisted of a hundred and forty houses, a church, and two convents. KEYMIS appears to have heard that the town had been removed, but he was not quite certain of its exact situation and disembarked his men at a little distance beyond it, near which PALOMEQUE placed an ambuscade of ten men, who were, however, soon driven to fall back on the town, into which they were pursued by the English. The guard house was then taken and the Spaniards forced to retreat into their houses, from whence they fired at and killed several of the English, among whom was RALEIGH'S son. To dislodge the Spaniards fire was put to the houses and the town burnt to the ground, while the remnant of the inhabitants fled into the forest. The Spanish Governor and one of his Captains was slain in the fight. After the funeral of young RALEIGH, who was buried in the church, with some ceremony, the English hunted amidst the ruins for gold and silver, of which former they found a few bars, which had apparently been got from the neighbourhood, and proceeding to scour the plantations and drive in the cattle, they were taken at a disadvantage by their enemies, who lay in the woods. Some of the parties are supposed to have gone as far as the site of the present Caratal gold fields. KEYMIS seems to have been disappointed and very much distressed at the death of his young master, and cared nothing further what became of the gold mine; and the enemy being encamped in the road to the Caroni, prepared to give him trouble in his search, he gave up the project entirely. The English adventurers finding that KEYMIS' gold mine was unattainable began to grumble and charge him with deception, and

worried him so much that he appeared to have lost his senses and forgot the main object of the expedition, which was to get sufficient gold ore to prove the existence of the mine. After a stay of twenty-six days at St. Thome, the English, who had been much weakened by sickness and the attacks of the Spaniards and their allies the Arrawacks, abandoned the town, taking with them everything of value, including a hundred and fifty quintals of tobacco. Before their departure they set fire to the few remaining buildings, by which conflagration the church was destroyed.

On arriving at Trinidad KEYMIS tried to justify himself to his commander, by alleging that he had neither sufficient force to defend himself against the Spaniards and Arrawacks, nor labourers to work the mine.. RALEIGH turned upon him in anger, saying that he was undone, and that KEYMIS would have to satisfy the King. The poor fellow took his leader's anger so much to heart that after leaving RALEIGH he shot himself with a pistol, and this inflicting but a slight wound, completed the self-murder by driving a long knife into his heart.

The disasters of the expedition caused great dissatisfaction to the commanders of the squadron so that there was a want of combination in the company. Proceeding to St. Christopher and from thence to Newfoundland to refit, where the crew of the *Destiny* became mutinous, RALEIGH at length sailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth early in July, 1618.

The unfortunate result of the expedition had reached England and been communicated to King JAMES on the 13th of May, by Captain NORTH. When GONDOMAR heard of it he is said to have demanded an audience of the King, which being given, he cried out, "Piratas, piratas, piratas!" and left the royal presence immediately. The

1618 arrest of RALEIGH, his imprisonment, and execution are matters which form a part of English history, and as such, have been detailed in every chronicle of the period. We may mention that a most sympathetic account of the life of this truly great man may be found in CHARLES KINGSLEY'S "Sir WALTER RALEIGH and His Time," from which we extract the following:—

"Two shameful months are spent in trying to find some excuse for RALEIGH'S murder. WILSON is set over him as a spy; his letters to his wife are intercepted. Every art is used to extort a confession of a great plot with France, and every art fails utterly,—simply, it seems to me, because there was no plot. RALEIGH writes an apology, letters of entreaty, self-justification, what not; all in my opinion, just and true enough, but, like his speech on the scaffold, weak, confused—the product of a 'broken brain.' However, his head must come off; and as a last resource it must be taken off upon the sentence of fifteen years ago, and he who was condemned for plotting with Spain, must die for plotting against her. It is a pitiable business.

"But no matter. He must die. The Queen intercedes for him, as do all honest men: but in vain. He has twenty-four hours' notice to prepare for death; eats a good breakfast; takes a cup of sack and a pipe; makes a rambling speech, in which one notes only the intense belief that he is an honest man, and the intense desire to make others believe so, in the very smallest matters; and then dies smilingly as one weary of life. One makes no comment. RALEIGH'S life really ended on that day that poor KEYMIS returned from San Thome."

While in the Tower RALEIGH wrote an Apology for his voyage to Guiana, but as this is too long for insertion here, we publish his "Letter to Lord

CABEW touching Guiana," which is an epitome of 1618  
the "Apology."

"Because I know not whether I shall live to come before the Lords, I have for His Majesties' satisfaction here set down as much as I can say, either for mine own defence, or against myself, as things are now construed.

"It is true that though I acquainted his Majesty with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known to his Majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there; neither had I any authority by Patent, to remove them from thence and therefore his Majesty had no interest in the attempt of Saint Thome by any foreknowledge in his Majesty.

"But knowing his Majesties' title to the country to be best, and most Christian, because the naturall Lords did most willingly acknowledge Queen ELIZABETH to be their Sovereigne, who by me promised to defend them from Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the Land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other title but force, (the Pope's donation excepted), considering also that they had got a possession there divers yeares since my possession for the Crowne of England: for were not Guiana his Majesties', then might I as well have bin questioned for a thiefe, for taking the gold out of the King of Spain's Mynes, as the Spaniards doe now call me a peace breaker; for from any territory that belongs to the King of Spaine, it is no more lawfull for the Spaniards to take gold than lawfull for the Spaniards to take Tinne out of Cornewall; were the possession of theirs a sufficient Bar to his Majesties' Right, the Kings of Spain may as well call themselves Dukes of Brittain, because they held Blewet, and fortified there; and Kings of Ireland because they possessed Smereck and fortified there, and so in other places.

1618

“That his Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English under Master CHARLES LEIGH and Master HARCOURT had leave to plant and inhabite the Country. The Orrenoque itselfe had long ere this had 5,000 English in it, I assure mysele, had not my employment at Cales, the next yeare after my returne from Guiana, and after that our journey to the Islands hindered me, for those two years after with Tirones rebellion, made her Majesty unwilling that any great number of Ships or men should be taken out of England, till that rebellion were ended, and lastly her Majestie’s death, my long imprisonment gave time to the Spaniards.

“To set up a towne of sticks covered with leaves of trees upon the banke of Orronoque, which they call St. Thome; but they have neither reconciled nor conquered any of the Cassiques or natural Lords of the Country, which Cassiques are still in armes against them, as by the Governours letter to the King of Spaine, may appeare: That by landing in Guiana there can be any breach of peace, I thinke it (under favour) impossible, for to breake peace where there is no peace, it cannot be; that the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth appeare by the Kings letters to the Governour, that they should put to death all those Spaniards and Indians that trade *con los Engleses Enemigos*, (with English enemies): yea those very Spaniards which we encountered at St. Thome, did of late years murder six and thirty of master HALE’s men of London, and mine, who landed without weapon, upon the Spaniard’s faith to trade with them;\* Master THORNE also in Tower street in London, besides many other English, were in like sort murdered in Orrenoque, the yeare before my deliverie out of the Tower.

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\* He states in his “Apology” that the 36 men were tied back to back and had their throats cut.



“ Now if this kind of trade be peaceable there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies, betweene us and the Spaniards, but if this be cruell Warre, and hatred, and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt: Againe, how doth it stand with the greatness of the King of Spain, first to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then having failed, to call us peace breakers: for to be an enemy and a peace breaker in one and the same action is impossible.

“ But the King of Spaine in his letters to the Governour of Guiana, dated at Madrill the 29th of March, before we left the Thames, calls us *Ingleses enemijos*, (English enemies.)

“ If it had pleased the King of Spaine to have written to his Majesty in seaven months time, for we were so long in preparing, and have made his Majesty know, that our landing in Guiana would draw after it a breach of the peace, I presume to thinke, that his Majesty would have staid our enterprise for the present. This he might have done with lesse charge than to levy three hundred soldiers and transport ten pieces of ordnance from Portarico, which souldiers added to the Garrison of St. Thome: had they arrived before our coming had overthrowne all our raw companies, and there would have followed no complaints.

“ For the maine point of landing neer St. Thome, it is true, that we were of opinion, that we must have driven the Spaniards out of the towne, before we could passe the thick woods upon the mountaines of the Myne, which I confesse I did first resolve upon, but better bethinking my selfe, I reserved the taking of the towne, to the goodnesse of the Myne, which if they found to be so rich, as it might perswade the leaving of the Garrison, then to drive the Spaniards thence, but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reason why

1618 they followed not my last direction for the triall of the Myne before the taking of the towne, and they answered me, that although they durst hardly goe to the Myne leaving a garrison of Spaniards between them and their boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did land, betweene the towne and the Myne.

“ And that the Spaniards without any manner of parley set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them *Perros Ingleses*, and by skirmishing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were, so that if any peace had been in those parts, the Spaniards first brake the peace, and made the first slaughter, for as the English could not but land to seeke the Myne, being come thither to that end, so being first reviled, and charged by the Spaniards, they could doe no lesse than repel force by force; lastly, it is a matter of no small consequence to acknowledge that wee have offended the King of Spaine by landing in Guiana.

“ For first it weakens his Majesties' title to the Country or quits it; Secondly, there is no King that hath ever given the least way to any other King or State in the traffick of the lives or goods of his Subjects; to wit in our case, that it shall be lawfull for the Spaniards to murther us, either by force or treason, and unlawfull for us to defend our selves and pay them with their owne Coyne, for this superiority and inferiority is a thing which no absolute Monarch ever yielded to, or ever will.

“ Thirdly, it shews that the English bears greater respect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtfull of his forces, than either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies without being questioned at their returne, yea at my owne being at Plimouth, a French gentleman called FLOY went thence with foure saile, and three hun-

dred land men, with Commission to land and burne, and to sack all places in the Indies that he could master; and yet the French King hath married the daughter of Spaine.

“This is all that I can say other than that I have spent my poore estate, lost my sonne and my health, and endured as many sorts of miseries as ever man did, in hope to do his Majesty acceptable service: And have not to my understanding committed any hostile act, other than entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the Crowne of England, where the English were first set upon and slaine by the usurping Spaniards; I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards.

“I returned into England with manifest perill of my life, with a purpose not to hold my life, with any other than his Majesties grace, and from which no man nor any perill could dissuade me. To that grace, and goodness, and kinglynesse I referre myself, which if it shall find that I have not yet suffered enough, it yet may please to adde more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life.”

After the execution of RALEIGH had caused such a murmur of dissatisfaction throughout England, King JAMES thought it necessary to publish a vindication of himself; an act that is probably unique in history. It was probably written by Lord VERULAM (BACON) and certainly revised by the King himself. The full title was “a Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Knight, as well in his voyage, as in, and sithence his return, and of the true motives and inducements which occasioned His Majesty to proceed in doing justice upon him, as hath been done.” It is too long to publish in full, but we may state that it is very carefully drawn up, particular attention being given to every charge that could possibly be made against the poor Knight, while every excuse and apology

1618 was as carefully suppressed. The following introductory paragraph will show the style of the document:—"Although Kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone; yet such are His Majesty's proceedings, as he hath always been willing to bring them before sun and moon, and carefully to satisfy all his good people with his intentions and courses, giving as well to future times, as to the present, true and undisguised declarations of them; as judging that for actions not well founded, it is advantage to let them pass in uncertain reports; but for actions, that are built upon sure and solid grounds, such as His Majesty's are, it belongeth to them, to be published by open manifest; especially His Majesty is willing to declare and manifest to the world his proceedings in a case of such a nature, as this which followeth is; since it not only concerns his own people, but also a foreign Prince and state abroad."

1619 Towards the end of this year a project was set in hand for an Amazon Company. Captain ROGER NORTH was to be Governor and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, with other gentlemen, were to be shareholders. Objection was made on the part of Spain as being prejudicial to her interests, but the Patent was however granted by the King, and many of the gentry and nobility took part in the company.

1620 Captain ROGER NORTH, who had been concerned  
 April in RALEIGH'S last expedition, sailed from Plymouth,  
 30 together with 120 gentlemen, in a ship, a pinnace, and two shallops, and arrived at the mouth of the Amazons in seven weeks. They were very pleased with the country, which they found healthy, and the natives were very friendly to the English, although they hated the Spaniards and Portuguese. On their arrival (in the Oyapok), they found some English and Irish colonists, (probably HARCOURT'S people), who joined them and were very pleased to see some of

their own countrymen again. They had been supplied by the Dutch during their eight years' residence in the country, but they complained very much of the advantage taken of them by the monopoly of their trade by these people. After loading his vessels with tobacco and other produce, NORTH sailed for England, leaving behind a hundred colonists. 1620

Meanwhile, King JAMES, following the same policy (or want of policy) which had led to the murder of RALEIGH, after granting the patent, consulted with GONDOMAR about the matter, and he naturally of course opposed it, and affirmed that his master the King of Spain actually held possession of Guiana. This led the King to revoke the patent, and issue a proclamation dated May 15, to the effect that Captain ROGER NORTH and his fellow adventurers having contrary to command secretly embarked for the intended plantation near the river Amazon, the King declares his utter "mislike" of their rash and insolent attempt, revokes any commission they may pretend to hold from His Majesty, and commands their immediate return and surrender, or their seizure by any vessels that may meet with them. On the 22nd of the same month the deluded members of the Amazon Company were compelled to appear before the King and renounce all the rights which the patent had so lately conferred upon them.

NORTH appears to have had an inkling that an attempt was being made to stop his expedition, but having been assured by the Duke of Richmond and others that "the world expected he should go without bidding," and being ready for sea, he sailed at once.

NORTH was taken prisoner on his return, and sent to the Tower, where he remained till the following July. His goods were also seized, on the plea "that they had been obtained from Spanish possessions," but King JAMES could not manage to twist any law 1621  
Jan.  
7

1621 so that they might be declared forfeited; they were therefore restored to him on his release, very much damaged however, by want of care and attention.

The colonists left behind in Guiana probably knew nothing of NORTH's imprisonment for a long time, but when no further supplies were forthcoming, they became somewhat disorganized. They were governed at first by Captain THOMAS PAINTON, who died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by Captain CHARLES PARKER who held the command for six years. The colonists made use of the Indians, who built houses and planted provisions for them, being paid in glass beads, iron work, "or such like contemptible stuff." For some years the colony was obliged to trade with the Dutch to their own disadvantage. After a residence of two years, three of the company, THOMAS WARNER, JOHN RHODES, and ROBERT BIMS went to St. Christopher where they founded the first English Colony in the West Indies.

The West India Company of Holland was established after considerable hesitation and a long delay. A Charter had been granted in 1607, but owing to the conflict of opinion nothing had been done to carry out its provisions till the present year. The original which had been granted for thirty-six years, empowered the Company to maintain armies and fleets, to build forts and cities, to carry on war, and to make treaties of peace and commerce. The States General agreed to furnish a million guilders, and twenty ships of war, while the Company was under obligation to provide twenty other vessels and a similar amount of capital. Certain privileges of free entry were granted, and the Company was on the point of becoming an actual fact when the twelve years' truce with Spain in 1609, cooled the ardour of the Hollanders, and caused its virtual abandonment.

On this date a new grant similar to the first, was made consisting of 47 Articles, by which the Company received exclusive rights for the period of 24 years to trade along the West Coast of Africa between the Tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the Eastern coast and Isles of America and the West Indies from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan. These rights excluded, all other persons from trading without the consent of the Company, except those colonists who had already made settlement in these countries, and subjected offenders to the penalty of confiscation of their vessels and cargoes. The Company was empowered to make treaties with the natives and their chiefs, to erect fortifications, plant colonies, employ soldiers, and to administer justice to the extent of the death penalty. The States General agreed to subsidize the Company with an annual grant of 200,000 guilders, to provide soldiers for the defence of the colonies, and to place at their disposal 16 large and 4 small vessels of war ready equipped, provided the Company were able to furnish a fleet of the same strength. In return for these concessions, the States General was entitled to the supreme control and also to a large share in the adventure.

The Company commenced operations with a Capital of 7,108,161 guilders, which afterwards amounted to 18,000,000, divided into shares of 6,000 guilders each. The Governing body was composed of five Chambers, which had shares and rights of voting, &c. in the following proportions: Amsterdam four-ninths, Zealand two-ninths, and the Meuse (Rotterdam), North Holland (Horn and Vriesland), and the town and district of Groningen, one-ninth each. These chambers elected representatives to a supreme governing council in the proportion of two coun-

1621  
June  
3

1621 cillors for each share; these eighteen, with the President, who was nominated by the States General, formed the COUNCIL OF NINETEEN. This supreme council held its sittings sometimes at Amsterdam and less often at Middelburg. In 1622 and 1623 the States General granted an extension of the letters-patent, by which other provinces not then represented, might acquire equal rights according to their shares in the Company.

The year 1621 and that following were passed in preparing regulations for the administration of the Company, and it was not till 1623 that the first fleet was sent to Africa to establish depots, from whence Brazil and the Guiana colonies were afterwards supplied with slaves. The West Indian merchants, VAN DER HOOGE, TEN HOOFF, ELFSDYK, and VAN PEERE, were appointed on the directorate of the Company; and it is probable that they used their influence to develop the Colony of Essequibo which was only of the most trifling importance at this period.

1623 The Portuguese, who it must be remembered had been under the yoke of Spain since 1581, succeeded in establishing themselves at the mouth of the Amazon, and commenced a series of raids up that great river, as well as in the rivers of that side of Guiana. They found Dutch, English, and French adventurers and traders, who had established factories that were protected by forts and earth-works. Most of the colonists were driven to abandon their posts, which became occupied by the invaders. Some of the Portuguese went into the Oyapok and gave trouble to ROGER NORTH'S colony, but they do not appear to have retained possession of that river. Like the Spaniards, they attacked the Indians everywhere, taking away their provisions, and carrying off the people as slaves. Even the Spanish writers hold



them up to reprobation for their cruelty to the natives. The Portuguese Captain having driven other nations from the Amazons called himself the "First Discoverer and Conqueror," entirely ignoring the fact that the people driven out were necessarily prior discoverers. The Dutch vessels along the Coast were captured, and their crews massacred, which ultimately led to retaliation on the part of the Dutch, resulting in the capture of Brazil. As will be seen later the Dutch possession of that country exercised a considerable influence on the fortunes of Guiana. 1623

Captain NORTH and some Irishmen imported into England during this year 28,000 pounds of Tobacco from Guiana.

About this time ABRAHAM VAN PEERE, son of JAN VAN PEERE, the Dutch merchant, commenced a settlement in Berbice. 1624

Here he was joined by an Englishman named THOMAS FANNING, who traded for an English merchant named YUELING (OR EVELYN?), who wished to open a trade with the Indians for his countrymen, but hearing that ROGER NORTH had a grant for the same business he abandoned it in his favour.

In the same year we have the first account of a Commandeur of Essequibo at Kyk-over-al, named JACOB CANIJN OR CONIJN, who governed the Colony till 1627, when he was recalled to Holland.

Up to this time, although vessels of the five nations which disputed the possession of Guiana had been trading in its rivers, nothing like a real colony had existed. From this period the trade with the Indians became less lucrative every year, as one vessel competed with another for their favours; the traders therefore became planters, and the prospect of importing slaves from Africa through the West India Company, and the protection that Company afforded, gave encouragement to the settlers.

1624

The first French Colony in Guiana as stated by HARTSINCK, was attempted in this year by some merchants of Rouen who had been engaged in trading along the coast for some time previous. For the purpose of carrying on a large trade they left 26 persons in the River Sinamary, but the settlement did not exist for any length of time, probably because the collecting of goods from the natives was not sufficiently remunerative.

1626

A French Colony was attempted in the River Conanama, for the protection of which a Fort was erected and duly garrisoned. A Commander was also appointed, and a vessel, well-manned and armed, provided to protect the Colony and its trade. Communication with France was continually kept up and additions to the settlers made by every vessel. These pioneers formed the nucleus of what afterwards became the Colony of Cayenne, but, as will be shown further on, there were many difficulties to be encountered before it became of any importance.

The Amazon Company was revived during this year. In March the Attorney General was ordered to prepare a bill for its incorporation, and on the 3rd of April a Patent for the formation of a company of adventurers to the River Amazon was prepared. It appears that NORTH made an arrangement with HARCOURT so that his rights became merged in the Company. The terms were similar to the former grants to ROBERT HARCOURT 1613 and ROGER NORTH, 1619, with the customary privileges of sending ships, men, ammunition, armour, &c. thither. The Duke of Buckingham was to be Governor of this Company, and HARCOURT, having ceded his rights, was to be entitled to a share in the adventure.

Novr.

CLAUDE PREVOST and JAN VAN RYEN made a proposal to the Chamber of Zeeland that the West India Company should supply them with vessels and

30 or 40 men to make a settlement on the Wild Coast of America. 1626

PREVOST appeared before the Council of the Company and entered into an agreement with them to engage in their service and proceed to such places as should be assigned to him, for the purpose of planting tobacco, cotton, anatto, sugar, and other plants, as well as to procure woods and other native produce. The Company agreed to pay all the expenses of the expedition and to give PREVOST a third part of the net profits, and also to provide him with an outfit of clothing, the value of which should be taken from his share of the profits. If any mines of gold, silver, or precious stones should be discovered, the discoverers were to be entitled to a twenty-fifth share of the profits for life. By resolution of the Chamber of Zeeland dated November 23rd and 26th, and December 10th and 24th, it was agreed that PREVOST should be sent to the Amazon, Oyapok, or Essequibo, and VAN RYEN to the Oyapok only. Dec. 9

Early in this year PREVOST went to Guiana, where he established a Colony near Cayenne, but very little is known of it. He returned to Holland in 1631 and applied to the Company for twenty-five Flemish pounds (£12 10 0) due to him for his services. He does not appear to have been sent to Guiana afterwards, but the Dutch authorities gave him a command in Brazil in 1632. 1627

VAN RYEN sailed for the Oyapok on the 22nd of January with three vessels, having on board 184 persons, among which were 36 colonists. He arrived at his destination on the 10th of March and landed his Colonists at a place where he found three Europeans, one of whom was a Dutchman named JAN HENDRICKSZ, who had lived so long in the country that he had almost lost the knowledge of his native language. According to the statement of

1627 these people, they were the remnants of a Colony that had been planted in the Amazon by one Captain OUDAEN.

JAN HENDECKSZ related that a large number of Spaniards (probably Portuguese, the subjects of Spain) had suddenly attacked the Dutch Settlements in the Amazons, at that time under the command of Captain OUDAEN, who, after defending themselves for half a day were forced to abandon their fort with the loss of 7 or 8 men, and retire in their long boats to a creek where some Englishmen were located. Here they landed to take refuge among the English, but their enemies soon followed them, compelling both Dutch and English to defend themselves; in which fight OUDAEN was killed, as well as all the English and some of the Hollanders. The Lieutenant, PIETER BRUYNE, fled in the long boat with 46 men to the Oyapok, where he was shot by his Sergeant, who headed a mutiny against him. The remnant of the Company not agreeing with each other they divided themselves into several parties and becoming dispersed among the Indians were cut off at some of their Piwarrie feasts.

VAN RYEN left his Colonists and proceeded to the West Indies. Soon after his departure they had a quarrel with the Caribs who proved so hostile that the settlers were obliged to abandon the Colony, some of them proceeding to St. Vincent and others to Tobago.

May 19 A Grant was made to GEORGE, Duke of Buckingham; WILLIAM, Earl of Pembroke, and others, in "the name of the Governor and Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen of England for the Plantation of Guiana."

The Duke of Buckingham was Governor, and together with 55 other noblemen and gentlemen formed the Company. Some subscribed £150, some £100, and others £50, each. General Courts

of the Company were to be held four times in a year. Capt. ROGER NORTH was chosen Deputy Governor, and Sir HENRY SPILMAN, Treasurer. 1627

The English Colony in the Oyapok then consisted of a very small number of colonists, who were governed by Master JOHN CHRISTMAS. The old Colonists, brought over about this time a hundred English and Irish, who sailed from Holland in a Dutch vessel. In the two following years four vessels and two hundred Colonists were sent out by the Amazon Company, which also sent a pinnace of 30 tons manned by as many seamen, on a voyage of discovery up the Amazon, who on the return of the expedition reported that the country was thickly inhabited and suitable for colonization. The Oyapok Colonists were reported as doing well, the natives being very friendly, not sparing any pains, danger, or labour to feed and maintain them, and also giving assistance in the erection of fortifications, buildings, and sugar works.

ABRAHAM VAN PEERE or VAN PERES, the son of JAN VAN PEERE, the Vlissengen merchant, who has already been mentioned in connection with Guiana, sailed from Holland in a vessel named the *Arend*, commanded by Captain BART, and another small vessel, the *Hazewind*, Captain CORNELISZ, for the River Berbice. He took with him 40 men as Colonists, who were engaged on condition that they should receive part of the profit of the Colony, and 20 boys who were employed for small wages. He wished to carry a number of women, but was unable to get any, probably because they were frightened at the stories of the Cannibals of the Wild Coast, which was the name given to Guiana by the Dutch. VAN PEERE was delayed in the English Channel until the 24th Sept., when he sailed for Berbice. In the meanwhile another expedition was fitted out for the same river at the expense of

July  
31

1627 the Prince of Orange, which, however, was quite independent of VAN PEERE. The former embarked for Berbice on same day that VAN PEERE left the Channel, and probably arrived in Guiana at about the same time.

It appears that a proper settlement did not exist in the Berbice River before this time, and this is the reason why ABBAHAM VAN PEERE solicited and obtained permission from the Company for a plantation in Guiana shortly after the departure of PREVOST and VAN RYEN. He addressed his request to the Chamber of Zeeland, and after some difficulties between himself and the members of that Chamber, they agreed to a contract of 31 Articles, by which the mutual rights and obligations of ABBAHAM VAN PEERE, his Colonists, and the Company, were clearly and distinctly set forth.

This agreement was sent for approval to the Council of XIX at Amsterdam, who at their meeting of 12th June made considerable alterations in it, and returned it to the Chamber of Zeeland. The Chamber of Zeeland then left the choice to VAN PEERE, as to which of the two contracts he should like to adhere, and he chose the corrected one, which was subsequently signed by him on the 12th July. From the very first commencement of Guiana Colonization the disagreements of the Company hampered the settlements to a considerable extent, and, as will be shown later, led to a great deal of ill-feeling. Each Chamber being a little government in itself, considered that it was entitled to act independently of the supreme Council of Nineteen, and they were consequently dissatisfied when any of their actions were disallowed by their superiors.

After the arrival of the settlers they commenced to build a fort which they called Fort Nassau, from MAURICE of Nassau, subsequently conqueror of Brazil.

The agreement with the Chamber of Zeeland, 1627 of which the following is the substance (but not a literal translation), was signed on the 12th of June:—

*Conditions and Articles by which the Directors of the West India Company of Zeeland agree and consent with Abraham van Peres to transport 40 men and 20 boys, as Colonists, to the great coast of the West Indies, in the river Berbice situated at  $6\frac{3}{4}$  degrees North Latitude.*

1. In the first place VAN PERES shall be bound to provide these 60 Colonists with all the necessaries of life, arms, and ammunition, without any charge to the Company, so that they may be able to live and protect themselves in the aforesaid river and country.

2. These 60 persons shall be equipped and provided for as sailors and shall not be entitled to any wages; if, however, any vessel should be captured they shall be entitled to prize money.

3. The aforesaid Colonists (with the exception of three, who are cabin passengers) shall receive such rations as are provided for the seamen, until they arrive in the aforesaid river.

4. The aforesaid VAN PERES shall pay within a year into the Bank of Middelburg for the account of the Company, for the aforesaid Colonists, the sum of 50 guilders for each person above the age of 16 years, and 25 guilders for all others.

5. In case any of the aforesaid Colonists shall die, or desert, before their arrival at the aforesaid river and country, the said VAN PERES shall pay to the Company for every such person the sum of 8 stivers daily for the time they had been on board, and 12 stivers for each cabin passenger.

6. The Company shall transport all the necessaries of the Colonists, their arms, and agricultural implements, likewise their provisions, on the understanding that VAN PERES shall pay to the Company as soon as their arrival shall be advised, a third part of the value thereof, it being understood that whatever provisions are sent by VAN PERES for the use of the Colony shall be paid for as freight.

7. Should anything be found on board the vessels which has not been properly declared in the manifest, it shall be confiscated for the Company's benefit.

8. The Company shall provide a sloop or yacht of 14 or 15 tons, with sails and oars, properly fitted with 2 large and 6 small guns, with 100 pounds of powder, 50 balls, and 100 pounds of fuse to each, together with the necessary boat.

9. Besides this the Company undertakes to provide four small guns for the use of the Colony with a supply of ammunition to each, of 100 pounds of powder, 50 balls and 100 pounds of fuse.

10. The yacht and its equipment having arrived in the aforesaid river shall belong to VAN PERES and his Colonists, who may use it for the defense of the fort, and shall keep it in good order independent of any charge to the Company.

11. The Colonists shall have the right and privilege of establishing a fort in the aforesaid river in such a situation as they shall consider most advantageous to their trade with the natives, to open up the forests, fell trees, sow and plant, search for minerals, in short to do everything to advance the interests of the Colony; to explore neighbouring rivers, and remove their settlements to any place they consider most profitable.

12. Always provided that they do not attempt to settle in the river Essequibo or any other river in which the Company has a settlement, no matter how small this may be.

13. The Colonists shall not trade with any other nation, or transport their goods by any other than the Company's vessels.

14. The Colonists were permitted to continue their plantation for six years, or longer if VAN PERRES wished to remain.

15. The Company retained the rights of Sovereignty under the States General, and also the right to send other Colonists into the same river at any time.

16. In such cases the Colonists were bound not to injure or obstruct those of the Company in any way, but were to assist them as much as lay in their power to the furtherance of the Company's interests, and to promote the Christian Religion among the natives, as well as to resist foreign invasion.

17. The aforesaid VAN PERRES is required to draw up Regulations for the government of the Colonists and submit them to the authorities of the Company to the end that proper order be kept, and these Regulations shall be considered as of authority in case of disputes.

18. The Religion of the colony shall be that of the Reformed Church, and the Indians shall be encouraged to adopt the same; no person however shall be prosecuted for practising his own religion, but should any one vainly use the name of God or Jesus Christ he shall be punished according to the Regulations.

19. The Indians shall be treated justly and honestly, promises made or held out to them shall not be broken, they shall not be robbed, nor shall the Colonists commit adultery with their wives.

20. The Commandeur and other officers which shall be placed over the Colonists shall be allowed according to his instructions to make arrangement with friendly princes and potentates to the advantage of the Company, regardless of the private interests of particular Colonists.

21. In all public affairs and policy, military as well as judicial, the Dutch language shall be used, and no document in any other language shall be officially recognized.

22. The Colonists shall not manufacture any woollen, linen or cotton, or weave any other clothing materials, on pain of being prosecuted for perjury.

23. No person shall be allowed to trade with any other than the servants of the Company, or to give any information as to the business of the Company.

24. All Merchandise and products of the Colony shall be sent by the Company's vessels, which shall from time to time arrive for the purpose, and for all freight the Company shall be paid at the rate of; for each 100 pounds or part of 100 pounds of the value of 100 guilders a fourth part of the value, but if the value was only from 25 to 50 guilders, then a third of the value, and for under 25 guilders half the value in money.

25. Should VAN PERRES discover any gold or silver mines, or any precious stones or pearls, he is bound to advise the Company by the first vessel and shall not make it otherwise known either directly or indirectly.

26. The proceeds of which mines VAN PERRES shall send a fifth to the Company by the first opportunity, the remaining four-fifths shall also be sent at once on his own account, for which freight shall be paid as heretofore agreed.

27. VAN PERRES agrees to supply the Colony with all necessary provisions.

28. In case any Colonist should journey to or from Holland, he is bound to proceed in one of the Company's vessels, and in case a vessel from Berbice should not have freight to the value of 1,000 guilders for each passenger carried from thence, VAN PERRES shall pay the Company 8 stivers per head for ordinary passengers and 12 stivers for cabin passengers. (When the freights amounted to the full value passengers were carried free.)

29. In return for these concessions, VAN PERRES shall be entitled to the same rights which the Company hold under their grant.

30. At the expiration of the 6 years for which the agreement is made, if VAN PERRES wishes to leave the Colony he shall be allowed to do so, but all the forts, vessels, guns, ammunition, estates, cattle, and everything on the land shall be forfeited to the Company, and neither VAN PERRES nor any of the Colonists shall



be entitled to claim any right of property over them any more than if they had never existed.

31. All the above conditions VAN PERES agrees to carry out and cause to be carried out, on pain of losing everything he has or may have. In token of which he signs the above at Middelburg.

The following is the substance of the amended  
Contract between VAN PEERE and the Council of  
Nineteen :—

Any Director of the Company should be permitted to send Colonists to the Wild Coast and adjacent Islands, and they should be transported by the Company's vessels on payment of six stivers per day, from the time of embarkation until they arrived at their destination. Each Colonist should satisfy the Directors or their deputies that he was provided with certain necessaries, including 3 collars, 3 shirts, 1 night-dress, 2 canvass suits, 3 pairs of socks, 4 pairs of shoes, 2 sheets, 1 bed and bolster, &c., and that every family was supplied with 1 cutlass, 2 axes, 1 pick-axe, 1 hand-saw, 3 shovels, 3 spades, 1 kettle and 1 pan. They were also to take their parts in working the vessel if necessary, and in case of attack by the enemy, they should help in the fight without expecting any pay, but if any vessel should be captured they would be entitled to a share of the prize money. After the Colony should be settled, no other was to be allowed within a distance of 7 or 8 miles, except by special permission of the Commandeur and his Council. Each settlement was to be provided with a small vessel of 12 to 20 tons, for its protection, with proper arrangements for either rowing or sailing. The Settlements which should be established in the respective rivers or islands were bound to appoint a Council, which should keep the Commandeur at Cuyuni informed of all matters of importance. The Colonists were recommended to sell their goods to the Company at reasonable prices, but if they thought it more advisable to send them to their Patroons, they would be allowed to do so, always provided that they were carried in the Company's vessels. Freight was to be charged at the rates of :—for goods weighing 100 pounds of the value of 50 guilders, a fifth of the value; from 25 to 50 guilders, a fourth; and under that half of the value. The agreement was to remain in force for the period of seven years. All merchandise must be sent by the Company's vessels, freight being paid at the rate of a fourth of the value. In case any of the vessels of the Company should be going out to these Colonies in ballast, the Patroons of the Colonies should be allowed to send cattle, provided they paid the expenses of the necessary fittings for their accommodation, and also all other expenses of fodder, &c. The Colonists were bound to put their land under proper cultivation within three years of their arrival in the Colony, but if by mistake they should have chosen unsuitable localities, the Commandeur might give them another location. Permission was also given for an inland trade with the Indians up the rivers. If any Colonist should discover any minerals, precious stones, crystals, &c., they would be the property of the Patroon, but the discoverer should be entitled to a premium similar to that given by the Company to its Colonists. The settlers were forbidden to weave any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth on pain of being severely punished. A minister and a schoolmaster were to be engaged to go out with the settlers, so that zeal and religion should not slacken in the Colony. Finally the Company undertook to supply as many negroes as possible on payment of their value, by instalments.

JAN VAN DEE GOES, who had been sent out to succeed CONIJN as Commandeur of Essequibo, in this year was allowed a salary of 30 guilders per month. It appears that he took passage from

1627 Holland in the *Arend*, the same vessel which had carried VAN PEERE'S colony to Berbice. Permission was given to him to take five or six men from the same vessel for the purpose of repairing Fort Kyk-over-al, and the W. I. Company promised to send thirty other men by the next vessel. The Colony, however, was in such a low state at that time that the Company hesitated as to whether it would not be better to abandon it, and even went so far as to decide in January 1632, that the Colony should be withdrawn, but they altered their resolution four months afterwards and decided to keep it up. A supply of Slaves had been promised to the Colony, but up to this time the affairs of the conquered provinces in Brazil had occupied all the Company's attention, and the demand for negroes there being greater than the supply, none could be spared for the little settlements in Guiana.

At this time Captain HENRY POWELL is said to have gone to Essequibo and brought back 30 or 40 Arrawack Indians, men, women, and children, together with a supply of seeds and plants, for the then new English Colony at Barbados. There is hardly a doubt that something like this incident really happened, but as some portions of the story are certainly incorrect, we are compelled to let it remain on its own merits. As told in JOHN SMITH'S work there is no difficulty, as he only states that Captain HENRY POWELL "went to Disacuba on the maine, where he got 30 Indians, men, women, and children of the Arawacos, enemies both to the Caribs and the Spaniards." The accounts in two of the Sloane MSS. are fuller and quite inconsistent with the fact that JAN VAN DER GOES was Commandeur of Essequibo at that time. One of them gives the story as follows:—

"Captain THOMAS POWELL having understood the Dutch had a plantation in the River Dissekeeb, on

the main of Guiana, whose Governor one GROMWEAGLE, he was particularly known to, despatched his son THOMAS (*sic*) POWELL, to desire Captain GROMWEAGLE to send him such things as were proper to plant for food and trade. That gentleman, willing to gratify an old friend (for POWELL and GROMWEAGLE had been comrades in the King of Spain's service in the West Indies) persuaded a family of Arrawacoës consisting of forty persons to attend POWELL to Barbados, to learn the English to plant, and to carry with them cassava, yams, Indian corn, and other pulses, plantains, bananas, oranges, lemons, limes, pine-apples, melons, &c.; and, for to produce a trade, they carried over tobacco, cotton, and annatta, a rich dye (a commodity the English never yet knew how to manage). To all which Barbados was naturally a stranger. The Indians fell to planting soon after their arrival at Barbados, and all things grew well, and came to great perfection, agreeing with the soil and climate, and they soon had all things necessary for life.

“Anno 1628 Captain HAWLEY was sent in the ship *Carlisle* to visit and supervise the Earl of Carlisle's affairs in those parts, who invited Captain POWELL and his Secretary aboard and there clapt them into irons, and they were despatched for England. The Indians not liking these several changes, pressed their contract made between them and Mr. POWELL at Dissekeeb, which Captain GROMWEAGLE had undertaken, should be performed, viz., that at the expiration of two years, if they did not like the country, or should upon any other occasion desire to go back to Dissekeeb, they should be transported with their reward, which was to be fifty pounds sterling in axes, bills, hoes, knives, looking-glasses and beads, but instead of performing the agreement with the poor Indians, the then Governor and Council made slaves of them, separating the husbands

1627 and wives of some, parents and children of others, one from another. Anno 1631, one of them getting on board a Dutch ship, got passage for Dissekeeb, which proved of all consequence to Captain GROMWEAGLE, who had like to have lost his Colony for that cause only, and was forced to marry a woman of the Careebee to balance the power of the Arawacoes, and afterwards was at the charge of great presents, to make up the business between the Arawacoes nation."

1629 The West India Company agreed to give to any of its shareholders who should found a Colony at his own expense, the right to a river frontage of 16 miles, with an unlimited depth behind, and with these estates every manorial right and the privilege of trading with the other plantations of the Company. The Governors of these Colonies were called Patroons.

VAN PEERE must have held Berbice under this arrangement, while the Colony of Essequibo, having been established by the Chamber of Zeeland, belonged to the West India Company and was considered to be a Company's Plantation.

About this time the following inducements were propounded to King CHARLES I. to take the adventurers of the River Amazon and Guiana, and their plantations, under his protection. There was great probability of advancing to His Majesty and his successors £50,000 per annum for 21 years, if that plantation was protected and settled for four years. This rent would be paid on condition that the King sent 3,000 men, at his own charge, for the above period, with 100 pieces of ordnance and ammunition, and a sufficient number of vessels for the transportation of the settlers and protection of their estates. The expenses of this protection was estimated at £48,000 or £15,000 in ready money. As may be supposed, such a large sum was not forthcoming.

Sir JOHN HEYDON received a warrant on Oct. 2, 1629 for licensing the exportation of four drakes (small cannons) to the Amazon, for the use of the Company, and especially for the defence of the plantation.

A Dutch fleet, consisting of the *Dolphin*, *Tiger*, *Zeeland Huntsman*, *Friesland Huntsman*, *Cat*, *South Star*, *Sea Knight*, *Raven*, and *Cabannas*, together with some sloops, fitted out by the West India Company, under the command of Admiral PATER, to make a raid on the Spaniards, arrived in the Orinoco, and proceeded up that river to St. Thome, which they took and destroyed, after it had been set on fire by the inhabitants. Nov. 30

Captain MARSHALL with 60 English Colonists 1630 established themselves in the Surinam River for the purpose of cultivating tobacco. They built a fort at some distance up the river at a place called Tararico, where Plantation Waterland is now situated. Very little is known of this Colony, but it is probable that it was one of the ventures of the Amazon Company. The name of Marechals Creek is a relic of their presence on that river. It is probable that the Colony lingered on in a small way until it was reinforced in 1643.

A project for a new Colony in Guiana was promulgated in England at this time. A pamphlet was published in 1632 under the title of "A Publication of Guiana's Plantations, newly undertaken by the Right Honourable the Earl of Barkshire and Company, for that most famous river of the Amazons in America."

Very little is known of this Company, but SOUTHEY in his "History of Brazil" mentions an attempt of the English to settle at the mouth of the Amazon under ROGER FRAY (Frere ?.) He built a fort which was named Fort Cumau that was destroyed about this time by FELICIANO COELHO, son of the Portuguese Governor of the Amazon. Soon afterwards a vessel

1630 from London arrived, bringing out five hundred settlers for the Colony. This was of course captured by the Portuguese and four of the passengers were sent to St. Luiz, who on being interrogated said that the Colony had been founded at the expense of the Count of Brechier (Earl of Barkshire?) and that ships were lying at Flushing with Dutch and English forces on board, designed for the conquest of the Amazons.

1631 The Patroons of the West India Company having been charged with trading with others than the Company, strict orders were sent to them that they should abide by their engagements.

Some French adventurers who had no Commission either from the King of France or any Company attempted a settlement in Cayenne during this year. Being dependent on their own resources, they mixed with the Indians and took part in their quarrels, which led to many disasters, and the dispersion of the Colony.

1634 HARTSINCK states that JAN VAN DER GOES, Commandeur of Essequebo, made a proposal to the Chamber of Zeeland for the working of silver mines near the Orinoco. At this time the Dutch trade with Guiana was very much depressed. The Chamber of Zeeland wished to prevent any other than VAN PEERE, or such persons as should be authorised by that Chamber, from trading along the Wild Coast, but the Council of Nineteen refused to let the Chamber of Zeeland monopolize the trade, and resolved that it should be open to all the Chambers. (In the following year it was resolved that any Dutch merchant should be allowed a permit from the Company on payment of certain fees, to trade with any place within the limits of the Company's grant where no colony then existed. Many persons took advantage of these permits to visit the Wild Coast on various pretexts, which

caused great dissatisfaction to the Chamber of 1634  
Zeeland.)

It appears from the "State Papers" that **March**  
**Captain NORTH** must have lost his Patent for 17  
Guiana, (possibly the Earl of Berkshire might have  
had a hand in this), as from a Minute of the Com-  
mittee of Foreign Plantations of this date it is recorded  
that **Captain NORTH** was to have his Patent again  
on condition that he and the Company sub-  
mitted to ecclesiastical and civil government, for  
which no provision had then been made in the  
patent; and that they were to begin their voyage  
by Midsummer next following. There had been a  
difference in the Company concerning funds, sub-  
scriptions having been entered into, but no money paid.

In this year also one **Captain BAMFIELD** had a  
claim against the Amazon Company which was  
submitted to the King. He had already received  
an allowance of £198 10 3 for his expenses and  
loss of time, in addition to which he claimed a  
further sum of £300. The answer of the Com-  
pany was to the effect that they did not see suffi-  
cient cause to increase their former allowance, but  
out of respect to the King's reference they had  
assigned him £100 out of the first money which  
they should receive from certain arrears of adven-  
ture.

In the same year the Company had informa-  
tion that **WILL GAYNER**, an Irishman, who was  
then lodging with one **CLIFTON**, an English innkeeper,  
at Flushing, was preparing an expedition for  
Guiana. The Company therefore petitioned the  
King to stay his proceedings on account of their  
prior right, and intimated that **GAYNER** and his  
confederates were likely to take the Dutch to their  
Colonies, which would cause quarrels and blood-  
shed between the two nations.

**DAVID PIETERSZ DE VRIES**, one of the Patroons

1634 of the West India Company, sailed from the Texel in command of a vessel named the "King David," armed with 14 guns and manned by a crew of 25 men. He carried 30 persons as colonists, who were to form the nucleus of a new settlement in Guiana. He arrived at the Cayenne River early in September and was piloted into that river by an Englishman. On the 14th of September he landed his passengers on the Island Mecouria, between the Rivers Wia and Cayenne, for the purpose of forming their Colony and to plant tobacco, anatto, and cotton. They found here the remains of the Fort which had been built by PREVOST, whose colony had removed from the country two years before. The Fort stood on a hill so as to command the passage of the river. They also found 7 or 8 Zeelanders and Englishmen settled there, who were engaged in cultivating tobacco on account of JAN DE MOOR, the Zeeland merchant, who sent vessels to take away the produce. The colonists chose for their plantation a place where sugar canes grew very luxuriantly, of the thickness of a man's arm. Here they planted 8,000 Anatto trees, 100,000 cotton trees, and 100,000 tobacco plants, which all throve very well.

Oct. 14 Leaving his Colony, and taking with him the grandson of the former Carib Chief AWABICARY, who wished to visit Holland, he proceeded along the Coast to the River Sinamary, where he found a French Captain named CHAMBON, who had resided there with twelve of his countrymen for three years, engaged in gathering Spanish pepper.

DE VRIES then proceeded to the Rivers Amana and Marowyne, the former of which he found inhabited by Arrawacks and Caribs, who received him kindly, and gave him provisions. On the latter river he found a Dutchman, who having quitted his vessel on account of sickness had remained behind, and also two of Captain CHAMBON'S Frenchmen.



Proceeding to the Surinam River he found it in the possession of Captain MARSHALL, the Englishman above referred to, who with his 60 men had planted a Colony, and built a block house, surrounded by palissades for its defence. 1634

Sailing along the Coast he passed the mouth of the Berbice River, and from thence to the Demerara, where at their own desire he put ashore some Indians who had accompanied him from Surinam. In this river there was no settlement, but it was sometimes visited by the Essequibo Colonists. Here he met with VAN DER GOES, who had come from the neighbouring Colony in an Indian corial.

After leaving the River Demerara DE VRIES set off on a journey to the West Indian Islands, visiting Bonaire, Curacoa, the Tortugas, and several other "small Atlantic Islands," arriving in Virginia, May 1636. There, and in New Netherlands, he remained about a year, trafficking in tobacco, and received news of the abandonment of his colony in Cayenne. Nov. 7

DE VRIES afterwards settled in the Dutch Colony of the New Netherlands (New York) where he acquired considerable influence. His further adventures may be found in "BANCROFT" and other historians of the United States.

The Colony of Mecouria which had been established by DE VRIES, was abandoned. The people being without a Commander, and consequently under no discipline, at the instigation of the English who were among them, attacked some Spanish vessels which had come there for the purpose of bartering slaves, killing the crews, and taking their cargoes, with which they fled to some of the English West Indian Islands, for fear of the vengeance of the Spaniards. The above account by HARTSINCK differs slightly from that of NETSCHER, which runs as follows:—After the departure of DE VRIES an empty Spanish slave vessel arrived 1636

1636 at his Colony to take in water. As soon as the crew went on shore, the colonists with the assistance of some English adventurers took possession of the vessel, and got away with it to the West India islands. DE VRIES says they abandoned a fine Colony, which within two months had they remained would have been worth 150,000 guilders in cotton, anatto and tobacco. In October 1636, returning to Hoorn, De Vries complained bitterly that he and his colleagues had made such an unprofitable voyage. The Tobacco alone seems to have yielded something, but the Brazil wood of which he had a load and for which he expected to have got 16,000 guilders, was so reduced in price that it only fetched 1,500 or 1,600 guilders. He says this would have been a matter of little importance if the Colony had not been deserted, as each year it would have yielded 100,000 guilders. He however, recommended that the traffic of this coast should be encouraged, as it produced five articles for trade, viz:—cotton, anatto, sugar, tobacco, and letterwood. Wherever the English and French had estates in their Colonies, they cultivated these articles, but the Dutch did not, notwithstanding this strong recommendation to the company.

1638  
April  
16

GEORGE GRIFFITH, an English merchant, petitioned King CHARLES I. for protection to his trade with Guiana. He stated that he had endured great losses by sending men to the river Amazon, and for planting on the coast of Guiana, through the Portuguese and the treachery of the natives, and that the Dutch were likely to gain Brazil and the adjoining countries, by which a great loss would be sustained by His Majesty's Customs. The King's subjects were the first Christians who ever planted in the Amazon: the old Company were doing nothing there; but he was assured that no design was so hopeful. He prayed that some speedy course

should be taken to encourage adventurers to that country, so that English subjects might be planted there before the arrival of the Dutch or any other nation. 1638

JAN VAN DER GOES, Commandeur of Essequibo, returned to Holland for the purpose of procuring help from the Company to work the Silver Mine which he had reported to exist near the Orinoco, leaving as his deputy CORNELIS PIETERSZ ROSE who governed the Colony until 1641 when he was confirmed as Commandeur. Arriving in Holland VAN DER GOES applied to the Chamber of Zeeland for assistance to carry out his project.

The Chamber of Zeeland decided that they would fit out the ship *Jager* with 50 soldiers and the yacht *Christoffel*, for the purpose, and that VAN DER GOES should proceed to Essequibo first, to gain all the information he could as to the position and strength of the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of the mine. He proceeded on his expedition in May, and returned unsuccessful the following year. 1639

A French Colony of 370 persons in three vessels settled on the river Saramacca, where they were joined during the following year by a number of others who brought their families. They lived peaceably there till 1642, at which time they received large supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions, from France. Having afterwards become careless they spread themselves into the Corentyne and Surinam Rivers, where many of them were cut off by the Indians.

One of the "State Papers" of about this time gives a description of a rich Plantation called the *Tapoywasoose* and the *Towyse-yarrowes* Countries lying upon the Coast of Guiana, at 350 leagues distance from the West Indies; discovered by Capt. WILL. CLOVELL, and THOS. TYNDALL. The plantation was situated at a distance of 60 leagues 1640

1640 from a silver mine, W.S.W. from the "Golden River," 89 leagues up the land, and 350 leagues from the island of Margarita. The place was easily to be possessed, and the natives very friendly, the discoverers having learnt their language. It was impossible for the Spaniards to come near the place, but the Portuguese had a plantation of 150 persons within 160 leagues. A thousand men at a cost of £10,000 were required to settle the plantation, and this money would be returned to the adventurers in cotton, woods, tobacco, &c., within a year. Nothing is known of any Company having been formed to carry out the views of the discoverers. The place mentioned is possibly the River Tapajos, one of the tributaries of the Amazon.

ACUGNA in his "Relation of the Amazons" speaks of the English having tried to settle near the mouth of the River Tapajos as follows:—"The bottom of this River is very good, so that a great English Vessel some years ago went a considerable way up it, with a design to make Plantations in this Province, and to settle the Trade of Tobacco with the People of the Country, to which end they offered 'em very advantageous Terms: but the Tapajotos would accept of none, but surpriz'd the English unawares, and kill'd all they could come at after they had seiz'd their Arms, which they keep to this day (1640.) Thus they made the rest leave the Country in more haste than they came to it; for they escap'd in their Vessel, and by setting sail with all their speed avoided such another Rencounter, which would have destroyed 'em all."

Decr. 20 At a meeting of the Chamber of Zeeland at this date the results of VAN DER GOES' expedition were considered. On comparing his journals with their instructions to him they were found very unsatisfactory. He had not erected a fort at the place where this ought to have been done, and in other respects had gone con-

trary to his orders and put the Company to a great expense for nothing. He did not deserve any pay, but this was however granted to him, with the caution that in future he should employ qualified persons (miners) to prospect a place before putting the Company to the expense of an expedition. VAN DER GOES excused himself for his non-success on the plea that his sickness had interfered to prevent the accomplishment of his project. 1640

At this period the West India Company was in a most advantageous position, having the control of the whole African and South American Trade, the Spaniards hardly daring to interfere with their transactions. Their vessels when free from the English Channel, where they were liable to be pounced upon by English Privateers, could sail in safety to Africa, take in cargoes of slaves, ivory, and gold dust, proceed from thence to Brazil, exchange the slaves for sugar, tobacco, and Brazil wood, and finish by calling at Berbice and Essequibo to collect what merchandise could be picked up in those Colonies.

The territorial rights of the Patroons of the W. I. Company were reduced to a façade of one, and a depth of two miles, but their manorial rights were left unaltered.

ADRIAEN VAN DE WOESTIJNE succeeded HOSE as Commandeur of Essequibo. 1641  
Decr.

According to JOHN SCOTT, Captain MARSHALL with 300 English families, settled in the Surinam, Saramacca, and Corentyne, the Colony having been fitted out at the expense of the Earl of WARWICK who was then Governor-in-Chief of all the English Plantations in America. They lived peaceably with the Indians until 1645, when having joined the French who were settled in the same neighbourhood, in interfering with the quarrels of the Indians, they were dispersed, and the plantations destroyed. 1643

A French Company was formed at Bouen for

1643 the purpose of colonizing a part of Guiana, under the name of the Cape North Company. CHARLES PONCET, SIEUR DE BRETIGNY, was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and set out for Cayenne with three or four hundred men. BRETIGNY is said to have been an empty, passionate, and cruel man, more fit to have been confined in a mad-house than to govern a colony. Soon after his arrival he foolishly quarrelled with the Indians, who of course retaliated whenever they had the opportunity. Not satisfied with the murder of the poor natives, he had innumerable disputes with his own people, whom he punished with the utmost refinement of torture that such a debased mind could invent. He was not satisfied with seeing the settlement surrounded with gibbets, gallows, and wheels, but wanting something new, he invented two other instruments which he called purgatory and hell. Not finding enough criminals to keep his machines in working order, and having already employed his inventive faculties on the infernal implements, he set his mind on finding excuses for their use. He was so very superstitious that he compelled his people to tell him their dreams, and punished them if these were not to his liking. One of them dreamt that he saw the Governor dead, on which BRETIGNY ordered him to be broken alive on the wheel, saying, he would not have had such a dream if he had not designed to kill him. At last, the Colonists in despair resolved to abandon the settlement and take refuge among the Indians, thinking it better to run the risk of being eaten by cannibals than to remain under the tortures of such a violent ruler. Most of the runaways succeeded in getting help from the natives, some of them going as far as the Surinam River, where they built a fort on the site of what is now Fort Zealandia. Others who had settled among the Indians at a short distance up the Cayenne River were sufficiently

near to BRETIGNY to be pursued by him.

1643

Taking some of the ministers to his cruelties in his boat, he went up the river to the Indian town where he had been informed the runaways had taken refuge, and demanded his people of the natives, who however refused to deliver them. On this he ordered his followers to fire on the Indians from his boat, which lay at a short distance from the bank of the river. The Indians easily avoided their enemy by getting behind the bushes, from whence they poured a shower of arrows and stones, killing the whole of the party, including BRETIGNY, before they could get out of range. The boat being brought ashore the bodies were then barbecued and eaten by the victors. Although it would have been easy for the Indians to have followed up the massacre by an attack on the remnant of the Colony, they had the humanity to send some of those who had taken refuge with them to inform their people that if they would live in peace the Indians would not molest them. The poor Frenchmen were quite willing to do this, and having lost their tyrant, set to work to plant in security. The Colony, however, never had any measure of success, the disasters at the commencement having broken it up, and dispersed the greater number of the settlers, who were in many cases adopted by the Indians and lived like them. Forty of the runaways went to St. Kitts where they joined the French Colony which had been established there. A few, however, remained at the fort and held possession of the Settlement for several years.

A Company of Dutch and Portuguese Jews fled from Brazil and settled in the Surinam River, where they founded the first Sugar plantations of any importance in Guiana. 1644

As the story of the Conquest of Brazil by the West India Company is of some importance to a

1644 proper understanding of the History of Guiana, it has been thought necessary to give a brief account of that magnificent undertaking.

The Portuguese colonies in the Eastern provinces of Brazil had been established by Jews, many of whom had escaped from Spain during the abominable massacre that followed the conquest of Granada. For some little time they had enjoyed religious freedom in Portugal, but under the influence of Spain they were banished from thence, and took refuge in England, Holland, and Brazil. Having a measure of religious freedom in America that did not exist in the mother country, and being supplied with slaves from the Portuguese "factories" in Africa, they prospered as Sugar Planters. The peculiar civil disabilities of this people which prevented their holding real property in Europe, developed a race of capitalists that had a most powerful influence in developing the resources of the New World.

The Dutch West India Company was projected for the purpose of harassing the Spaniards and their Portuguese subjects in Africa and America, and in pursuance of that object an expedition was sent to Brazil in 1624, which captured San Salvador. In 1627, Admiral HEYNE took the Spanish silver fleet, by which a very rich booty was procured for the Company. In 1630, they gained possession of Pernambuco, and in 1634, captured the island of Curaçoa. The capture of the chief forts of Brazil did not give the Dutch planters who had followed the conquerors, that security which was necessary for the success of sugar and tobacco plantations, as they were continually annoyed by marauding parties of Portuguese, who ravaged the country, set fire to the cane fields, burnt the sugar buildings and stormed their dwelling-houses, afterwards retreating to the forests, where they were in



security. To put down these disturbances, Prince JOHN MAURICE of Nassau was despatched by the Company in 1636, as Patroon and Commander-in-Chief of all the Provinces, and he soon succeeded in putting down most of the disturbances. During his administration, the Colonies enjoyed peace, trade flourished, and the Company received large profits. The Government of MAURICE was however necessarily very expensive, and when Portugal became independent in 1640 and made a ten years' truce with Holland, the Council of Nineteen, who were after all only traders, thought a cheaper government, with less soldiers, could keep order, and therefore recalled the Commander to Holland in 1643. From the time of his departure the troubles were renewed. JOAM FERNANDES VIERA, a native of Madeira, headed a revolt against the Dutch, who were driven from one post after another until the Hollanders were entirely expelled from the country.

The West India Company expended on their Brazilian conquest the large sum of 45,000,000 guilders; they had captured from the Spaniards 547 vessels, the prize money of which had gone into the stock to the amount of 30,000,000, while the merchandise brought from Africa (mostly slaves) amounted to 14,600,000 guilders. The highest dividend ever paid was ten per cent. It was calculated that the damages to the Spaniards amounted to something like 200 millions of guilders.

During the final disturbances there was neither security for life or property, and to add to the trouble the Catholic Priests took part with the Portuguese against the Dutch and Jews. The Hollanders in attempting to repress the revolution had used unnecessarily harsh and cruel measures, so they naturally expected retaliation when the rebels got the upper hand. Many of the most prominent and wealthy persons therefore left the country as soon as

1644 they felt that their cause was hopeless, some going to Holland, others to the West Indies, a few to Cayenne, and a party of Dutch and Portuguese Jews under the command of DAVID NASSY (MANASSEH) to Surinam. The last party settled at some distance up the Surinam River on a healthy spot of rising ground which still goes by the name of Joden Savanne (Jews' Savannah). Having brought a good number of slaves, they set to work, and soon had something like a real settlement, where they were joined from time to time by other Brazilian refugees. The ancestors of some of the existing Jewish families in Surinam were among these pioneers, the names of PINTO, D'MEZA, DA COSTA, ISIDRO, FONSECA, DE PINA, and AZEVEDO, all belonging to the first sugar planters in Guiana.

A Dutch refugee from Brazil having fled to Barbados about this time taught the planters of that island the way to prepare sugar for shipment. The little that had been hitherto manufactured there was very poor stuff, having been made from unripe canes.

ADBIAEN JANZON succeeded WOESTIJNE as Commandeur of Essequibo. From this date to 1657, the Records of the Chamber of Zeeland are incomplete, so that it is uncertain when JANZON was superseded. There were no authorized Commandeurs in Berbice until 1666.

1646 According to SOUTHEY'S Chronological History, and BRYAN EDWARDS' "History of the West Indies," FRANCIS, Lord WILLOUGHBY, of Parham, with the approbation of King CHARLES I., obtained from the Prince of Wales (afterwards CHARLES II.), who was then in Holland, the government of Barbados and the other Carribee Islands. He is said to have visited Barbados and obtained promises from many of the more wealthy planters to support the King against the Parliament, but this is almost certainly

a mistake, there being no evidence beyond the bare assertions of these authorities. On February 26th in the following year WILLOUGHBY received a Patent from the Earl of CARLISLE, constituting him Lieutenant-General of the Carribee Islands for 21 years from Michaelmas 1646.

At this time and during the following years the troubles in England between the King and Parliament caused a great tide of emigration to the American Colonies, and the ultimate success of CROMWELL and the Parliament resulted in a large majority of Cavaliers in most of the Colonies. As Surinam was afterwards settled by Lord WILLOUGHBY and the planters of Barbados, the history of Guiana will be intimately connected with that of "Little England" for the next twenty years.

Lord WILLOUGHBY had joined the Parliament in 1642, but having been suspected of complicity in a Royalist plot, he escaped to Holland and openly took up the Royalist cause.

The English Parliament passed the first Act against the Dutch trade with English Colonies in America. All goods and produce of the American Colonies must be taken in English vessels. This was followed in succeeding years by other and more stringent Acts, which ultimately led to a great deal of trouble and caused several wars.

The story of INKLE and YARICO as told by STEELE in the "Spectator," although partly fictitious, is interesting in connection with the history of Guiana as showing some of the dangers of landing on the coast at that period. The name of the villain of the tale is not given by LIGON in his "History of Barbados," but it is possible that STEELE may have had access to some other authority from which he gained the fuller particulars. The names of INGLE and INGLEFIELD are found in connection with the West Indies, but not INKLE. The account in

1647 the "Spectator," No. XI., is as follows:—

"I was the other day amusing myself with LIGON'S Account of Barbadoes; and in answer to your well-wrought tale, I will give you (as it dwells upon my memory) out of that honest traveller, in his fifty-fifth page, the history of INKLE and YABICO.

"Mr. THOMAS INKLE, of London, aged twenty years, embarked in the Downs, in the good ship called the Achilles, bound for the West Indies, on the 16th of June, 1647, in order to improve his fortune by trade and merchandise. Our adventurer was the third son of an eminent citizen, who had taken particular care to instil into his mind an early love of gain, by making him a perfect master of numbers, and consequently giving him a quick view of loss and advantage, and preventing the natural impulses of his passions, by prepossession towards his interests. With a mind thus turned, young INKLE had a person every way agreeable, a ruddy vigour in his countenance, strength in his limbs, with ringlets of fair hair loosely flowing on his shoulders. It happened, in the course of the voyage, that the Achilles, in some distress, put into a creek on the main of America, in search of provisions. The youth, who is the hero of my story, among others went ashore on this occasion. From their first landing they were observed by a party of Indians, who hid themselves in the woods for that purpose. The English unadvisedly marched a great distance from the shore into the country, and were intercepted by the natives, who slew the greatest number of them. Our adventurer escaped among others, by flying into a forest. Upon his coming into a remote and pathless part of the wood, he threw himself tired and breathless, on a little hillock, when an Indian maid rushed from a thicket behind him. After the first surprise they appeared mutually agree-

able to each other. If the European was highly charmed with the limbs, features, and wild graces of the naked American; the American was no less taken with the dress, complexion, and shape of the European, covered from head to foot. The Indian grew immediately enamoured of him, and consequently solicitous for his preservation. She therefore conveyed him to a cave, where she gave him a delicious repast of fruits, and led him to a stream to slake his thirst. In the midst of these good offices, she would sometimes play with his hair and delight in the opposition of its colour to that of her fingers: then open his bosom, then laugh at him for covering it. She was, it seems, a person of distinction, for she every day came to him in a different dress, of the most beautiful shells, bugles, and beads. She likewise brought him a great many spoils, which her other lovers had presented to her, so that his cave was literally adorned with all the spotted skins of beasts, and most party-coloured feathers of fowls, which that world afforded. To make his confinement more tolerable, she would carry him in the dusk of the evening, or by the favour of moonlight, to unfrequented groves and solitudes, and shew him where to lie down in safety and sleep amidst the falls of waters and melody of nightingales. Her part was to watch and hold him in her arms, for fear of her countrymen, and wake on occasions to consult his safety. In this manner did the lovers pass away their time, till they had learned a language of their own, in which the voyager communicated to his mistress, how happy he should be to have her in his country, where she should be clothed in such silks as his waist-coat was made of, and be carried in houses drawn by horses, without being exposed to wind and weather. All this he promised her the enjoyment of, without such fears and alarms as they

1647 were there tormented with. In this tender correspondence these lovers lived for several months, when YABICO instructed by her lover, discovered a vessel on the coast, to which she made signals; and in the night, with the utmost joy and satisfaction, accompanied him to a ship's crew of his countrymen bound for Barbadoes. When a vessel from the main arrives in that island, it seems the planters come down to the shore, where there is an immediate market of the Indians and other slaves, as with us of horses and oxen.

“To be short, Mr. THOMAS INKLE, now coming into English territories, began seriously to reflect upon his loss of time, and to weigh with himself how many days interest of his money he had lost during his stay with YABICO. This thought made the young man very pensive, and careful what account he should be able to give his friends of his voyage. Upon which considerations the prudent and frugal young man sold YABICO to a Barbadian merchant, notwithstanding that the poor girl to incline him to commiserate her condition, told him that she was with child by him: but he only made use of that information, to rise in his demands upon the purchaser.”

1648 Treaty of Peace between His Majesty PHILIP  
Jan. 4 IV., King of Spain, and Their Highnesses the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. By this treaty the Netherlands were to be entitled to the freedom and rights of a sovereign state, while Spain surrendered all her pretensions to the dominion of Holland, which she had hitherto claimed. The contracting parties further agreed to establish a valid and unbroken peace with respect to their commerce, navigation, possessions, and boundaries, as well in Europe as in the Indies.

The following articles have a bearing on the

## Dutch commerce and possessions in the West Indies, 1648 including Guiana :—

Art. 2. Provides that the treaty shall be good, strong, firm and inviolate, and that henceforth all hostile relations of any kind whatsoever, shall cease between the contracting parties, either by sea or other waters, as well as by land, throughout their respective kingdoms, countries, territories, and dominions, and also on the part of their subjects and inhabitants of whatsoever rank or condition, and without respect to places or persons.

Art. 5. The navigation and trade of the East and West Indies shall be maintained according to, and in conformity with, the existing grants, or such as may be hereafter granted, for the security of which, the treaty and its ratification shall be binding on both parties. The treaty shall also be binding on all the princes, nations, and peoples, with whom the Sovereign States, or the East and West India Companies, within the limits of their several grants, shall be in friendship and alliance. And be it further known that the aforesaid King and States respectively, shall retain and possess the whole of their governments, cities, castles, fortresses, and trade, both in the East and West Indies, as well as in Brazil, and on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, which the said King and States respectively hold and possess, and which includes especially those countries and places which the States shall hereafter conquer and possess without breach of the present treaty either by possessor or conqueror. And the Directors of the East as well as the West India Companies of the United Provinces, together with the Ministers, officers high and low, and soldiers and sailors at present in the actual Service of one or other of the aforesaid Companies, or who are otherwise employed in their service, shall continue free and unmolested in the whole of the places under the dominion of the aforesaid King in Europe; to travel, trade or abide together with all other inhabitants of the aforesaid States. And beyond this it is stipulated that the Spaniards shall retain their navigation in the same manner that they hold it at present in the East Indies, without the liberty of advancing farther, likewise the inhabitants of the Netherlands shall abstain from frequenting those places which belong to the Castilians in the East Indies.

Art. 6. And in regard to the West Indies, the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces, and territories of the said King and States respectively, agree to abstain from navigating and trading in the whole of the harbours, countries, and places where there are forts, factories, or castles, or any other possessions of either party, that is to say, that the subjects of His Majesty the King shall not navigate and trade in the places held by the aforesaid States, nor those of the States; in the places held by the said King; and among those places held by the aforesaid States shall be included those places formerly held by the States, which the Portuguese have occupied since 1641, under the aforesaid States; those occupied by the States at present, and inhabited by the Portuguese, shall be included in their possession without the preceding article being derogatory to the same.

Art. 7. And in regard to the limits of the grants heretofore given by the States General, or to be given in continuance to the West India Company, the peace in those countries shall not commence in less than six months from this date. With the understanding however that if the inhabitants of either side are willing to make peace, all hostilities in those places shall cease from the time that the cessation of hostilities is published; but if after the term of one year and six months respectively the inhabitants of places within the aforesaid grants should commit any hostile acts, the damage shall be repaired without delay.

Although the Spaniards' pretended rights in America had not been respected by any other nation, and certainly not by the Dutch, there was neces-

1648 sarily a difficulty in laying out frontier posts while Spaniard and Hollander were in a state of chronic hostility. It naturally resulted that the coast of Guiana, especially between the Orinoco and the Corentyne, was left in a state of nature up to this period, while the Colonies of Essequibo (Cuyuni) and Berbice were established within and behind their protective forts. As soon however, as the treaty came into operation, an attempt was made by the Dutch in Essequibo, to lay out their frontier posts towards the Orinoco, and to the re-occupation of the Pomeroon. From the loss of some of the records of the Chamber of Zeeland it is uncertain when the Barima Post was established, but it is probable that it was within a very few years after the ratification of the treaty, when a large number of settlers from Brazil made extensive plantations in the Pomeroon, Moruca, and Wacapaw. It does not appear that any objection to this occupation was ever made on the part of the Spaniards as long as the settlements remained in existence, and their final abandonment arose from causes entirely apart from any difficulties on the side of the Orinoco. The King of Spain may have looked upon the Dutch as squatters on his territory, but that was nothing wonderful when it is considered that for about seventy years he adhered to his *pretended rights* over a free country which was not only independent but able to "sing the Spaniard's beard" very freely.

The treaty of Munster was supplemented on the 17th of December, 1650, by a "Treaty of Marine" between the same contracting parties. The preamble states that certain misunderstandings had occurred in the interpretation of the treaty, and its various provisions were intended to explain the exact meaning of some ambiguous articles. There is nothing in this to prevent the Dutch from holding



any portions of Guiana which they had possessed before 1648, or to gain possession of other places which were unoccupied by Spain. All arguments put forth by Venezuela to the effect that the Dutch were only entitled to what they held before 1648 are therefore baseless. 1648

FRANCIS, LORD WILLOUGHBY, landed in Barbados to take over the Island in the name of CHARLES II, who had been proclaimed King in Holland, as soon as the news of his father's execution had been received. LORD WILLOUGHBY had received a commission as Governor of that Island as well as the other English possessions in the West Indies, and having already received a grant from the Earl of CARLISLE, the nominal possessor of these places, he was well received by the Cavaliers. Although there were a number of influential gentlemen in Barbados belonging to the Roundhead party, the Cavaliers being in the ascendant, had proclaimed CHARLES STUART as King of England, Scotland &c., as well as of Barbados, four days previous, contrary to the proclamation of the British Parliament. Lord WILLOUGHBY was heartily welcomed by the Royalists, but some of the opposite party were harshly treated, two of them having their tongues slit and their cheeks branded with the letter T (traitor), and finally banished, together with a number of others who were obnoxious to the dominant side. 1650 May 7

Towards the latter part of this year Lord WILLOUGHBY sent an exploring party to Guiana, with the view of discovering a suitable position in which to plant a colony. In a letter to his wife which was published in CARY'S "Memorials of the Civil War" he gives the following account of the result of this expedition:—

"I have had a return of my discovery of Guiana, which I writ to you formerly of, and the gentleman which I sent hath brought with him to

1650 me two of the Indian kings, having spoke with divers of them, who are willing to receive our nation, and that we shall settle amongst them; for which end I am sending hence a hundred men to take possession, and doubt not but in a few years to have many thousands there.

“It is commended by all that went, for the sweetest place that ever was seen; delicate rivers, brave land, fine timber. They were out almost five months, and amongst forty persons, not one of them had so much as their head ache. They commend the air to be so pure, and the water so good, as they had never such stomachs in their lives, eating five times a day; plenty of fish and fowl, partridges and pheasants innumerable: brave savannahs, where you may in coach or on horseback, ride thirty or forty miles.”

The expedition referred to in the letter was sent to settle in Surinam under the command of Serjeant-Major ANTHONY ROWSE. Lord WILLOUGHBY gave the settlers a vessel and also a good supply of “Indian trade” in the shape of tools and trinkets. By reviving the name of RALEIGH, ROWSE was able to make a treaty with the Indians, and soon planted a flourishing young settlement. Finding the old French fort abandoned, he put it in good order as a protection to enemies from without, while the good terms which he maintained with the natives prevented any attack from the interior. It is stated that a large number of Indians who had been living in the Wanica (Para) Creek, retired to the Coppename River about this time, leaving more room to the settlers, with less liability to disputes. Lord WILLOUGHBY ordered that two plantations should be taken up in his own name; one of these which was named Parham Hill was near the site of what is new Paramaribo, the other being in the river Commewine.

The Jewish colony at the Jews' Savannah seems

to have agreed very well with the new-comers, in fact, whatever changes took place in the Government scarcely affected them in any way, possibly because they took advantage of the troubles to secure their own benefit. In the Commewine River, ROWSE found a trading settlement of Flamands as he called them, (Dutch), who were doing business with the Indians, being visited occasionally by Dutch vessels for the purpose of bringing supplies and taking away merchandise. 1650

Lord WILLOUGHBY sent small vessels from Barbados occasionally, and these were always bringing new settlers, while ROWSE was able to collect, by trading with the Indians, merchandise in the shape of cotton, tobacco, hammocks, &c., to freight these vessels.

CROMWELL'S Parliament having sent out a fleet under Sir GEORGE AYSUE for the reduction of Barbados, Lord WILLOUGHBY was compelled to surrender the island, but only on most honourable terms, which were signed on the 11th of January. In the 16th Article it was provided "that what settlements Lord WILLOUGHBY has made at Surinam, or any other he shall make on any part of the main of Guiana, shall be by him enjoyed and kept, without disturbance either of himself or those that shall accompany him thither, and that he has free liberty to bring servants from any part in England or Ireland." He was also to be at liberty to proceed to England and there to remain or depart at his pleasure, without his having any oath or engagement put upon him, provided he did nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth. A most interesting and complete account of the attack and defence of Barbados at this time will be found in Mr. N. D. DAVIS'S "Cavaliers and Roundheads." Lord WILLOUGHBY and a number of the most prominent Barbadian Royalists were banished from the island, 1652

1652 and among the rest Major WILLIAM BYAM, while the late Governor was commanded to repair on board the vessel which had been provided for him by noon on the 12th of March, and never return to the island. He sailed for Surinam on the 27th of the same month, probably taking away most of the friends who had stood by him in defence of the island, as well as those who had been banished. After a short residence in Surinam, Lord WILLOUGHBY returned to Barbados on the 2nd of June with the excuse that he wanted provisions. These he obtained, on condition however that he should leave at once, whereupon he sailed for Antigua and thence to England.

From a letter dated Barbados, Feb. 16, it appears that ROWSE, who was evidently a "Round-head" had arrived there immediately upon hearing that Barbados was likely to submit to his friends. He was very much troubled that Lord WILLOUGHBY should think of going to Surinam, which he doubted would prove a hindrance to its settlement, but hoped however that the Admiral would prevent the visit. Surinam was described as "a brave tract of land, and if taken under the protection of the Commonwealth, would in seven years appear far more considerable than Brazil." Enclosed in this letter were the "Considerations concerning the settlements of the Maine, called Guiana, to be presented to the Council of State." It is here stated that the commodities, situation, climate, and country, made it easy to attempt a settlement, there being already 150 lusty, well armed men there, and that great number of servants "out of their times" will go there from Barbados, St. Christophers, Nevis, and Montserrat. The profits would be large; there would be a great increase of trade; honour to England by extending its power; the Indians would be converted, and employment given

to "our countrymen at home." A frigate should be employed to carry passengers thither, and encouragement given to the planters. The plantations should be laid out in townships, with at least 50 men in a town, and well stocked with cattle. As Barbados could not last in "an height of trade, three years longer," it was considered that there ought to be a place where "this great people" might find maintenance and employment, for which end the Commonwealth should disburse £20,000. 1652

The Council of State (probably on account of the above statement) gave orders to Mr. THURLOW to prepare a commission for Capt. RICHARD HOLDIP, WILLIAM FIELDER and others, authorizing them to settle a plantation between the rivers Amazon and Orinoco. The Draft of the Commission, in which Captain HOLDIP was to be Governor, was brought before the Council on several occasions but no action was taken upon it, probably because it would have been a breach of faith to Lord WILLOUGHBY. It was however ordered to be signed and delivered on the 18th of August. On November 22nd the Committee of Foreign Affairs recommended to the Council of State that HOLDIP's Commission be revoked, because Major ROWSE who was well affected to the Commonwealth, and "very knowing in those parts," was already upon the place. It was suggested that HOLDIP should be stopped before he left Bristol. Whether this was done or not it is almost certain that he did not act as Governor of Surinam, while he is found taking part in the conquest of Jamaica three years later. Aprl. 2

In the meanwhile it appears that ROWSE returned to Surinam and resumed the command of Lord WILLOUGHBY's colony.

A gentleman of Normandy named DE ROYVILLE, having heard from some of BRETIGNY's people, of the fertility of Guiana, and its

1652 suitability for plantations, determined to form a Company for the purpose of establishing a new Colony at Cayenne. Having communicated his design to some of his friends, five of them agreed to join him in the adventure, for which they subscribed the sum of 8,000 crowns. Other persons were then induced to join the Company, who raised a considerable amount of money and obtained from King Louis XIII, letters patent for a Cape North or Equinoctial Company, with the exclusive right of trading and settling in Guiana, between the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco.

The Rouen Company whose rights had been thus infringed, had not entirely abandoned their settlement after the death of BRETIGNY, but continued to send vessels with supplies for the few settlers who remained at Cayenne, although they received little or no profit from the adventure. Hearing of the new Company, they at once despatched a reinforcement of 60 persons with a supply of merchandise, who arrived in Cayenne three months before the vessels of the new Cape North Company were ready for sailing. This addition to the settlement and the promises of further supplies put the few inhabitants of the Colony in a position to extend their operations and repair the fort.

May  
18

The new Company got together between seven and eight hundred persons, divided into companies under their respective officers, and led by DE ROYVILLE, who was accompanied by several of the Directors of the Company. On this date they embarked in boats at Paris for the purpose of proceeding to Rouen and thence to Havre where vessels were provided for the voyage to Guiana. The Abbe de l'isle Marivault had been very active in promoting the Company and had been appointed chief director. It was therefore felt as a great misfortune when the Abbe was drowned before the arrival

of the emigrants at their port of embarkation.

1652

On their arrival at Havre they found one of their two vessels quite unfit to proceed on the voyage, and more than three weeks were occupied in fitting her out.

The emigrants sailed from Havre in the two vessels, one being the "Charity," having 26 guns, and the other the "Great St. Peter," with 36 guns. They had a very long and tedious passage of nearly three months, during which time they found that the victualling had been managed so badly that instead of having a supply to last for some time after their arrival, there was not even enough for the voyage. Being put on short allowance did not suit some of the gentlemen, so they quarrelled with DE ROYVILLE who was of course charged with mismanagement. They pretended to have discovered a plot formed by their General to murder them all and take possession of the Colony, and the quarrel went so far that they stabbed him and threw his body into the sea on the 18th of September. His death did not cause much disorder on board the vessels, as the Directors, or Lords of the Colony, as they called themselves, justified their action as well as they could.

July  
2

The vessels arrived at Cayenne, where the old settlers took them to be the promised supplies from their own Company, and under that mistake six of the principal persons went out in a canoe to pilot them into the river. Their chief, VANDANGEUR, went in the canoe, and being taken on board the principal vessel, was detained there with the five others, where they were received by the Lords of the Colony with great civility. The Commander of the Fort was then summoned aboard and commanded to surrender his fortress, which, having no power to resist such a powerful armament, he did on the following day.

Sept.  
29

The new Company was thus established in

1652 Cayenne, with a dozen heads, or Lords, who soon began to quarrel among themselves. Some of them formed a conspiracy to assassinate the others, which, being discovered, four were arrested, one of whom was decapitated on the 21st December, the other three being deprived of their rank and banished to an uninhabited island, where they remained until an opportunity occurred for their passage to the Antilles.

Two of the other Lords having died, the number was reduced by half, but this did not prevent further discord. Things were mismanaged worse than ever, the Government quarrelled with the Indians in the usual manner by plundering their provision grounds and taking some of them as slaves. The Caribs or Galibis of Cayenne were always noted for their warlike, fierce natures, so they naturally retaliated, killing a great number of the settlers, among whom were one or two of the Lords of the Colony. Most of the outlying settlements having been burnt by the Indians, the inhabitants were compelled to take shelter in the Fort, where famine and disease carried off a great number of them. Meanwhile the Governor of the Fort had managed to escape in one of the Colony's vessels to Surinam, where he took refuge with the English. The Indians cut off all communication with the land, so that the people were imprisoned and deprived of everything but the poor supply of provisions which had been brought there hurriedly when they took refuge therein. Having no other means of escape, they were obliged at last to embark in a rotten vessel and one or two canoes, in which they managed to get to Surinam and from thence to Barbados. Thus the French were entirely driven out of Cayenne for a time, leaving behind everything that they possessed in the shape of guns, ammunition and merchandise, to the serious loss of the great Cape North Company as well as of



the smaller adventure of ROUEN. The French stated that the Indians had been incited to attack the Colony by the Hollanders, but in the face of the fact that the natives rose against attempts made to enslave them, there is no necessity to look for any other cause than this. Every such attempt on the part of either Dutch or French, always ended in disaster to the settlers. The English apparently never tried to force the natives to work for them, and consequently were free from disturbance. 1652

The English Navigation Act of 1651 which was intended to strike a blow at the Dutch Commerce in America, gave rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction both in Holland as well as in the Colonies. English privateers were fitted out to stop the Dutch trade and a great many vessels seized. The Dutch demanded satisfaction and the stoppage of these seizures, while the merchants of Zealand stirred up the States to fit out a fleet to protect their own vessels and make reprisals. This was considered by England as a preparation for war, and when on May 19th VAN TROMP lay off Dover without saluting the English flag, he was attacked by Admiral BLAKE and a sea fight ensued with a doubtful result. This began the first Dutch War.

The Dutch and Jews in Surinam had been accustomed to ship their produce in the Dutch vessels which arrived occasionally, and ROWSE in carrying out the Navigation Act caused considerable dissatisfaction. About this time some of the Dutch from Surinam established a settlement on the Aprouage River, where they built a fort.

On a report upon a petition of Lord WILLOUGHBY, the Council of State recommended that letters patent be granted to the petitioner and his heirs, for a tract of land in South America, bounded on the east by the river of Marowyne, and on the west by the river. 1654  
Mch. 16

1654 Saramacca, and extending in a right line so many miles to the southward as those rivers lie distant east and west from each other, to form a square. The Parliament appears to have taken no action in this matter. Lord WILLOUGHBY was on the Continent with Prince CHARLES at this time.

A few Frenchmen under BRAGLIONE and DUPLESSIS were driven out of the River Sinamary by the Caribs and fled to Surinam, where they were kindly received by ROWSE. These people had built a small Fort, which was taken into possession of the English.

The settlers in Surinam established a Government on the model of the Commonwealth. Delegates were elected by the inhabitants for the purpose of forming a Constitution. They agreed that the Government should consist of representatives from the different districts, who should be elected annually, and that under the supreme power of England this Assembly should govern the colony. Major WILLIAM BYAM was, by these representatives, chosen President of Surinam for the term of three years.

1655 A project was set on foot by the Count de PAGAN, for a French conquest and settlement of the Amazon, which was submitted to Cardinal MAZARIN. By establishing five Colonies on that river from its mouth upwards, it was asserted that the whole of the trade of Guiana and Amazonia would be secured for the benefit of France.

1656 A party of Dutch, under GUEBIN SPRANGER, finding Cayenne abandoned by the French, took possession of the Colony, for which they received a Grant from the States General. They repaired the French fort, Ceperou, and formed a very thriving settlement. Here they were joined by some of the Dutch and Jewish planters from Brazil, who were continually flying from that country on account of the persecutions of the Portuguese. SPRANGER suc-

ceeded in keeping on good terms with the Indians and gained their respect. 1656

By order of the Council of State, Lord WILLOUGHBY was to be allowed, on giving security to the amount of £10,000, to embark within six months for Surinam; and provided he did nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth, he would be set at liberty and permitted to transport himself, with his company, servants, and goods, and enjoy the settlements already made by him there, according to the Articles granted on the surrender of Barbados. 1657  
Nov. 26

It does not appear that Lord WILLOUGHBY took advantage of this permission at that time, as the Order was repeated on August 3, of the following year. Having returned to England in June, 1655, he had been arrested and committed to the Tower.

The West India Company having lost all her possessions in Brazil, was reduced to such a low state, as to be unable to assist her Colonies. Essequibo up to this time had not paid expenses, and it was proposed by the Chamber of Zeeland that the settlement be abandoned. Some of the Directors of the Company, however, were desirous of supporting that Colony, and it was finally agreed that the three Chambers of Middelburg, Vlissingen and Veere should combine to raise sufficient capital for the purpose. The managers of this Society consisted of eight Directors, of whom two were Burgomasters of Middelburg, one of Vlissingen, one of Veere, and the other four, shareholders of the Zeeland Chamber. They called the new Essequibo Colony *Nova Zeelandia*, and considered that it included the territory from Cape Orange, near the Oyapok to the Orinoco, or as some authorities state, the whole of Guiana from 1 to 10 degrees North Latitude. At the first meetings they subscribed 24,000 guilders for its support but this amount not being considered sufficient, the capital

1657 was afterwards increased to 72,000.

The following is the substance of the Agreement, which is the first document of importance in the History of Essequibo :—

Dec. 24 Provisional Contract and Conditions entered into between the Shareholders of the Chartered West India Company, Chamber of Zeeland, on the first part, and the Burgomasters and Directors of the towns of Middelburg, Vlissingen, and Veere on the other part.

1. The West India Company approve and put on record that they agree to be bound by this contract whereby all the establishments and plantations that may be erected by the aforesaid towns in the Colony of the Great Wild Coast, up to ten degrees, shall have all the exemptions and liberties allowed by the Council of Nineteen, now in force or that may be given hereafter.

2. In order that the aforesaid towns may be able to maintain the necessary authority, they being the supporters and colonizers of the said Coast, their High Mightinesses and the Company, grant to them high, middle, and low jurisdiction.

3. The aforesaid towns shall hold the said jurisdiction in the manner of a fief, appointing for this end successively, a person on whom the fief shall be conferred, and to whom shall be paid a tax on the profits.

4. The sovereignty and superintendence, as well as all matters concerned therewith, shall be vested in their High Mightinesses and the Company in accordance with the rights held by them under their grants.

4. And because the Directors of the aforesaid towns have no intention of extending their authority beyond this country, but only to promote the commerce and tolls of the West India Company, the aforesaid Directors will be satisfied with the same

Conditions as those made by the City of Amsterdam with the Shareholders of the New Netherlands, that is, in case the Company should be inclined to take over the country within the first ten years or a few years after, they shall be entitled to do so on re-imbursing from the Company's funds the money which has been spent, together with simple interest at five per cent; in such a case everything on the land shall be given over to the Company or this Chamber, with the provision that any Conditions which shall have been made between the Commis-saries of the respective towns and the Directors with the Colonists, shall be respected.

6. Meanwhile, the aforesaid Directors bind themselves with the said towns, by consent and authority of the principal shareholders, to pay out of the nett proceeds of the Orange Dye (Anatto); from the Wild Coast, the sum of two hundred and fifty Flemish Pounds (ƒ625), annually, and no more, on account of the interest on the capital advanced by the aforesaid towns; and for the remaining interest and capital, the Colonists and Estates shall be bound to pay it out of their produce.

This made in good faith at Middelburg, the 24th of December, 1657. Signed:—

JOHAN VAN FOUBERGEN

PIETER MORTHAMER

CORNELIS ARENT WERDORP

JOHAN VAN DEE MERCT

GERRIT GYSSELING

JOHAN LUYCX

JOHAN KIEN DE JONGE.

Two vessels were provided, one of which was sent to Africa to procure slaves for the Colony, while the other was fitted up to carry out as many settlers as it could hold, or who could be induced to emigrate. The Jewish merchant DAVID NASSY, also offered to supply the Colony with a hundred slaves. By a resolution of the 26th of November, the following prices of slaves were settled:—A man or

1657 woman f150; two children from 8 to 12 years to count as one adult, and under that age three for one; babies to be sold with their mothers. This was the cash price and a discount of 10 o/o was allowed if paid for at once. If a credit of 5 years was given the price was to be charged f250, but if any portion of the debt should be paid before the expiration of that time the discount should be allowed on the payment.

Whether there was a Commandeur in Essequebo at this time is uncertain. However, one AERT ADRIAENZ GROENEWEGEL was chosen by the new Directors as the chief Commandeur to govern Nova Zeelandia at Kyk-over-al, while his deputy CORNELIS GOLIAT, was appointed to govern the Pomeroun Colonies. The salary of GROENEWEGEL was 100 guilders per month, and his deputy GOLIAT, who was Commissary of the Magazine, was allowed the sum of 60 guilders per month. The latter is stated to have been well versed in fortification, military and civil engineering, and the making of charts. He was Captain of 25 soldiers, and probably the first Government Land Surveyor in Essequebo.

Great inducements were offered to emigrants in the shape of free land, and slaves on easy terms. The following estimate of the expenses of an emigrant to the Pomeroun are taken from OTTO KAYE'S "Kurtzer Entwerf van Guiana," &c:—

Passage money for a man and his wife ... ..	... ..	...f 80
" " " each child ... ..	... ..	...f 12
Six months' supply of food, until the settler shall have planted and gathered his produce:—		
Flour; 6 kans (quarts) per week ... ..	... ..	...f 16 5 st.
Meal; 1 kan, 6st.; Peas; 1 kan, 4st.; Beans; 1 kan, 4st. per week...	...f 18	4 st.
Bacon; 2 lbs. at 8st.; Salt Beef; 4 lbs. at 6st. per week	...f 52	
Oil; $\frac{1}{2}$ kan per week at f1.5 per kan ... ..	... ..	...f 16 5 st.
Garden Seeds to be brought from Holland ... ..	... ..	...f 20
Spirits; a small measure per day; $\frac{1}{2}$ kan per week ... ..	... ..	...f 16 5 st.
Tools—including spades, axes, adzes, hoes, cutlasses, hammers, saws, nails, &c., necessary for planting and building	...f 30	
A copper-covered barrel for flour, and a copper or stone pan to dry farina (cassava bread) ... ..	... ..	...f 25

Pots, kettles, and household utensils	...	...	...	...f 20
Fishing Nets	...	...	...	...f 15
A gun, powder, and shots	...	...	...	...f 15
A pair of Hammocks to be obtained from the Indians in exchange for a few trinkets, say :—	...	...	...	...f 6
Two slaves for cash	...	...	...	...f 250
Food for slaves, 3 months	...	...	...	...f 10 10 st.
Clothing for slaves; 2 coats, 2 pairs trowsers, 2 hats, made of brown linen	...	...	...	...f 9
Total	...	...	...	...f 811 9 st.

1657

The settler was recommended not to carry any servants, as the Government supplied slaves on very easy terms, and they were so cheap that it would be useless and unnecessary to bring white labourers. If two slaves were bought for cash, credit would be given for as many more. Very little food need be provided for the slaves as they could catch fish, oysters, crabs, and other things for themselves, and in three months the plantation would supply plenty of yams and sweet potatoes. Seeds of cotton and tobacco could be obtained at little cost, while indigo grew wild and would cost nothing. A few cart-loads of sugar-canes would be sufficient at the commencement, and as the land was cleared these would have grown sufficiently to supply as many as should be required. It was considered necessary to drink a little spirits, (a pint weekly), but if the settler carried a small still he could make his own liquor from the sugar canes or fruits. If a man had no money, he could soon work and get enough to buy one slave, and by means of the money gained by that one procure others. With 6 or 8 slaves a planter could double his capital in three years, while a family might be worth 40,000 guilders in 4 or 5 years.

GOENEWEGEL sailed for Nova Zeelandia in the vessel which had been provided, together with a large number of Colonists of all sorts and conditions. Among them were several of the Brazilian refugees who had fled to Holland, including the Portuguese Jews, PAULO JACOMO PINTO, and PHILIP DE FUENTES.

1658  
Feb.

1658

Lord WILLOUGHBY having been released from the Tower with permission to proceed to Surinam, deputed a relation of his named JOHNSON as Governor of that Colony and also to look after his Lord's interests in the West Indies. Taking with him his wife and children, and also an adopted daughter named AFRA or APHRA JOHNSON, he sailed for Surinam towards the end of this or the beginning of the following year. He did not, however, live to reach his Government, but fell sick and died on the voyage. His widow and the children proceeded to Surinam where they remained for two or three years, living on one of Lord WILLOUGHBY's plantations, which was under the management of Mr. TREFFRY, who acted as Estate Attorney for the Lord Proprietor.

Meanwhile, Major BYAM's term of office having expired, the inhabitants were preparing to elect another President, but BYAM having managed to get the upper hand, succeeded in retaining the office, to the great displeasure of many of the Colonists. The President claimed to have received the authority of the King, but did not show any Commission to that effect, probably for fear of the Commonwealth. He had succeeded in gaining a large faction of the Cavalier party, who were both able and willing to support him in his usurpation. By means of the support of this faction who were in the majority, BYAM succeeded in changing the Government from a Parliament with its President, to a Governor and his Council. According to Mrs. BEHN (APHRA JOHNSON) this Council "consisted of such notorious villains as Newgate never transported, and possibly, originally were such who understood neither the laws of God or man; and had no sort of principles to make them worthy the name of men, but at the very Council table would contradict and fight with one another, and swear



so bloodily, that 'twas terrible to hear and see them." Some of the Colonists who had thus been robbed of their privileges began to murmur, while others more spirited openly complained, and refused their allegiance to the new Government. Taxes were raised without the consent of the people, who refused payment, on the same plea which has so often caused trouble to rulers, that there could be no taxation without representation. BYAM called up the Militia, which was described by Mrs. BEHN to be such a comical Army as never had been seen. "Most of their arms were of those sorts of cruel Whips they called Cat with nine Tails, some had rusty useless guns for show, others old baskets hilts whose blades had never seen the light in this age, and others had long staffs and clubs." By the state of their arms it may be judged that they were unaccustomed to fighting, and when they were assembled together for the purpose of capturing a poor little Dutch Shalop, some of them began to complain so loudly, that BYAM fearing for the authority which he had usurped sent his myrmidons to arrest the dissentients. The Dutch vessel had come to the Colony for the purpose of trading, which being illegal under the Navigation Act, both vessel and cargo were liable to seizure. BYAM's prisoners were brought before a Court Martial, where they were condemned to banishment and heavy fines, being kept in confinement and loaded with chains, until their departure.

Miss JOHNSON, (better known under her married name of Mrs. APHRA BEHN) has given a very interesting picture of the Colony in her story of OROONOKO. She seems to have been a very lively, strong-minded young woman, with a versatile genius which was afterwards developed in the writing of novels and comedies, that were exceedingly popular in the loose Court of CHARLES II. The best of her novels,

1658 entitled "OROONOKO, or the Royal Slave," like all old tales, is very interesting and useful to the historian as a picture of the period in which it was written; and as the scene is laid in Surinam a brief outline of the story is here given.

OROONOKO was a young negro chief, grandson of the King of Coromantien, very handsome, and well educated, having been taught the French and English languages under the care of a Frenchman of "wit and learning." His complexion was of that polished jet which is sometimes found in the negro, and his features more like those of the European than the African type.

The young chief having been to the wars was saved from death in battle by one of the Captains, who had placed himself before OROONOKO and there received an arrow shot from which he died. The young chief in making a visit of condolence to the relations of his dead preserver, was captivated by the beauty of IMOINDA, the daughter of the Captain, whose face and person exceeded in loveliness anything he had ever beheld. After a short courtship the lovers were united in marriage, "the beautiful young Venus to our young Mars, as charming in her person as he, and of delicate virtues." The King, who was about a hundred years old, hearing of the beauty of IMOINDA, called her to Court, and being enamoured with her himself, commanded her to be brought to his own house. Here OROONOKO managed to gain access to visit his wife, and being discovered, the young chief contrived to escape while IMOINDA was consigned to one of the guards with orders to sell her as a slave. As OROONOKO was a very important personage and heir to the throne, as well as General of the Army, the old King thought it best to report that his wife had been put to death rashly, and begged that the young chief would forgive him. A battle being imminent there was no time for grief,

so OROONOKO expended his anger upon the enemy, whom he defeated, and afterwards returned to Court as the hero of the day, where an English ship had lately arrived, the master of which had been accustomed to traffic for slaves. The Captain of the slave vessel was very friendly and invited OROONOKO and the other chieftains aboard where he treated them with great courtesy and gave them an invitation to a magnificent entertainment, at which, when they had drunk plenty of punch he suddenly fell upon and clapt them in irons, and setting sail at once carried them off as slaves. 1658

OROONOKO struggled to escape from his fetters, but finding all attempts to free himself quite useless, he determined to die of starvation rather than live in bondage, and most of his friends following his example, also refused to eat anything. The Captain seeing his prisoners deliberately starving themselves, began to fear that his treachery would end in no good to himself, so he began to try fair words and apologies to the young chieftain, and promised him that he and his people should be freed and put ashore in the next land he should touch at. To this OROONOKO replied, that he expected in confirmation of that promise to be rid of his fetters at once. The Captain after much hesitation granted this request, and induced him to visit his friends and persuade them to give up their intention of starving themselves to death.

After a tedious voyage the vessel arrived in Surinam, and the planters came aboard to receive the slaves for which they had already bargained with the Captain. OROONOKO instead of being set free, was sold to Mr. TREFRY, the manager of Lord WILLOUGHBY'S plantation, where he was first seen by Miss JOHNSON.

In his passage up the river, OROONOKO succeeded in gaining the good-will of his master, to whom he

1658 told his story, which gained a promise that TREFFY would find means to send him back to his country. The Royal youth appeared in spite of the slave, and people could not help treating him after a different manner to the slaves without designing it. On arriving at Parham House a hut was given to him, and he was named CÆSAR. Here, the plantation slaves all cast themselves at his feet, crying out in their own language, Long live O King! at the same time kissing his feet and doing him homage.

On the same plantation was a female slave named CLEMENE who had charmed all the young negroes, as well as a great number of the white men in the neighbourhood. On sight of her OROONOKO found that she was his lost wife IMOINDA, and by the favour of his master he was allowed to live with her. The reunited pair lived happily together for a short time until the lovely IMOINDA proved with child, which made OROONOKO more impatient of his bondage from the fear that his child should be born a slave. This feeling led him to make offers of gold and great numbers of slaves, if his master would allow him to go back to his country to fetch them. He was put off from time to time until he became quite impatient and sullen.

One Sunday when the white men were overtaken with drink, OROONOKO collected the slaves together, addressed them on the miseries of their lot, and advised them not to suffer like dogs, but rise like men, and take their wives and families into the forest. He promised to be their leader, and told them that he intended to travel towards the sea-coast, where he would plant a colony, and when any vessel should be driven near the shore by stress of weather or any other cause, they would capture it and proceed to their own country.

The following night all the slaves on the plan-

tation packed up their little belongings, with as many cutlasses as they could procure, and fled to the forest. On Monday morning when the overseers went to call them together, they were extremely surprised to find their huts empty, and not a single slave about the place.

The news soon spread to the neighbouring plantations, and by noon of the same day the Militia, to the number of 600 men came to assist in capturing the runaways. It was not hard to find them, as they were obliged to cut their way through the bushes, and light fires at night, so that their pursuers were easily able to track them. When the Militia came in sight the slaves put themselves in posture of defence. After a short skirmish, in which several of the white men were killed and others wounded, the slaves were compelled to surrender, the Governor promising that OROONOKO should have all respect paid him, and that he and his wife should be free to depart from the country.

On arriving at the plantation, to which they all peaceably returned, OROONOKO and another ringleader were suddenly captured and tied to the whipping posts, where they were lashed in a most inhuman manner, "rending their very flesh from their bones."

OROONOKO brooded over the disgrace of the whipping and openly threatened to have his revenge on BYAM, but considering the certainty of his being killed in the attempt, he determined to first slay his dear IMOINDA before she should be left a prey to the enraged multitude. Taking her into the forest he told her with tears in his eyes of the necessity for her death, to which she willingly consented. After a fond farewell, he cut her throat and then threw himself weeping on the corpse, where he remained for several days. Here he was found by some persons who had been sent in search of him. Although he was almost dead from grief and starva-

1658 tion, he plunged a knife into his body, and succeeded in wounding one of the men who attempted to prevent his killing himself. He was then taken and carried back to the plantation, where by care and attention he was cured of the wound.

Meanwhile the Governor had been laid up with the wound of a poisoned arrow, which he had received in the skirmish with the fugitives, but having recovered through the attention of his Indian mistress, who had sucked the poison from the wound, he determined to get rid of OROONOKO. Coming up to the plantation he forcibly took the wounded man and carried him to the whipping post in front of which was made a great fire.

Having tied him to the post they proceeded to torture him, when he asked for a pipe of tobacco, which he coolly smoked while the executioner cut off his ears and nose and threw them into the fire, and then hacked off one of his arms. "At the cutting off of the other arm, his head sunk," and the pipe dropt from his mouth without a groan.

Mrs. BEHN concludes her story as follows:—

"Thus died this great man, worthy of a better fate, and a more sublime wit than mine to write his praise: Yet I hope the reputation of my pen is considerable enough to make his glorious name to survive to all ages, with that of the brave, the beautiful, and the constant IMOINDA."

During this and the following year, 4 or 5 vessels sailed from Holland with Jews and other colonists for the new Plantation of Nova Zeelandia, and one vessel loaded with slaves. GROENWEGEL and GOLIAT did their best to put the Essequibo and Pomeroun in good order, by repairing Fort Kyk-over-al, erecting a block house which was called Huis ter Hoogen, and also the Fort Nova Zeelandia in the Pomeroun, between which latter fortifications the town of Middelburg was laid out.

The States General made a grant of part of Cayenne under certain conditions, to the French Chevalier BALTHAZAR GERBIER, Baron DOUILLY, to govern it under their authority and to search for mines. It does not appear that his mining was attended with any success. This was one of the several grants which were made about this time for the purpose of settling Nova Zeelandia. 1658

By a Resolution of the Council of Nineteen the following Charter was granted to DAVID NASSY and other Jews for a Colony in Cayenne:— 1659  
Sept.  
12

Liberty and Exemption by which the Council of Nineteen and the Shareholders of the Chartered West India Company agree and settle with DAVID NASSY and his Partners as Patroon and Patroons of a Colony to be established by them on the Island of Cayenne, or other Places on the Wild Coast of the West Indies:—

1. The aforesaid DAVID NASSY and his Partners are permitted to establish a Colony to the extent of four or five miles of land on the Island or Rivers of Cayenne, consisting of as much land as can be cultivated by the Colonists, provided they do not extend so far from the Colony of Cayenne as to interfere with the other settlers; and they shall be bound to settle in the aforesaid Colony within the period of four years, commencing not later than the first of September 1660, on pain that if after the said period they should fail to do so, all the uncultivated, uninhabited, or unoccupied lands shall revert to the Company, to be disposed of as they shall think fit.

2. The said DAVID NASSY and his Partners shall be allowed Jurisdiction over the Bays which may be found in the Colony which is to be established, and to half of the rivers situated at either side of the said Colony, of which assignation will be made hereafter, always provided that the Company reserve to themselves or their assigns, the right of free navigation and trade in those Bays and up and down the said rivers.

3. The said DAVID NASSY and his Partners shall be granted free and assured possession of that part of the aforesaid Colony with its belongings and dependencies, that may be colonised, governed, worked, assigned, and cultivated within the period of four years, of which they may dispose by testament, contract, engagement, or otherwise, so that they may be free to dispose of their property at their own pleasure, provided that nothing in the testament or contract shall be held binding if the Colony should be cut off from these States and this Company, and captured by another nation.

4. The said Colony shall be allowed to establish high, middle, and low jurisdiction, which shall be carried out in accordance with Article XIV.

5. The aforesaid Colony shall be held by the said DAVID NASSY in the manner of a fief, and to provide for the security thereof, one or more responsible persons shall be provided, on whom the fief may be conferred, on payment of certain manorial fees to the amount of 80 guilders.

6. The Sovereignty and Supreme control, and everything connected therewith,

are reserved to their High Mightinesses and the Company as far as the Company are qualified thereto under their Charter.

7. It shall be permitted to the Jews to have freedom of conscience, with public worship, and a synagogue and school, in the same manner as is allowed in the city of Amsterdam, in accordance with the doctrines of their elders, without hindrance as well in the district of this Colony, as in all other places of our Dominions, and that they shall enjoy all the liberties and exemptions of our other colonists as long as they remain there; but the aforesaid patroon and his partners shall be bound to preserve the said freedom of conscience to all the other colonists of any nation whatsoever, and that with the worship and public rites of the Reformed Religion, or any other that may happen to be in the country.

8. The Company grants to the before-named DAVID NASSY and his partners, freedom of tithes (tenths) for the period of twenty years, in which privilege he may allow his Colonists to participate for as many years as he shall consider advisable, also freedom of head-tax and other duties, any of which that may be received from the expiration of the tenth year until the twentieth, shall be applied to defray the expenses of public works and fortifications, and at the expiration of the twentieth year this and all other tenths and head-taxes shall devolve on the Company.

9. If any of these Colonists, or any other person shall discover any mines of gold, silver, precious stones, marble, (salpêtre, or pearl fisheries of any nature whatever, they shall be considered as the property of the Colonists for the period of ten years without charge, after which time a tax of a tenth part of the nett proceeds shall be paid to the Company.

10. The Colonists shall be exempted for the period of ten successive years from all the Company's taxes on materials exported for agricultural purposes, working of minerals, and provisions, for the erection of houses, logies, fisheries, and the like articles of necessity appertaining thereto.

11. During the term of five years these persons shall be free from the Company's taxes on gums, dyes, balsams, plants, and other merchandise found in the Colony, or raised by their industry, which shall be imported into this country from that land, after which time the same duties shall be claimed as are paid by the other settlers on the possessions of the Company.

12. The Colonists will be permitted to transport their goods from this land by their own ships, as well as by the Company's vessels if any should be available, but they shall be bound to give an exact account of the size, number of men, equipment, and lading of these vessels, either here or at any place where there is a Chamber of the Company, also before sailing to provide themselves with a Commission from the Company, in conformity with the custom of all others within the limits of the Company's Charter. Permission is further granted that they may keep for their own trade what vessels they shall consider necessary.

13. The Colonists shall be permitted for the benefit of the Colony, all the rights of establishing fisheries for drying and salting fish of all descriptions, and shall be allowed for the period of twenty years, to transport the same to the West India Islands, Spain, the Straits, and elsewhere, provided they do not under that pretence carry away any minerals, plants, or anything prohibited, on pain of the exporters forfeiting for the benefit of the Company, whatever goods may be found besides those that are prohibited.

14. The Company shall appoint in the aforesaid Colony a "Schout," for the maintenance of Justice and Police, provided the state of the Colony be such as shall justify the appointment of a Governing Council, in which case the patroon or patroons shall nominate two of the most able persons living in the Colony, being Dutch christians and of the Reformed Religion, through whom the Schout as representative of the Company may have supreme control in the country.

15. All the affairs, differences, and litigations shall be decided by the aforesaid rulers, and the sentences executed, provided the sentence shall not exceed the sum of five hundred guilders. In case this sum should be exceeded appeal may be



made to such Courts as their High Mightinesses and the Company may Commission for the purpose.

1659

16. The aforementioned Colonists shall be allowed all the privileges of trading for slaves as may be hereafter decided by the Council of Nineteen, this accommodation to be the same as that allowed to the Colony of Esseqube under the Chamber of Zeeland.

17. They shall also be provided by the Company with such numbers of slaves as may be required from time to time in accordance with the orders and regulations made or to be made by the Council of Nineteen, but all the slaves which may be captured at sea by the Colonists shall be allowed to be brought to this Colony for further transportation on payment of a tax to the Company, at the rate of ten guilders for each slave, with the understanding that a fourth part of the slaves thus captured shall remain in that Country for the benefit of the Colony or the Wild Coast.

18. After the expiration of the first ten years, the Company shall be entitled to there appoint a receiver of the Company's taxes, which the chiefs and rulers of the Colony shall help in maintaining to the furtherance of the Company's authority.

This done and enacted by the Shareholders of the Chamber of Amsterdam on the 12th of September, 1659.

A predicant (minister) named JOHANNES Aug.  
URSELIUS was sent to Nova Zeelandia, but it does not appear that the reverend gentleman gave satisfaction to the Colonists, as it is stated that he misbehaved himself and was sent back to Holland in January 1661.

The Directors of Nova Zeelandia not taking 1660  
sufficient interest in the Colony to suit MOSES NETTO and other Jews, they petitioned for proper "Commissaries." It appears that the settlers could not get a sufficient number of slaves, and that DAVID NASSY had neglected to carry out his promise in this respect. It may be presumed that this merchant wanted all he could obtain for his own settlement in Cayenne.

King CHARLES II having returned to England July 9  
on the 29th of May, a warrant was made out on this date for a Grant to Lord WILLOUGHBY of the whole of Guiana, which was to be held of the Manor of East Greenwich, on condition that the grantee should supply two white horses whenever the King or any of his successors should land in the country. On the same day Lord WILLOUGHBY was directed to apply himself instantly to undertake the government of Barbados and the other Caribbee Islands, either

1660 by going himself or appointing a Governor.  
 July Objections were offered to the consideration of  
 16 the King against the Grant of such a large tract of  
 territory as the whole of Guiana between the Orinoco  
 and the Amazon. The gift of 1,200 miles in length  
 and 600 in breadth to one subject, with the title  
 of Proprietor was considered as without precedent,  
 the title of General, which denoted the governor of  
 a dependency, was thought better than that of  
 Proprietor. The inhabitants of Surinam consider it  
 a great grievance to be given away from the Crown.  
 It was thought that the nomination of the Gov-  
 ernors of Surinam should belong to the King. If  
 Lord WILLOUGHBY had a good title to the General-  
 ship of Surinam because he had been the first  
 settler, then his claim on the Caribbee Islands could  
 not stand.

The King in Council sitting as a Committee of  
 Plantations ordered that, as Lord WILLOUGHBY had  
 been heard in support of his right to a grant of part  
 of Guiana, in which the plantation of Surinam is  
 comprehended, as also several merchants, planters  
 in Barbados, against his claim; both parties should  
 attend on the 26th inst. for a further hearing.

Sept. A Warrant for the Government of the Caribbee  
 Islands was delivered to Lord WILLOUGHBY, but the  
 Grant of Surinam had not yet been settled. Colonel  
 HUMPHREY WALROND was Commissioned by him as  
 Governor of Barbados on the 24th of this month.

1661 Sugar from Nova Zeelandia was first offered  
 Jan. 6 for sale in Holland, at Middelburg. GOLIAT, who  
 had acted as Commandeur in the Pomeroon and  
 Moruca, died, and was succeeded by FRANCOIS DE  
 FIJNE, who received the same salary as his predeces-  
 sor. The Directors were not very well satisfied with  
 the Commandeur at Kyk-over-al so they reduced  
 his salary from £100 to £60 per month.

ELIAS ASHMOLE, so well known as the founder

of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, was appointed Secretary of Surinam, and Clerk of the King's Courts there, but it does not appear that he ever lived in the Colony. It was probably a sinecure. 1661'

The Council for Foreign Plantations in a Report to the King state that Lord WILLOUGHBY, being owner of Surinam, he might as Governor of Barbados draw all the planters from that island to his own plantations, and thus in time destroy Jamaica, meaning that the Barbados planters who then were going to Jamaica, would proceed to Surinam. There was already liberty of conscience in Surinam. It would be best that he should be Governor or Count Palatine of his own Colony. April

It was recommended by the above Council that Lord WILLOUGHBY should go out as Governor of Barbados, and "after a while when he is weary there, then go to Surinam." The King's interest in Guiana was stated to extend to the Orinoco, the whole tract of land being about 350 leagues, with 1,000 inhabitants, of which Lord WILLOUGHBY claimed 30 leagues for himself and his heirs, but the Council thought it too much for one man. He is stated to have expended nearly £20,000 on his plantations and the Colony. 1662 May 7

The same Council were of opinion that Lord WILLOUGHBY should not be Governor of Barbados, for the same reason that is above stated, because he might, to improve his own interest, draw planters and labourers from thence to Surinam. It was thought best that Lord WILLOUGHBY should be made Governor of Surinam only for life, and that he should have a large grant of land, instead of succession to his heirs, which land might be erected into a County Palatine; and that liberty of conscience should be granted to the inhabitants of the Colony. June 5

In this year three Jews named CASERES and FRASO petitioned King CHARLES II. for liberty to

1662 reside and trade in Barbados and Surinam, and it was recommended by the "Council" that they should have a special licence to reside in any plantation.

June 8 HENRY ADIS for himself and six families of Quakers, petitioned as follows to be allowed to transport themselves to Surinam:—

"Whereas there is an Act of Parliament lately published, nominally against that people called Quakers, which has plentifully taken hold of persons of other persuasions, who are actually imprisoned, the penalty for breach of which is banishment; and forasmuch as petitioners are, by the law of God, required to obey every ordinance of man for the LORD's sake, and are willing to suffer the penalty by a free banishing of themselves: they crave His Majesty's free pass, and his Royal protection whilst acting in order to their passage; that so they may gain in and pay their debts, lest we cause the name of GOD, and that truth we do profess, to be evil spoken of, if we discharge not a good conscience to man. And that petitioners may have a certain passage, when they have sold off and bought what will be fitting for their voyage.

Signed by HENRY ADIS and RICHARD AFFLETT.  
Underwritten:—RICHARD ADIS, MARY his wife, SARAH and TIMOTHY ADIS his children, ANN WARE, PETER SAGA and two more servants, RICHARD AFFLETT, Chandler, ANN his wife, SUSAN his daughter, GEO. NICKLSON, servant, MARY HALL, a young child kinswoman.

There is no further account of these persons, but it may be presumed that they proceeded to Surinam some time afterwards. Perhaps they may have formed part of a Company bound for Barbados in 1664, whom the captain of the vessel in which they had embarked put ashore again, by reason of certain disasters that had befallen him since they had come aboard.

During this year the values of the staple products of the West Indies were, Sugar 3d per lb.; Cocoa 4d.; Tobacco 3d. In the absence of money these articles were legal tender, and penalties were enforced on any person refusing to receive them as such. 1662

Lieutenant-Colonel ROBERT SANFORD petitioned King CHARLES II. for the reparation of certain injuries received in Surinam at the hands of Major BYAM and his Council. He complained that Byam had seized him and some others who had disputed the Governors authority, hurried them away first into irons and then into exile, to which was added a heavy load of fines. His petition was referred to the Privy Council, and together with another petition was read at a meeting of that body on the 12th of September. SANFORD asked that BYAM and the other lawless rulers should be ordered home to make a defense of their actions. It does not appear that the King or Council took any action in the matter, but it may be presumed that RENATUS ENYS (see 1663) was sent to enquire into the matter. Aug. 18

SANFORD seems to have been a very quarrelsome fellow. Not satisfied with his petitions, he published a little book under the title of "*Surinam Justice*, in the case of several persons proscribed by certain usurpers of power in that Colony, being a publication of the beginning, continuance, and end of the disturbances in the Colony of Surinam, set forth under that title by WILLIAM BYAM, Esq., sometime Governor of that Colony; and Vindication of those gentlemen sufferers of his injustice." He was banished from Barbados in 1665 for having taken part with one SAMUEL FARMER, who is described by Lord WILLOUGHBY to the King, as "a very dangerous fellow, a great Magna Charta man and petition-of-right maker," who brought the people of

1662 Barbados to think that they were governed only by their own wills, "for they were beginning to dance to the Long Parliament's pipe." The Governor stated also that, "the people nearer the sun grow more productive of their evil humours and dangerous practices," and that "they grow more rebellious and are not to be governed by an easy hand." SANFORD did not rest under his supposed wrongs, but continued to forward petitions to the King up to 1668, when he stated that he had been forcibly put on board a ship for England without having committed any crime, and prayed that a day be appointed for the hearing of his case and sufferings.

1663 The Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company made some new Regulations with regard to the colonization of Cayenne. Privileges of free land, &c. were promised to Colonists and in consequence a number of settlers sailed from Holland. They agreed with the Indians much better than their predecessors the French, and made plantations of sugar, cotton and indigo, which thrived very well.

A grant was made by CHARLES II. to several Royal personages, including the Queen and the Duke of York, with a great number of nobles and gentlemen, incorporated under the name of the Royal African Company. The patent gave this Company of Adventurers the exclusive right of trading on the west coast of Africa from Salee to the Cape of Good Hope, on condition that they should provide the King with two elephants whenever he should land in any of those regions. The West Indies were supplied with slaves from the factories of this Company, the prices being £17 per head at Barbados, with a reduction of £1 per head on taking a cargo, and by paying a fourth of the price in advance. The average price was about 2,400 lbs. of sugar. Every cargo was inspected by a doctor,

who was paid at the rate of a shilling a head. Slave vessels were sent to Surinam where the negroes sold at good prices, from £18 to £20 each, and £12 to £15 for boys. As in the Dutch Colonies so also in those of the English, long credit was given, and great losses necessarily resulted. The cash price of the negroes imported by the Dutch was considerably lower than that of the English African Company, on credit however the prices were nearly equal. Being rivals of the Dutch West India Company on the African coast, great disturbance was produced, which ultimately led to losses on both sides.

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Letters Patent for the Colony of Surinam granted to Lord WILLOUGHBY, and LAWRENCE HYDE, May 6 the second son of Lord CLARENDON :—

“ CHARLES THE SECOND by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whome these presents shall come GREETINGE: WHEREAS Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, in the Yeare of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty, and in the third Yeare of our Reigne Did at his own proper Costs and Charges provide, equip, rigg, and furnish one Shipp or Vessel with Men and Merchandize and also with Warlike Furniture and Ammunicon to go and Sayle unto the mayne Land of America or some part thereof as well for the further Discovery of the same as for the introducinge and begettinge a free Commerce between England and other Dominions of this our Kingdome and the parts of America.

“ AND WHEREAS by the blessinge of God upon that first Voyage and Undertakeinge the persons therein imployed and intrusted did afterwards Sayle and come into a parte of the mayne Land of America commonly called or knowne by the name of the mayne Land of Guiana and by Treaty and Agreement with the Natives and Inhabitants then being neare and about certeyne Waters or Rivers of the Mayne Land aforesaid commonly called Serenam also Surrenam and inhabitinge betweene certeyne other Waters or Rivers there commonly called Marawyn and Seramica were received and admitted to enter upon and possess parts of the sayd mayne Land and did thereupon then actually begin to settle an English Colony and Plantacon upon the same.

“ AND WHEREAS afterward the said Francis Lord Willoughby Did at his owne proper Cost and Charges fitt, rigg, equipp and furnish out an other Shipp or Vessel of twenty Gunnes and two other smaller Shippes or Vessells as wel with Men and Armes and Warlike Amunicon as with Merchandize and other Goods and Commodities necessary for the support of the said new begun or intended Plantacon. And for the further Assureinge and carryeing on thereof and alsoe for the better Incuragemnt of such others as by and with the consent of the said Lord Willoughby should be willing to repaire thither and plant there which second Expidicon by the blessinge of God takeinge good Effect severall other Shippes and Vessells, Men, provicons, Armes and Amunicon were afterwards at severall tymes by the only care and at the Costs and Charges of him the said Lord Willoughby sent and came to the said Colony and Plantacon and afterwards in the Yeare of our LORD GOD One Thousand Six Hundred fifty-two and in

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the fifth Year of our Reigne for the better settling of the said Colonie and Affaires thereof and of the lawful possession and Tytle of him the said Lord Willoughby and his Heirs of, in and to the aforesaid parte of the maine Land within the Rivers and Lymitts aforesaid soe acquired by agreement and contracted for with the Natives and Inhabitants thereof by the severall person and persons thentofore employed by and on the behalfe of him the said Lord Willoughby as aforesaid He the said Lord Willoughby did in his owne person with divers other his Servants and Attendance sayle and goe into the said Plantacon and Colony and at his great Hazard, Charges and Expences fortified and furnished the same with Cannon, Armes, Amunicon and all other provicons requisit and necessary as well for the Defence thereof as for the Introducinge and begettinge a Trade betweene this our Kingdome and the Dominions thereof and the partes aforesaid.

"AND WHEREAS since his Returne from thence into England he the said Lord Willoughby hath at his owne proper Cost and Charges further supplied and supported the said Colony and hath from tyme to tyme provided and sent severall other Men and Planters, Shipps and Vessels, Armes, Amunition, Goods and Merchandizes and all Necessaries thither for the Defence and Mayntenance thereof soe as if the said Colony beinge now become numerous be alsoe encouraged and provided of good and necessary Lawes and Constitucons for the orderly Government thereof not only the Trade but alsoe the Dominions of this our Kingdome may bee thereby much augmented and increased,

"ALL which we haveinge taken into our Consideracon with the Honor and profit of the Designe and the good Affecons and faithfull Services performed to us by the said Lord Willoughby and beinge willing to promote the same in all things that are just and alsoe to ratifie and confirme as much as in us lyes the just and lawfull Tytle and Right of him the said Lord Willoughby and his Heires and Assignes of and into the same.

"AND ALSOE taking into our Princely consideracon the good Affections and faithfull Service performed to us by Lawrence Hide, Esq., Second Sonne of our right Trusty and well beloved Cozen and Councillor Edwarde Earle of Clarendon, our High Chancellor of England and the humble Desire of the said Lord Willoughby to us that the said Lawrence Hide may be joined with and have an equal share and benefit of our Royal Intencons of favoure to him.

"KNOW YE that Wee reposing especial Trust and Confidence in the Care, Fidelity, Wisdome and Circumspecon of the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide and their humble Peticon, HAVE willed, graunted, constituted, and ordeyned and by these presents doe will, graunt, constitute, and ordeyne That all the mayne Tract of Land, Region and continent of Land and Territorie and the Soyle and Grounde and the Coasts thereof beinge part of the continent of Guiana in America called Serrinam also Surrinam lying in breadth East and West one English Mile next beyond the Westerly Banks of the River of Copenam and Easterly one Mile from or beyond the River Marawyne conteyninge from East to West Forty Leagues or thereabouts and extendinge from the maine Ocean or Sea called the North Sea southward up into the Land to the Heads or Springs of the said River and from thence by direct Lynes unto the mayne Ocean called the South Sea and the said Waters, Rivers and Streams commonly called the Rivers of Seramica Surinam Capenam Marawyn and all other Rivers, Waters, Islands, Ports, Cityes, Forts, Castles, Townes, Villages, Bayes, Havens, Creeks, Streames, and Coasts, Lakes, Moores, Woods and the Land Groundes and Soyle thereof within the Boundes, Lymits, precincts, and Territories last above menconed shall for hereafter be our province and shall be called by the Name of Willoughby Land and the aforesaid Mayne Land, Begion, Contynent of Land and Territorie within the same Lymitts and Bounds aforesaid and every parte thereof together with the said Rivers respectively into one province called Willoughby Land WE do erect, make, ordeyne, constitute, found and establish for ever by these presents.

"AND FURTHER WEE have given, graunted, and confirmed And doe by these presents give, graunt and confirme to the said Francis Lord Willoughby and



Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes ALL the aforesaid Mayne Land, Region and Continent of Land and Territory called Willoughby Land and the Ground and Soyle thereof, And all and every the Islands, Ports, Cities, Forts, Castles, Townes, Villages, Howses, Bayes, Havens, Creeks, Waters, Streames, Rivers and Coasts thereof, Moores, Woods, Tymter Trees, Underwoods and all the Land, Grounde and soyle thereof lyinge and beinge within the Lymitts and Boundes aforesaid together with the said Rivers of Saramica, Copenam, Marawyne and Surinam and every of them And also all and all Manner of Mynes and Quarries as well Royall Mynes of Gold and Silver as well not opened as opened as of all other Minerals, Pearls and precious Stones and all ffishings at Sea and at Land and Rights of Patronage and Advowsons of all Churches and Chapells to be made, built or founded and alsoe all jurisdicoons of Admiralty within the said province and the Lymitts and Boundes thereof as Vice Admirall or Vice Admiralls under our deare and only Brother James Duke of York duringe his beinge Lord High Admirall of England and afterwards to than the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes for ever And alsoe all other Royalties, Priviledges, franchises, jurisdicoons and preminences within the said Province and all and every the precyns and Lymitts thereof.

"AND ALSOE the whole and Sole Lordshipp, property, jurisdicoon and Command of all the said Tract of Land and other the premises above graunted and every parte and parcell thereof with their and every of their Rights, Members and appurtenances whatsoever to be taken, had, exercised, found, used and enjoyed And which wee by our Letters Patents may or can graunt in as ample manner and Sort as hath at any time heretofore bin graunted to any other person or persons, Owner or Owners, Proprietor or Proprietors, Lord or Lords of any other Colony, Plantacion or province in any the Parts of America aforesaid as if the same were therein particularly menconed or expressed and all other Fruits and profits of what kind soever that shall or may any wayes issue or arise out of the said premises or any part of them.

"AND LIKEWISE Wee doe by these presents create, ordeyne and constitute the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes the true and absolute Lords, Proprietors and Governours of the said Province and every part thereof EXCEPT and out of these Presents alwayes reserved unto us our Heirs and Successors Thirty thousand Acres of Land, parcel of the above menconed Province for our Demeasne together with all Trees, Woods and Underwoods, Mynes and Royalties thereof or thereunto belonging to be sett out in such parte and partes, place and places of the said province as may be most fit and convenient for us our Heirs and Successors And that in such manner and by such wayes and Meanes as wee our Heires and Successors shall at any time hereafter Order or direct AND ALSO EXCEPT one full fifth parte of all Oare of Gold and Silver and other the Profits of the Royal Mynes aforesaid to be rendered and delivered as hereafter is menconed TO HAVE, hold and enjoy the aforesaid Province and all and singular other the premises above graunted or menconed or intended to be graunted as aforesaid unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide, their Heires and Assignes for ever TO BEE HOLDEN of us our Heires and Successors as of our Mannor of East Greenwich in Free and Comon Soccage and not in Capite or by Knights Service RENDERINGE, YIELDINGE AND PAYINGE therefore unto us our Heires and Successors two thousand Pounds of Tobacco made of the Growth of the said Country to be payd and delivered into our Custom Howse at London Yearly and every Yeare at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangell the first payment to be made at the feast of St. Michaell the Archangell which shall bee in the yeare of our Lord One thousand Six Hundred fifty-fower AND ALSOE YIELDINGE and DELIVERINGE unto us our Heires and Successors Yearely and from tyme to tyme as the same shall arise the said fifth parte of all Gold and Silver Oare as shall or may at any time hereafter bee had, taken or found in or out of such Royall Mynes as from time so tyme or at any tyme hereafter may be found gotten,

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had or obtained in or about the premises hereby granted or any part or parcel thereof.

AND KNOWE YEE further that Wee doe by these presents give and graunt and confirme unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes full power and Authority at their owne proper Cost and Charges to take and lead, receive and enterteine into the said Province or any parte thereof for the better Plantation thereof All such and soe many Person and persons that shall, be thereunto lycenced by the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires or Assignes and which shall be free and not prohibited or under Restraint or Imprisonment being Denizons or Natives of this Kingdom or any of the Dominions thereof or any other strangers that will become our Subjects and will live under our Allegiance as shall willingly transport themselves or be transported thither And that such our Subjects and Strangers together with their persons may carry or convey or cause to be carried or conveyed thither Armor, Weapons, Powder, Shott, Habiliments of Warr, Ordnance, Amunicon of all sorte or other necessary provision of Victuals, Cloathing and Household Goods usually transported and not prohibited payinge the Customs and Dutyes for such of the said Goodes and premises as are usually payable and accustomed for the same And that the said persons may there plant, inhabit and inherit Land to them and their Heires And that such amonge them as shall not be English shall nevertheless have like Liberty of Trade onely payinge such Dutyes and Customs as the English doe AND WEE doe further Declare and graunt that noe Inhabitants of the said Country and Province shall at any time be compelled to appeare and answer any Suite, Plainte, Matter or Cause out of the same AND because it may happen that some of the people and Inhabitants of the same province cannot in their private opinions confirme to the publique Exercise of Religion according to the Litturgie, Formes and Ceremonies of the Church of England or take or subscribe the Oathes and Articles made and established in that behalfe And for the same by reason of the remote distances of those places will as we hope be noe Breach of the Unity and Uniformity established in this Nation Our will and pleasure thereof is AND WEE doe by these presents for us our Heires and Successors give and Graunt unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes full and free Lycence, Lyberty and Authority by such legall Wayes and Meanes as they shall think fit to give and graunt unto such person and persons inhabitinge and beinge within the said Province or any parte thereof whoe really in their Judgments and for Conscience sake cannot or shall not conforme to the said Liturgie and Ceremonies and take and subscribe the oathes and Articles aforesaid or any of them such Indulgences and Dispensations in that behalfe for and dureigne such tyme and tymes and with such Limitations and Restriccons as they the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes shall in their Discretions think fit and reasonable And with this expresse proviso and Limitacon also that such person and persons to whom such Indulgences and Dispensacons shall be granted as aforesaid doe and shall from tyme to tyme declare and continue all Fidelity, Loyalty and Obedience to us our Heires and Successors AND FURTHER Wee doe by these presents give, graunt and confirme unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes full Power and Authority to hold and possesse the Province aforesaid and every part thereof with the Lymitts and Boundes aforesaid and at his and their owne proper Cost and Charges to erect, plant and settle such and so many Colonies or factories And alsoe to keepe intire or divide the said Country and Province into several parts, Countyes Sheires, Hundreds, Towneshippes and Tyethings and to build, erect and constitute such and soe maine City or Cittyes, Lordshipp or Lordshippes, Mannor or Mannors, Towne, or Townes, Boroughs, Faires and Markettes or any Incorporacons, Colledges or Schooles of good Liture and them to fortifie and invest with such juristiccons, Libertyes and Priviledges as the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide and their Heires and Assignes shall see cause and by their Writings or Writinges

under their Hands and Seales to convey assigne and set over such particular porcon and porcons of any the Lands, Tenements or Heriditaments there Reserving the said Thirty thousand Acres to us our Heires and Successors for Demeasnes as aforesaid unto any Person or Persons, Planter or Planters there and his and their Heires and Assignes for ever or for any other Estate or Terme whatsoever TOO BEE HOLDEN of the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide and their Heires and Assignes under such reasonable Services and Rents as shall bee thought meete by them or to bee holden of the said Mannor or Mannors, Lordshipp or Lordshippes soe to be erected as aforesaid or otherwise as they shall from tyme to tyme thinke fitt and agree of.

" AND ALSOE that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes from tyme to tyme to nominate, constitute and appoynt under their Hands and Seals all and every the Governor and Governors, Deputy Governors, Magistrates, Sherriffs, and all Officers and Ministers both superior and Inferior, Civill and Military as shall be thought requisit and necessary to be appoynted under them in the province aforesaid or any parte thereof or of any Borroughes, Townes, Cittyes, Castles, Forts, Fortificacon or other places made or to be made within the same AND FURTHER WEE doe by these presents give and confirme unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes full Power and Authority from tyme to tyme to establishe and Ordeyne a Forme or Frame of Governement within the said Province and by and with the consent of the greater part of the Freeholders that are or shall be of and within the same in person or by their Representatives by them to be Elected to make, ordaine and publish good and wholesome Lawes, Statuts and Constitutcons as often as shall be thought fitt and as need shall require for the publike good, better Rule and orderly Governement of the aforesaid Province and of the Inhabitants of and within the same AND TO THAT END it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes under their Hands and Seales or otherwise to summon and call together as often as need shall require the Planters and Inhabitants of and within the said Province or the greater number of them for the tyme beinge or their Representatives to bee by them elected and by and with the Comon Consent and approbacon of them or the greater number of them soe assembled or to be assembled or mett together to make, frame, constitute, ordeyne and publish under the Handes and Seales of them the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes, Ordinances, Statuts, Constitutcons and Lawes as well for and concerninge the publike Governement of the aforesaid Province and every parte thereof as for the Comon Benefit, Quiet, Peace and Safety of the same and of all and every the Inhabitants and Planters there And alsoe to chastize and punish all Offenders and Delinquents thereby with and under such penalltyes, Mulcts, ffines, Imprisonements and other Correcons suitable to their respective Offences as in the same Ordinances, Constitutcons and Lawes shall be conteyned and to extend alsoe if neede require to the Imprisonmen: of the Body or to the losse of Life or Member of the Offender or Offenders against the same Ordinances, Lawes and Constitutions and to revoke and repeale the same and to make others as the case shall or may require Which said Lawes, Ordinances and Constitutions shall and may be put in Execution and exercised upon all and every the person and persons inhabitinge within the said Province and the Lymitts and Boundes thereof aforesaid AND that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide, their Heires and Assignes or their Deputies from tyme to tyme to nominate substitute, authorize and appoynt under their Hands and Seals all manner of Judges, Justices, Magestrates, Governors and Deputy Governors and other Officers and Ministers with such Powers as they shall see Cause to heare and determine whatsoever causes, Offences Criminall, Military and Civill as well by Land as by Sea committed or donne against the Tenor, Forme and Effect of the

aforesaid Ordinances, Statuts, Constitucons or Lawes or any of them to be framed, made, consented to and published as aforesaid and the Execution thereof and either before Judgment or Sentence or afterwards to release, pardon and acquitt the Offender or Offenders, Offence or Offences, Penalty, Muilt, Imprisonment and every other Forfeiture in the same Ordinances, Statuts, Constitucons and Lawes to be conteyned, as well before as after Judgment [EXCEPT in cases of High Treason and Rebellion] And to erect and Constitute Courts of Justice and to doe and Execute all and every other Thing and Things that to the doeing and fullfillinge of Justice doth or shall or may in any wise apperteyne although the formes and formes, Proceeding and Proceedings in all or any of the said Courts to be from tyme to tyme observed and kept be not expressly menconed or set downe in these presents All and every which said Ordinances, Statuts, Constitucons and Lawes to be soe framed, made, agreed or consented and published as aforesaid Wee doe by these presents ratife and confirme in all things AND doe hereby streightly charge and Command all and every person and persons therein concerned from tyme to tyme inviolably to observe, performe, fullfill and keepe the same and every of them all and under the paynes and penaltyes in the said Ordinances, Statuts, Constitucons and Lawes and every of them respectively to be sett downe, lymitted and conteyned with due regard alwayes to be had to the nature and constitution of the place and people there and especially of the Natives of that Country to be conducinge to their good and Convercon and that thereby and by all other good wayes and meanes they may not only be wonn to a good and civill Conversation but in due tyme may be drawne to an Acknowledgment of the true God and only Savior of the world Jesus Christ.

AND WEE doe by these presents further give, graunt and confirme unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide and their Heires and Assignes full Power and Authority from tyme to tyme to nominate, elect and appoint a standing Councell within the said Province to be aydinge, helpinge and assistinge in the carryinge on and manageinge the Affaires and settlement of the said Province And thesaid Councell or any of them from tyme to tyme to amove and displace at pleasure and to nominate and appoint others in their Rooome or Stead when and as often as need shall require AND for that in the said Government some sudden Case or Matter may so chance or fall out for or against which it may not be by any of the Ordinances, Statutes, Constitucons and Lawes agreed on and in force soe fully provided as is or may be necessary and by reason thereof the aforesaid Province or the Plantacons or Affaires thereof may be hazarded before such Meetinge and Agreement and Consent unto the Lawes and Ordinances to be established and exercised within the same can be fully framed and concluded And to the end alsoe that not only in Cases of Necessity but in all other Cases until such Lawes and Ordinances, Statuts and Constitucons upon the Meeteinge and by the Consent and Agreement of the said Inhabitants as aforesaid may be framed and agreed on a fit Course and Provisoon may be made to obviate any Dangers that may arise for want of the conveneing and assemblinge of the greater number of the Inhabitants of the said Province or their Representatives to agree and consent to such Lawes Statuts and Constitucons as aforesaid And that until the same can be effected there may be noe Miscarryage for want of good and wholesome Lawes and Ordinances to be observed and kept within the said Province And that apt and fitt Remedyes for Administracon of Justice and doeing of Right to all persons as the Case shall require may from tyme to tyme be applied WEE doe by these presents for the better Government of the said Province further give and graunt unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes full Power and Authority within the said Province from tyme to tyme with the Advice and Consent of the said Councell or any five of them in Cases of Emergency to make and publish good and wholesome Lawes Orders and Ordinances not contrary but as neere as may be consideringe the Constitution of the Place and the Nature of the People agreeable to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Realme to be kept and observed within the said Province and Lymitte and Bounds thereof as well for the

Keepinge the public Peace as for the better Government of the People liveinge and to live and inhabit within the same under the paynes and penaltyes in them and every of them to be conteyned and expressed soe as the same or any of them doe not extend to the bindinge, charginge, alteringe or takinge away the Right Tytle or interest of any Person or Persons whatsoever in his or their freehold Estate or goods or chattle whatsoever.

"AND MOREOVER to the end the said Province and new Colony and Plantacon may be the better defended, fortified and strengthened against any barbarous Attempts of the Natives and against all Incursions of other Enemies Pirates and Thieves WE will and by these doe give and graunt full and free Lycence Power and Authority unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes at their Cost and Charges to erect, build and make in and upon the said Province or any parte thereof and within any the Lymitts and Bounds thereof aforesaid such and soe many Castles, Fortifications, Citadelles, places of Defence, Cityes, Townes, Ports and Harbours for shippes and Vessels and to wall, inclose fortifie and furnish the same and every of them and all other Citytes Townes and Places within the said Province with Ordenance of all sorts, Armes and Amunicon. Victuals and other necessaryes as they shall thinke fitt for their own publique Defence and Safety and to constitute, place and appoynt in and over them or any of them Governors, Deputy Governors, Magistrates, and all Officers and Ministers both Superior and Inferior, Civill and Military and to displace and remove them or any of them and to appoint new ones in their Place and Steed as to them shall seeme meete and to nominate and appoynt from tyme to tyme under their Hands and Seales Captaine Generall or Commander in Chief of the fforces within the said Province and to forme the same into Bands or Companies and into Regiments and an Army and them and all and every the Planters and Inhabitants of and within the said Province or any the Lymitts or Boundes thereof in case of Evacon or Hostility by the Natives or by any the Enemies of this our Kingdom to joyne, trayne, muster, lead and conduct under Banners or Ensignes and under such Captain, Generall or Commander in Chief for the tyme beinge to be nomin ated as aforesaid And such other Collonells, Captaine and Military Officieres as by the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes or by the Captaine Generall or Commander in Chief by them to be nominated and appoynted as aforesaid shall be thereunto comissionated and authorized and give Battle unto wage Warr and fight with any Person or Persons whatsoever Enemies unto or not beinge in Amity with us our Heires and Successors as well by Sea as by Land and to follow them or any of them out of and beyond any the Lymitts or Bounds of the aforesaid Province and if God shall soe please to subdue, take, kill and destroy them and every or any of them or to take or keepe them or any of them Captives and to doe all and singular such other things as to the Office of a Commander in Chief or Captaine Generall doth belong or hath accustomed to belonge, that as fully and as amply as any Commander in Chief or Captain within England ever had or exercised AND WEE DOE alsoe by these presents give and graunt unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes and to such Commanders, Governors and Officers by Land and Sea as they shall authorize and impower under their Hands and Seales full Power and Authority respectively to use and exercise Martiall Lawe or the Law Martiall and to punish and correct all and every Offender and Offenders under any Military Comand as aforesaid against the Lawes and Discipline of Warr according to the Lawes and Articles of Warr practized and used in and amongst any the Army and Armies of us by Land and our Navy and Sea Forces at Sea respectively and thereby and all other good and lawfull wayes and meanes whatsoever and to suppress and quiet all Tumults, Rebelyons, Insurrecons, Sedicons and Mutinyes (if any) which shall happen to arise either upon the Land within the said Province or any the Lymitts or Boundes thereof aforesaid or upon the Seas by or amongst any Person or Persons beinge there or in his or their goinge thither or returning from thence.

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"AND for the better Encouragement of all such person and persons Natives or Denizons of England as shall by and with the consent of the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes sayle and goe unto and inhabite the aforesaid Province or any parte thereof WEE doe by the presents will declare, give and graunt that their and every of their Children and Posterity which shall be borne within the said Province or any the Lymitts or Boundes thereof above menconed or in their goinge thither or returns from thence shall have and enjoy all and every the Lyberties, Franchises and Immunities of free Denizons of England as fully and amply as if they or any of them had bene abideinge and borne within any other the Dominions of England or any of the Territories thereunto belonging.

AND FURTHER WEE doe by these presents inhibit and forbid all and every the subject and subjects and all and every the Person and Persons of or belonging to any Prince or State by him or themselves or his or their Factor or Factors or by any other wayes or means directly or indirectly to go sayle or traffique unto visit, frequent or haunt the aforesaid Province or any the Plantations, Factories, Bayes, Ports or Havens thereof without the Lycence and Agreement of the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes under their Hands and Seales in that behalf especially first had and obteyned upon payne to forfeite and loose every such Shipp or Shippes, Vessel and Vessels, Goods, Merchandizes and things whatsoever carried or brought or comeinge into the said Province or any the Colonies, factories, or Plantacons, Ports, Havens or Creeks of or belonging thereunto And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes from tyme to tyme to take, seize and dispose of all such forfeited Shippes, Vessels and Goods to their owne Use and Uses without any Accompt or other thinge to be rendered, made or donne unto us our Heires and Successors of or for the same AND that for the hearinge and determininge all Marine, Causes, Contracts and Affaires and for the Adjudicacon and Condempnacion of all Prizes, Shippes, Vessels, Goods, Wares and Merchandizes taken or to be taken at Sea as Vice Admirall or Vice Admiralls under our deare and only Brother James Duke of Yorke dureinge his beinge Lord High Admirall of England and afterwards to them the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and assignes for ever. The said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their heires and Assignes shall and may from tyme to tyme in writing under their Seales nominate and appoynt such fitt and able person and persons as they shall thinke fitt to be Judges and alsoe all other Officers and Ministers to hold and keep Admirall or Admiralty Courts within the province aforesaid or any the Lymitts or Boundes thereof aforesaid in every of which said Admirall Court and Courts such Processe and Proceedings in all things shall from tyme to tyme be had, exercised and used as now are or at any time heretofore hath and have bene lawfully had, used and exercised in the Admirall and Admiralty Courts within England or as neare as conveniently may be agreeable therewanto AND that in all or any the Voyages, Navigacon and Adventures of the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes to be hereafter made to the said Province and Plantacon such Commission and Commissions for Trade and Letters of Grace and favour to foreinge Princess and States in Amity with England as by our Heires and Successors shall be thought meete and necessary shall be made forth and awarded under the Great Seale of England or under our Privie Seale to the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes for the better Advancement of the Commerce, Affaires and Trade of the aforesaid Province and the Colonie and Colonies Plantacon and Plantacons there settled and to be from tyme to tyme soe settled as aforesaid AND WHEREAS our Service and Royall Intencons in this Graunt and the Governement, Plantacon and Trade in the said Province of Willoughby Land cannot be carried on nor possibly executed, performed and brought to maturity and good effect in case both of them the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide be not personally present upon the Place or in America unless either of them severally be

impowered, authorized and enabled being personally present upon the place or in America without the other and in his absence to doe, execute and performe all such Powers, Authorityes, Jurisdictiones, Royalties, Priviledges and all and every the Matters and things herein formerly given, graunted and authorized to both of them WEE do therefore further will and by these presents for Us, our Heires and Successors declare and graunt, constitute, ordeyne and appoint That in case the said Lord Willoughby or the said Lawrence Hide or either of them theire or either of their Heires or Assignes shall at any tyme be in person upon the said place or Continent in the said Region, Tract of land, Country or Province aforesaid or in any parte thereof or in any parte of America and the other shall not be there That then the said partie or parties soe present and upon the place or in any parte of America shall and may have, hold, use, exercise, enjoy and put in Execucon all and every the Graunts, Powers and Authorityes, Lybertyes, Jurisdictiones, Royalties, Priviledges and other the matters and things whatsoever which are herein before given, graunted and confirmed or menconed to be given, graunted or confirmed and to act, doe, exercise, execute and performe the same or any of them accordinge to the Tenor, true Intent and meaninge thereof as fully, amply and effectually to all intents and purposes as they the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes all or any of them may or might act or doe by virtue of these presents And that all and every Graunt and Graunts, Act and Acts, thinge and things whatsoever that at any tyme hereafter shall bee made, done, exercised, executed or performed by the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide or either of them present in the said Province and in the Absence of the other or by they or their Heires present there or by the Assignee or Assignes of them the said Francis Lord Willoughby or Lawrence Hide or the Survivor of them or by the heires of them or of the Survivor of them respectively present in the said Province or in any parte of America by virtue of these presents or of the Graunts, Powers or Authorityes therein menconed, given or graunted, or of any of them shall stand and contynue as good, legall and effectual to all intents and purposes as if the same had been made, done, exercised and executed or performed by the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes or any of them any things in these presents conteyned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstandinge SAVINGE and reservinge in such case of severall actinge the due share and proportion of profit and advantage to the partie which shall be absent as if he had been present with the other and as if both of them the said Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide had been present and acting jointly upon the place AND FURTHER WEE will and by these presents doe graunt unto the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hide their Heires and Assignes That these our Letters Pattents or the Inrollment thereof shall bee in and by all things and to all intents and purposes firme, good, effectual and sufficient in the Lawe against us our Heires and Successors as well in all our Courts as elsewhere within England or any the Dominions thereof as in the said Province or Plantation or any of them without any Confirmacons, Lycenees or Tolleracons in that behalfe hereafter to be had or obteyned NOTWITHSTANDINGE the ill nameinge or not reciteinge or not nameinge or not right nameinge the aforesaid Province, Power, Priviledges and other the premises before by these presents given, graunted and confirmed or menconed or intended to be given graunted and confirmed or any parcell thereof or any Lawe, Statute, Provicon, Restraint or any other matter or thinge whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstandinge Although expresse mencon, &c. In Witness, &c. Witness our Self at Westminster the second day of June.

Lord WILLOUGHBY arrived in Barbados and took Aug  
over the government of that island. 10

It appears from a Report of RENATUS ENTS to Nov. 1

1663 the Secretary of State that the former gentleman had sailed for Surinam in June and arrived there on the 27th of August. It is probable that he had been sent to carry the news of Lord WILLOUGHBY'S Grant, and also to report on the condition of the Colony. The inhabitants were found to be very generous and obliging; the country healthy and fruitful; the air moderately hot; the natives not very numerous, and at peace with the English. Those parts abounded exceedingly with rarities in beasts, fish, reptiles, insects, and vegetables, the which for shape and colour were wonderful. The Colony was in good order, being nobly upheld by the power of prudence of those at the helm, who though hitherto not commissioned by his Majesty, suddenly expect the arrival of Lord WILLOUGHBY, and then to be "bottomed" on Royal authority, the went of which has given encouragement to incendiaries, who have been reasonably suppressed and proscribed the country. The chief of these have given a liberty to their tongues, pens, and press, to sully this Colony with a variety of lies; but time and truth will wipe off those calumnies. (The latter sentences are obviously intended as a vindication of the Governor against the charges of SANFORD.) The country was becoming populous, there being already 4,000 inhabitants, and partly by supplies which arrived weekly, and partly with a succeeding generation, the women being very "prolific," and having lusty children, there was a continual increase. During the preceding two months nine vessels had been consigned there, and if the English nation were really informed of the goodness of the Country there would soon be thousands of settlers. The chief commodity was sugar, and better could not be made. Some of the settlers had commenced to breed cattle and there was store of excellent fish. Were the planters supplied with plenty of negroes



the strength and sinews of that western world, they would advance their fortunes and his Majesty's Customs. The sworn enemies of the Colony were the Dons of Barbados, whose interest it was to keep the planters in that island, to balance the power of their negroes; therefore they use their utmost endeavours to disparage Surinam; but their hypocrisies had been discovered, and several families were transporting themselves thither. It had been reported that some of the Royal African Company, who were eminent Barbadians, endeavoured to divert the supply of negroes from Surinam, which, if they should succeed in doing, would prove a detriment to his Majesty, there being no colony so hopeful as that, especially in case of any design against the Spaniard. The only time proper for the arrival of settlers were the months of April, May and June, and the only things necessary to be brought were negroes, provisions and tools. The greatest infelicity of the colony was, that his Majesty had not been rightly informed of its goodness so that his subjects there may participate in his Royal favours to the same extent as other colonies. 1663

The French who had lost all their possessions in Guiana by their unreasonable treatment of the Indians, made preparations for another attempt to colonize Cayenne. M. DE FEVRE DE LA BARRE and the SIEUR BOUCHARDEAU prepared a scheme for a new Company, which they presented to COLBERT, the Secretary of State, who was much pleased with the project, and told these gentlemen that the King, Louis XIV., would support it with his authority and protection and also assist them with men, money and ships. Having communicated their designs, twenty of their friends agreed to deposit 10,000 livres each to form a fund for the Company, which was incorporated under the name of the French Equinoctial Company for colonizing the country between the Oct.

**1663** Rivers Amazon and Orinoco. DE LA BARRE having been appointed Governor of the island of Cayenne and chief manager of the Company's affairs in Guiana, received a Commission from the King as Lieutenant-General of the territory between the two great rivers. M. DE TRACY was associated with the Governor to put the Company in possession of their country, and to drive out by force of arms any persons who might have established themselves there, for which purpose he was provided with two ships of war.

**1664** A fleet consisting of five vessels belonging to  
**Feb 26** the Company, having on board 1,200 Colonists, and accompanied by the two men-of-war well armed and manned, sailed from Rochelle and arrived at Cayenne on the 11th of May.

GUERIN SPRANGER who was Commandeur of the Colonies of Dutch and Jews, was rather surprised to see such a large armament at a time when there was peace between France and Holland, but being utterly unable to defend himself he was compelled to surrender Fort Cepereu, not however before he had stipulated for advantageous terms, which were as follows :—

Articles and Conditions according to which the Director GUERIN SPRANGER, and the Counsellors resident in the Island of Cayenne, shall deliver to his Excellency ALEXANDRE PRONVILLE DE TRACY and M. DE LA BARRE, the Island of Cayenne with its adjoining lands, the whole agreed upon and signed by both parties, March 15th, 1664.

1. That the States General and the Chartered West India Company shall retain and have in full force, all their shares, claims, and interests in the Island or Cayenne and places adjoining. GOOD (BON). TRACY.

2. That all the effects belonging to the Company, guns, ammunition and merchandize, as well as provisions, with their appurtenances, shall be carried and conducted free of all expense, to the place to which they may belong.

GOOD. TRACY.

3. That all military persons may march out, their drums beating, with their baggage and arms, and that his Excellency shall give them, as well as all the other inhabitants, of whatever nation they may be, one or more vessels, to transport their goods and slaves to the islands or country where they may be bound; with the condition that his Excellency shall provide them with provisions and drink necessary for the voyage, according to the custom observed on board ships.

GOOD. TRACY. But for the vessels and provisions, they must apply to M. DE BARRE.

4. Be it enacted that there shall be given us the free and public exercise of

religion; and that the undersigned lords shall protect us in it.

Referred to M. DE LA BARRE. TRACY.

5. The Jews demand also the free exercise of their religion, as in the preceding article.

Referred to M. DE LA BARRE. TRACY.

6. That one month or more, shall be granted us for holding the ordinary days of audience, for the purpose of liquidating all debts, those of the Company, as well as those of individuals and the undernamed gentlemen shall assist us, and protect us in so doing.

It is M. DE LA BARRE who must give security for this article. TRACY.

7. That all the inhabitants who remain here shall have full possession of their goods, lands, and slaves, and it shall be allowed them either to alienate or sell them. When they wish to go away, it shall be lawful for them to carry their goods, moveables, and slaves, where they please, without any impediment; and that the governors shall always assist them in so doing. That the inhabitants shall equally enjoy the same freedom for ten years, and then they shall not be treated in any manner more harshly than the subjects of his Majesty.

M. DE LA BARRE will give the security for this article. TRACY.

8. That the vessels here, or that shall arrive hereafter belonging to the United Provinces, or the Chartered West India Company, and all other traders under their orders, may without hindrance, come to an anchor, or sail, as they please, without any injury.

GOOD. TRACY. But for the vessels which are here at present, and may come for the future, it is M. DE LA BARRE that must give them security. TRACY.

9. That the expenses incurred by the patroon and individuals of the Hebrew Colony shall be repaid them.

It is M. DE LA BARRE that must decide this article. TRACY.

All the abovementioned the parties on both sides accept; that is to say, his Excellency DE TRACY, for what concerns his most Christian Majesty, and M. DE LA BARRE, for what relates to his government, on the one side; and the Directors and Counsellors, residents at present in the Isle of Cayenne, on the other part; promising to hold them inviolable, without any hindrance,—being signed by the said seigneurs this day, the 15th of May, 1664.

After the landing of DE LA BARRE, his garrison and colonists, TRACY proceeded to Martinique, leaving the French in peaceable possession of a good fort and a flourishing young Colony. HAETSINCK states that the French did not comply with the conditions under which the Colony capitulated, but in defiance of their agreement they captured six Dutch vessels which came to trade, plundered the inhabitants, and finally shipped both Christians and Jews to Rochelle, leaving them to find their way to Holland as they best could.

The Indians who had fled on sight of the French, expecting that such a force was come for the purpose of punishing them for their former massacres, left the Colony in peace for some time. Finding, however, that no attempt was made on their liberty, they

1664 offered their friendship and alliance, to which DE LA BARRE gave a favourable hearing. It was finally agreed that the Indians should entirely abandon the Island of Cayenne, and that the French should be free to occupy any places they required on the continent; if the land occupied by the natives should be required by the French, they should be bound to give it up, after taking off their crops; that the Indians should make no alliance with either English, Dutch or Portuguese, and that they should assist and defend with all their force, the hunting, fishing, and exploring parties of the Colonists. The Indians were also bound to send back to the forts, any slaves or other persons who should run away, or desire to live with them. If they performed their part of the agreement, they were promised immunity for all that had passed, and free trade with the inhabitants of the Colony and the Equinoctial Company. The Indians willingly agreed to all these conditions and testified their satisfaction by grand piwarrie feasts and dancing.

Some of the Dutch settlers banished from Cayenne, returned to Essequebo and the Pomeroon. Having been accustomed to sugar planting, they were unfitted for any other business and therefore most of them came back to Guiana in the first Dutch vessels.

The quarrels on the Coast of Africa between the Dutch and English Companies led to so much trouble, that although the two mother countries were not at war, their subjects in the colonies embraced every opportunity to attack each other. Sir ROBERT HOLMES, on behalf of the Royal African Company, captured several of the Dutch factories on the African Coast, and then sailed across the Atlantic and took New Amsterdam (New York). In retaliation DE RUYTER made a raid on the English factories in Guinea and then proceeded to the West Indies,

where he anchored off Barbados and alarmed the inhabitants, but did not venture to attack the island. 1664

Lord WILLOUGHBY in expectation of war asked for arms and ammunition for the defence of Barbados, and stated that the Dutch had possessed themselves of some settlements in Guiana, "regarding which he would wish to know his Majesty's pleasure with convenient speed."

The first sugar mill driven by horses was erected in Essequibo by JAN DOENSON. Before this time the sugar canes were crushed in the primitive manner of the Indians with two wooden rollers.

Louis XIV., for the purpose of combining all the French possessions in America under one government, and for the better defence of these Colonies, established the French Royal West India Company which took over the Colony of Cayenne. 1665

LORD WILLOUGHBY paid a visit to Surinam for the purpose of settling the government, and preparing for the war which was then imminent. He confirmed Major BYAM as head of the Colony, under the title of Deputy Governor for the proprietors, and gave him a Commission as Lieutenant General of Guiana. At this time the town of Tamarica was ravaged by a contagious sickness, which gradually spread itself over the Colony and swept away a great number of the people, leaving those who recovered very weak and debilitated. The troubles between the Puritans and Royalists still existed to some extent, notwithstanding BYAM's high-handed proceedings with SANFORD and his friends. One of the planters named ALLEN had taken an active part in the opposition to Lord WILLOUGHBY's grant as Lord Proprietor, and held the opinion that none of the King's subjects could be Lord Proprietors, as it both clipped the wings of monarchy and infringed the liberty of the subject. ALLEN had been tried for blasphemy some little time before Lord WILLOUGHBY'S 1665  
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1665 arrival, in 1659 but was acquitted of the charge. If not actually mad, he must have been one of those reckless persons so common in that age, who were ready to proceed to any length in enforcing their own opinions. Believing that the Lord Proprietor wanted to take over his estate, he attempted to murder that gentleman during the performance of Divine Service at Parham House in Tararica. Coming into the Meeting after service had commenced, he drew his sword and dealt a blow at Lord WILLOUGHBY'S head, which glancing aside from the skull fell on one of his hands, cutting off two of the fingers. The assassin was immediately secured, but not before he had stabbed himself, not however mortally, and being treated by a surgeon he was on a fair way to recovery, when having managed to procure some poison he completed the suicide.

The following account of ALLEN'S attempt to assassinate Lord WILLOUGHBY was copied in the British Museum\* from BYAM'S "Exact Relation of the most Execrable attempt of JOHN ALLEN, &c."

"The usual hour for evening prayer being come all went to Divine Service in an upper room, where myself, council, and several gentlemen of the Colony, besides domestic servants, attended his Excellency. And as his Chaplain was reading the first lesson, being the 3rd of II Samuel and the 27th verse, "*And Joab smote Abner under the fifth rib, &c.*" ALLEN enters the room with a ghastly and direful countenance, at first unknown to any present, and going towards His Excellency with his left hand extended, as if he intended some civil address, and his right hand aloof behind his right thigh with his short cutlass in it, and as soon as within reach smote His Excellency's head with all his fury, and seconded his blow before I who was one of his nearest could interpose; immediately other gentlemen rushed on

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\*By Mr. N. D. DAVIS whom we have to thank for the copy.

him. At the instant in which I seized him, ALLEN stabs himself with his short cutlass in his right side and down he fell. All were surprized with amazement and horror, and had I not with a passionate earnestness most strictly commanded them to forbear, that he might be reserved for the hand of justice, several would have slain him, and he hearing them cry out, Kill the dog! replied "*I came here to dye, to kill my Lord, and then myself.*" After I had secured him with a guard, I waited on His Excellency, whom I found through God's mercy better than I expected, wounded in the forehead with a slanting blow, but his worst hurt was in his hand, with holding it up after he had received the first blow, had his forefinger and middle finger cut off, and had lost a third had not a large ring which he wore thereon defended it. I returning to ALLEN, commanded him to be secured. In his pockets were found some powder and balls, and several papers. His wound had a large orifice, and about his bare body a new card-board band, for what use I know not; and charge being given to a Chirurgion to dress him, and take care of him, I with my Council perused his papers, among which we found the letter which he had written to His Excellency, which I have here inserted that the world may see what an infamous bloody villain this was. But this as in the postscript he writes, was sent but not delivered.\*

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This night he lay in torment with the anguish of his wound, which caused a violent fever. He repented for nothing but that he had not killed His Excellency, and cursed the coat that he wore (which was one of his negroes', that he might be less known), that denied his sword from entering deep enough into his body. His Excellency's Chaplain giving him spiritual advice, he bid him talk to the

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\*The letter is wanting in the Copy.

1665 rabble, and not to him. He gloried in the action he had committed, but grieved it was unsuccessful; and being by an intimate acquaintance interrogated of his complices he answered 'He scorned any man should share with him in so noble an action!' Being demanded whether he desired anything to despatch himself, he answered, 'He could do that at any time,' and at about 12 at night the Marshal being gone out of the room, he drew forth a pistol (which was supposed to be tied to his thigh) charged up to the muzzle, clapped it to his breast, struck fire, but it would not go off. He then called to a sentinel to spare him a stick of fire to light his pipe, which received, he clapped the burning coal to the pan, but all would not discharge the pistol, which being then discovered, was taken from him.

Being deprived of his instrument to murder himself, he in vain solicited the Marshal privately for another, still continuing obstinately unrelenting, and grieved at nothing but that he had not murdered His Excellency and butchered himself.

On the 6th day he was sent down to the gaol with a strong guard, and seemed cheerful when he was put in the boat, but had not gone above two leagues when, feeling death approaching but undiscoverably to the Marshal and Guard, he discoursed a little, and was immediately seized with internal tortures, and in a short time became senseless and expired. His carcase was delivered to the common gaol where I commanded several Chirurgeons to dissect him and narrowly observe whether he had taken any poison in his maw. They found a pinch of Laudanum undigested, some digested, and some that had passed into his intestines. This was probably given to him by one SERGEANT the CHIRURGEON that dressed him, enticed thereunto by a diamond ring and some small presents, who now in durance, too late bewails his folly.



The Jury of Inquests found ALLEN *Felo de se*, and because such an unheard attempt merited an unusual punishment, his naked carcase was ordered to be dragged from the Gaol by the common hangman, and negroes to the Pillory at the Town of Toorarica, where a Barbacue was erected,—where he was dry barbecued or dry roasted after the Indian manner, his body quartered, and his head stuck on a pole at Parham, his quarters being put up at the most eminent places of the Colony.”

Lord WILLOUGHBY was laid up for some little time, preventing his immediate return to Barbados, which the impending war made very necessary. He returned to Barbados in May, and in a letter to the King dated the 20th of this month, he hoped that his Majesty had been informed that his absence from Barbados was not owing to negligence, but to his having been dangerously wounded in Surinam. After his departure the party feuds broke out again and “strange jealousies” and “great discontent” possessed the planters, who expected that BYAM would have been dismissed from office. Some of them left the Colony and others were intending to follow, but a kind message from Lord WILLOUGHBY, sent through Captain JOHN PARKER, satisfied them and prevented their leaving. Meanwhile, war had been declared between England and Holland on the 22nd of February, and the English fleet under the Duke of York proceeded to blockade the Dutch ports. On the 2nd of the same month the Duke of York had been authorized to grant Commissions against the enemy in all his Majesty’s islands and foreign dominions. In a letter of the last date from the King to the Governor of Barbados, he states that DE RUYTER had gone to Guinea and it was apprehended that he would attempt to destroy the shipping at Barbados, and also that it was designed by Holland to send men-of-war there, Lord

1665 WILLOUGHBY being directed to use all possible means to secure the islands under his government from these dangers. HENRY WILLOUGHBY, Deputy-Governor, in the absence of his uncle, took measures to defend Barbados, so that when DE RUYTER on the 20th of April attacked the place with his fleet of 14 ships, he was compelled to retire in a few hours.

Sir THOMAS MODYFORD, the Governor of Jamaica, made a proposition for rooting the Dutch out of the West Indies. The places possessed by the Dutch were Berbice, near Surinam, Pomeroon near the Orinoco, and the island of Tobago, where there was a great booty of cattle and negroes. These places might be easily attacked from Barbados and Surinam, or if these places were too partial to the Dutch, those colonies could be easily conquered by two small frigates and 200 men.

In this year a small offshoot from Cayenne was established in the River Kourou where 50 men were sent to settle, but this had not as yet made any progress.

1665 Before proceeding to give an account of the war which so seriously affected all the Colonies in Guiana, it has been considered advisable to give a description of these Colonies as they existed at this time.

<b>Description of Guiana.</b>	The country of Guiana, Land of the Cannibals, El Dorado, Caribana, or the Great Wild Coast, consisted of three great divisions; first, the River of the Amazons; second, Guiana—properly so called; and third, the River Orinoco. The first division was in the actual possession of the Portuguese up to Cape North at 3 degrees N. Lat., but without any definite boundary. The third was supposed to belong to Spain, but there were no possessions of that nation near the mouth of the Orinoco, and her only settlement in Guiana proper was the insignificant village of St. Thome on the eastern bank of the
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Orinoco, nearly 200 miles from the coast. The second division in which we are mostly concerned, was considered by English, Dutch, and French to extend from the Orinoco to the Amazon, having a coast line of about 1,200 miles, and extending from the Equator to ten degrees north. Its depth was uncertain and very vague, the best definition being that it stretched to the springs of the rivers, or to the boundaries of the countries adjoining, bordering on Brazil to the south and Nova Andalusia on the west. The English, by right of the discoveries of RALEIGH and his captains, as well as on account of their treaties with the Indians, in which the latter had acknowledged Queen ELIZABETH as their supreme Cacique, claimed the whole country. In conformity with this belief HARCOURT took possession of the whole of Guiana by "twig and turf," although his Grant only extended from the Essequibo to the Amazon. Later, Lord WILLOUGHBY was only prevented from receiving a Grant of the whole country by the objection that it was too much for one man, not from any hesitation as to the King's right to the territory. The Dutch West India Company claimed the country by right of the first Dutch settlers in the Pomeroon and Essequibo, but as their records of these little Colonies are by no means so clear as the accounts of the English plantations under LEIGH and HARCOURT, their title does not appear to have been as good. Several French Companies also received Charters for the whole country, but on what ground does not appear, as they never succeeded in planting a Colony in Guiana, having been driven out by the Indians whenever they made attempts to that end. Their Colony at Cayenne had been established by the Dutch, after the French had abandoned the place in despair, and it was only by a very high-handed proceeding that they gained possession. Although each of the three claimants had colonies on the territory claimed

1665 by the others, and all of them were in the opinion of Spain squatting on her lands, there was very little trouble between the different nationalities up to this period.

The Colonies at this time were:—English,—Surinam or WILLOUGHBY Land; Dutch,—Aprouage, Berbice, Essequibo, and Pomeroon; and French,—Cayenne and Sinamary; which will be described as they might appear in a voyage along the coast from south-east to north-west.

Cape North which may be considered as the north point of the mouth of the Amazon, was occupied by an out-post of the Portuguese, built on the site of Fort Cumau. It was not of much importance at this time, except as a proof of occupation.

After passing several small rivers the great River Oyapok or Wyapoko is reached, where was the scene of the magnificent projects of LEIGH and HARCOURT, and the Amazon Company. It was entirely abandoned at this time, probably on account of its proximity to the Portuguese settlements, but the Dutch vessels sometimes visited it for the purpose of trading with the Indians.

Coming to the Aprouage, we find a small settlement of the Dutch, protected, as was the case with all their plantations however small they might be, by a block house and pallissades. The fort was situated about 10 miles up the river, on an elevation of 40 to 50 feet, and surrounded by a wall and ditch. There was a good anchorage near the fort, so close that vessels could be moored to the shore. Here the settlers traded with the Indians and planted anatto as well as fruit trees, which latter were in existence up to the time of HARTSINCK, (1770.)

Cayenne

Between the two rivers of Wia or Oyac, and Cayenne, was the French Colony which had been taken from GUERIN SPRANGER and the Jews. Although

called the Island of Cayenne, it was only separated from the main-land by a channel about a mile wide, which connected the two rivers. Of an irregular square shape, and about 12 miles each way it was only partially settled at this time, and no attempt had been made to establish plantations at any distance from the Fort. Unlike the other Colonies in Guiana, it was established on the sea-board, which is accounted for by the fact that in this island and its neighbourhood the rising ground which suited the first planters approached the shore, while the land behind was marshy, with only a little hillock here and there. On the north-west corner of the island stood the fort Ceperou, or as the French called it Fort St. Louis, near which were a few houses. There was nothing like a town in the Colony, but the planters lived on their estates, only coming to the fort when vessels arrived or when any disturbance was anticipated, either from the Indians of the interior or from enemies from without. From the misfortunes of the earlier settlers on the island, the Frenchmen had learnt such a lesson, that they dared not attempt to coerce the Caribs in any way, but on the contrary, treated them with great respect. Having few negroes they were compelled to conciliate the natives in every possible way, and by fair words and little presents, they induced them to clear the land, build houses, and to load and unload vessels. The Caribs of this part of the country were the most noted cannibals of the wild coast. Over and over again they had killed and eaten the poor settlers who fell in their power, and were as well acquainted with the taste of the different nationalities who traded in the country as their kindred of the West Indies, who were stated to have declared that the Frenchman was the most delicate meat, and the Spaniard the hardest to digest. Being continually at war these Indians

1665 were accustomed to take a great number of prisoners, who had been formerly reserved for the barbicue and pepper-pot, but finding a market in Cayenne they discovered it to be more profitable to sell these poor unfortunates as slaves. At first the prisoners could be bought for a few axes and knives, but as the demand was always greater than the supply, the vendors rose their prices until they became as expensive as negroes. Where these Indian slaves could not be procured, the free Caribs were induced by presents to clear the land and build houses after their own fashion. They were not allowed to think that they were working for wages, and anything like a command was sufficient to drive them away, but a present of a knife or a bundle of pack-thread for fishing lines, would often ensure a day's work, while two or three days' labour would be given for an axe. Sometimes a chieftain could be induced to provide a number of men, but this favour could only be procured by most skilful management, and the least contradiction or attempt to teach them anything different to what they were accustomed to, would stop their working at once. If they quarrelled among themselves, which they often did under the influence of the settlers' brandy, no one dared interfere in the dispute, as they considered it a sign of slavery to be prevented doing anything they chose, or hindered in any manner whatever. When properly treated they were very expert and industrious in their own way, and rarely interfered with the settlers, except in cases where attempts were made to force them to work, when promised presents were withheld, or compulsion used to make them sell articles that they had no desire to part with, or when a whiteman interfered with their women. Apart from plantation work they would undertake to load a vessel with dried fish and manatee, letter wood, or Brazil wood,

on such reasonable terms, that at this time the profit - 1665  
on cargoes of these articles was very considerable. Hammocks could be bought for a bill or hatchet each, and these might be sold in the West India Islands to great advantage. They also cultivated cotton, anatto, and tobacco, in their own grounds, which they exchanged with the settlers for trifles of small value.

The Governor was appointed by the Company, and there does not appear to have been anything like a representative government. The lands were granted free, under the obligation to cultivate a portion within a limited time. The soil, which consisted of light black sand about two feet deep was easily worked, and very suitable for the cultivation of anatto, which was the staple commodity of the Colony. There were no sugar plantations, the land not being rich enough for the profitable growth of canes. Provision grounds were cultivated for about five years and then abandoned as exhausted, new land being then cleared. The houses were built like the Indian benabs, some being open at the sides while others were closed down to the ground, and thatched with palm leaves. There were very few cattle, and the planters were supplied with meat by Indian huntsmen, game being plentiful and manatee, fish, and turtle, far more abundant than at present.

The next settlement to the north-west was in the River Sinamary, the same place where the French made their first Colony, to which nation it belonged in the early part of this year. A fort had been built as an out-post of Cayenne, and garrisoned with a few soldiers, near which one or two plantations were laid out.

**Surinam**

The Marowyne, the next great river, was the boundary of Lord WILLOUGHBY'S grant, and only inhabited by Indians. The two Rivers of Surinam and Commewyne, which enter the sea at the same place, were about equidistant from the two boundary rivers, and it was only on their banks that plantations were laid out. A little beyond the junction, and in the Surinam River, stood the Fort, behind which had been situated a small Indian village, that appears to have been deserted before this time. Whether Lord WILLOUGHBY had any possessions in this neighbourhood is doubtful, some of the Dutch authorities stating that the name of Paramaribo was the Indian appellation of the village, while others give it as derived from Parham. The fort was built of stone at the base, with a wooden superstructure, and defended by high palissades. There were no plantations of any consequence within a considerable distance, and no way by which it could be approached otherwise than by water.

The metropolis of the Colony was the small town of Tavarica, situated about fifty miles up the Surinam River, on the sites of what are now Overburg and Watervlied, consisting of about a hundred dwelling houses, a Government building called Parham House, and a chapel. The Colony, like Barbados, was another "Little England," and was divided into parishes, the capital being in that of St. Bridget. The plantations, which in the whole colony numbered about five hundred, were scattered to a distance of about thirty miles above and below the town. There were forty to fifty sugar plantations, some of the mills being driven by wind, but the majority worked by oxen or horses. Lord WILLOUGHBY'S plantation of Parham Hill stood on the site of what is now Berg-en-daal, about twenty miles beyond the town, It was the largest plantation in the colony, and pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill very



suitable for the wind-mill which had been erected thereon. Above Parham Hill were four plantations, three of which like those in Barbados were named from their proprietors, NEALE, WILKINS, and TALBOT. The fourth was called by the Dutch Carelswood, and was probably a portion of the 30,000 acres retained by King CHARLES in accordance with the Letters Patent. STEPHEN NEALE, the owner of the first plantation, was one of the Assembly, and it may be presumed that the Royalists had possession of all the estates in the neighbourhood of Parham Hill. Nearer to Tararica were many names which point to a Puritan occupation, as Succoth, Gilgall, Beer-sheba, and Goschen. The land near the river's mouth was considered very unhealthy, but near the town there were savannahs, as WARREN describes them, (from whose "Description of Surinam" we get some curious information) "having plain fields of a vast extent, here and there beautified with small groves, like islands in a green sea; amongst whose still flourishing trees 'tis incomparably pleasant to consider the delightful handy-works of nature, expressed in the variety of those pretty creatures, which with ridiculous antic gestures disport themselves upon the branches. Game was plentiful and some of the English were good huntsmen, one JOHN MILLAR boasting that he had killed a dozen tigers. These ferocious animals were very troublesome to the Colonists, as they sometimes destroyed an ox or a hog, which in the infancy of the colony was no small loss. They hardly ever attacked a man, but WARREN gives an instance of a Colonist being killed, which is best told in his own language: "A huntsman and a lusty fellow, was often heard to wish he could meet with a tiger, and made it a great complaint in all his searches through the woods that it was never his good fortune; at length, one night while lying in his hammock, in an open house, a tiger comes, takes

1665 him up, and carries him two miles into the woods, in vain crying for help, which was heard by an Englishwoman in a close house hard by, who had so much courage (more than is usual in her sex) to fire a musket from the window; but those who have had to do with them know, it is not noise only can scare a tiger from his prey: the man was found next day with his head and shoulders eaten off." The only cattle in the colony were used for driving the sugar mills, and there was therefore very little fresh meat besides what could be obtained from the forest and river. Hogs did not thrive like those in Barbados and the other Islands, because the bats were continually sucking them at night. These pests were also very troublesome to the inhabitants, "having forced several people to forsake their dwellings, to save that little blood they had, which would have been sucked out." The ants were also very great pests, "though but little creatures, yet they were so many and hurtful, that Surinam had scarce a greater trouble." Poor men who had no servants, could not make any headway against them, and were sometimes obliged to abandon their plantations and take up others.

The Colony enjoyed many privileges, including freedom of trade and conscience; and the Government of the Honourable WILLIAM BYAM seemed to have been acceptable to most of the Colonists. According to WARREN, "the Government is Monarchical, an imitation of ours, by a Governor, Council, and Assembly; the Laws of England are also theirs; to which are added some by Constitutions no less obliging, proper to the Conveniences of that Country."

The Parish Church of Tararica or St. Bridget belonged to the Church of England, and had been lately endowed with the Estate of JOHN ALLEN, whose property had been confiscated on account of his attempted assassination of Lord WILLOUGHBY. The

Rev. GEORGE VERNON was the Church of England Minister at this time, but it appears that the Puritans had their own Public Worship in the Colony, as we find two Nonconformist Ministers there, both of whom had been turned out of their Churches at the Restoration. One of them, JOHN OXENBRIDGE, wrote a Pamphlet entitled, "A sea<sup>r</sup>onable Proposition for Propogating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana." His companion, NICHOLAS LEVERTON, had had a very chequered career, having been the first Chaplain in Barbados, from which island he went to Tobago and thence to Providence Island, from whence he was turned out because he rejected the Church authority, and sent to England, where finding the Nonconformists in the ascendant, he was sent back to Providence. Not finding things to his liking he proceeded to Bermuda and from thence to England. Here, during the Protectorate, he was appointed to a living in Suffolk, and being ejected after the Restoration, proceeded to Surinam with his friend OXFENBRIDGE, where he died, being probably an old man, as he had been in Barbados in 1627. 1665

The Jews' Savannah was situated a few miles above the town, but it does not appear to have been flourishing at this time, as SAMUEL NASSY had drawn off a great number of his friends to Cayenne, and although some of them may have come back after that Colony had been taken by the French, there were very few in Surinam at this time, and there was no Synagogue till twenty years after.

There were several plantations in the Comewyne, but we find very little mention of them, probably because they were not of much importance.

The Planters seem to have been generally prosperous, the Plantations giving a good profit at little cost, and if prudently managed, a man could gain a good position in a few years. Sugar, which was

1665 stated to be better by 10 per cent. than that of Barbados, was manufactured in a primitive manner, the juice being boiled to a proper consistence and "then poured into wooden pots made broad and square at the top, and tapered to the compass of a sixpence at the bottom, with a hole through which is stopped with a little stick, till the sugar begins to be cold and stiffened; when 'tis pulled out, and by that passage the molasses drains from it; and being cured awhile after this manner, is knocked out into hogs-heads, and so shipped off." Besides sugar, the other commodities were letter-wood, cotton, tobacco, indigo, gums, and dye-woods. Letter-wood was plentiful and had been sold in England at the same price as sugar, but owing to a glut in the market it had become of less value. Cotton did not grow so well as in Barbados on account of caterpillars, but tobacco thrived well and was reputed better than that of Virginia, but there was no great quantity planted, no more being prepared than served for the consumption of the Colonists, who, men, women, and children were very much addicted to the pipe. Indigo was hardly cultivated, Gum animi (Locust Gum) was well known and collected, as was also a Balsam "accounted second to none for a green hurt" (Balsam Copajiba), while Dye-wood was more thought of by the Dutch.

In clearing land the trees were felled between April and August and allowed to dry till the end of September, when they were burnt, and canes, Indian corn, cassava, or yams planted. WARREN does not appear to have thought much of these provisions, as he states that the yam "has no bad taste, because it has none at all that ever I could find", and the plantain was in his opinion not much better. Cassava bread "when 'tis new made 'tis pleasant enough, but by that time 'tis a day old, methinks there is little savour in it." From the cassava was prepared Perrinoc

(piwarrie) which he says is "truly good and nearly resembles our strongest March-Beer," but he believed that the manner of making it (which he describes in rather broad language) would "rebate the edge of any one's desire." The planters also made a drink of cane juice and water boiled together, which he considered wholesome.

Gold hunting seemed to be discouraged at this time, although there were a number of Jews in the West Indies, who professed to be able to find out mines and work the precious metal. Mrs. BEHN speaks of a number of Indians from the interior having offered to show the planters where to dig for gold, but the authorities put a guard at the mouth of the river from whence they had come, and prohibited anyone going to the Gold Mountains. WARREN stated "that the Indians told of mighty princes in the interior and golden cities, how true he knew not; but however that might be, it was a brave country to a mind untainted with ambition, and that can live according to nature."

"The negroes, according to WARREN, who are most brought of GUINY in Africa to those parts, where they are sold like dogs and no better esteemed but for their work sake, which they perform all the week with the severest usage for the slightest fault, till Saturday afternoon, when they are allowed to dress their own gardens or plantations, having nothing but what they can procure thence to live upon; unless perhaps once or twice a year their masters vouchsafe them, as a great favour, a little rotten salt-fish; or if a cow or horse die of itself, they get roast meat. Their lodging is a hard board, and their black skins their covering. These wretched miseries not seldom drive them to desperate attempts for the recovery of their liberty, endeavouring to escape, and, if like to be retaken, sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves; or if the hope of pardon bring them again alive

1663 into their master's power, they'll manifest their fortitude, or rather obstinacy, in suffering the most exquisite tortures that can be inflicted upon them, for a terror and example to others, without shrinking. They are there a mixture of several nations, which are always clashing with one another, so that no Conspiracy can be hatching, but 'tis presently detected by some party amongst themselves disaffected to the plot, because their enemies have a share in't: They are naturally treacherous and bloody, and practice no Religion there, though many of them are Circumcis'd: But they believe the Ancient Pythagorean Errour of the Souls Transmigration out of one body into another, that when they dye, they shall return into their own Countries and be Regenerated, so live in the world by a Constant Revolution; which makes many of them over-fondly wooe their Deaths, not otherwise hoping to be freed from that indeed unequal'd slavery."

Besides the slaves many of the planters had brought their Bond-servants from Barbados. These poor creatures being only slaves for a time, were treated worse than the negroes. The servants were of all classes, many of them gentlemen who had been taken as prisoners during the Civil War, others, Scotch or Irish Rebels, and their companions criminals of all classes, from notorious thieves, to sturdy vagrants and masterless men. A large trade was carried on in kidnapping boys, while labourers were induced to engage themselves for five years by promises of the great fortunes they could make when they were out of their time. Many of the bondmen who were able to survive the cruelty and privations of their servitude, made good use of their liberty and established plantations of their own, while others like MORGAN the Buccaneer, joined the numerous bodies of pirates that infested the West Indies.

From the Copename to Berbice there were no Colonies, the country being only inhabited by Indians. 1665

VAN PEERE's colony in the Berbice River seems to have progressed slowly ; being only supported by

**Ber-  
bice.**

its own inhabitants and their Patroons, there was very little to be gained or lost. As will be seen later, however, it was able to hold its own as well as some of those where more money had been spent. It consisted of a few plantations of cotton, sugar, anatto, and tobacco. Being a proprietary colony very little is known of it, as its affairs did not much concern either the West India Company or the States General. The house of VAN PEERE obtained various concessions from the Company in 1628, 1632, and 1640, the last being made between ABRAHAM VAN PEERE Junior and PIETER VAN RHEE, and the Council of Nineteen. There does not appear to have been any official Commandeurs, but the Patroons probably appointed some merchant to administer the Government. Above the mouth of the Wieronie stood Plantation Peereboom the property of the Patroon, while below the same creek was built a block house called the house of VAN PEERE, not necessarily because any of the Patroons lived there, but that it represented the Colony House, and was fitted for defence as a wooden fort against Indian raids. Fort Nassau was intended as a protection against enemies from without, and there were few if any plantations between it and the mouth of the river. The Canje had not been yet occupied, so that there were no posts required in that direction, and with the long stretch of unoccupied territory on either hand there was no question of boundaries. There being no town, in case of emergency the planters were collected at either the

1665 block-house of VAN PEERE or Fort Nassau according as circumstances required.

Having few slaves the settlers were obliged to conciliate the Indians in a similar way to that already described under Cayenne. There were no Indian troubles of any importance, the Dutch in Berbice contriving to use the quarrels of the three tribes in that river to their own advantage.

From Berbice to Essequibo there were no Colonies, the old settlements on the Abary having been quite deserted for some time. The Demerara was only inhabited by Indians, its old name Timmeran or Timerary having been probably given on account of its banks being so densely covered with forests.

**Essequibo.**

The Colony of Essequibo which together with all the other Dutch settlements in Guiana was called New Zeeland (Nova Zeelandia,) had made very little progress at this time. It had received support from its proprietors, in the shape of consignments of slaves and other necessaries, but was never able to pay its expenses. A few plantations were laid out from Bartica to a few miles up the Rivers Cuyuni and Mazaruni, but there was very little produce shipped from Cartabo, the Colony being almost entirely dependent on the traffic with the Indians. The town of Cartabo consisted of only a few houses, including that of Commandeur GROENWEGEL. It was situated a little beyond Kyk-over-al on the point between the two rivers. From this place the Dutch traders travelled into the interior, carrying goods to exchange with the Indians for tobacco, cotton, hammocks, guns, and anatto. These traders were led by the Indians to immense distances. One of them named MATTESON, is reported to have carried on the trade for 22 years, during which time he had visited the "Shahoones,



Sepoyes and Occowyes" who lived at a distance of 600 miles south-west of St. Thome. HENDRICKSON, another of them, had lived in the Colony for 27 years during which time he had trafficked with the natives in the mountains of the interior. The Caribs were very friendly and acted as guides, enabling them to make journeys which would be wonderful even now. It may be presumed that the traders took part in the expeditions of the Caribs, rather than that these Indians made up parties for the merchants alone. Like the French, the Dutch bought the Indian prisoners as slaves, but they found it to their interests to buy only those who had been captured in the far interior, not only to keep on good terms with neighbouring tribes, but also to prevent the slaves running away, which would be very easy if the tribe was within any reasonable distance. 1665

The settlements of the Pomeroon consisted of a number of plantations on that river and its affluent Harly Pyaks Creek, and a few others in the Moruca and Wacapaw. The colony was protected by its outposts at Barima point, which served as a watch-house from which the doings of the Spaniards in the Orinoco could be observed. Through the Etabos which connect the Pomeroon with the Barima, the Dutch carried on a trade with the Indians and conveyed their goods to the Spanish settlements in Venezuela. Near the mouth of Harly Pyaks Creek on the Pomeroon, was the Huis ter Hooge, a block house with a few small guns, which was intended more as a post of observation than defence. At some distance up the river the town of New Middelburg was laid out, but it does not appear that it ever became of any importance, the peculiar manner of living on large plantations and the necessary precautions among a slave population, preventing ny centralising of the population. Above the

1665 projected town stood the Fort of Nova Zeelandia which was the real centre of the Colony. The Commandeur, FRANCOIS DE FIJNE appears to have had the supreme control of the Colony, not being dependant on Kyk-over-al as had been the case with his predecessor CORNELIS GOLIAT.

The Pomeroon Colony was of far more importance than that of Essequebo. From the time of the accession of the Portuguese Jews who were well acquainted with the sugar manufacture, a number of plantations were laid out and sugar buildings erected, so that the settlement was apparently in a fair way to become prosperous. Sugar from Nova Zeelandia was already being sold at Middelburg, and there was every probability of a large increase in cane cultivation, as the soil in the Pomeroon was more suitable than any of the upper districts where the other colonies were situated. In Brazil the Dutch had chosen the lower grounds, those places that the Portuguese would not take up because they considered them unhealthy. SOUTHEY in his "History of Brazil" states that the Hollanders lived much better than the Portuguese, smoked plenty of tobacco, and drank spirits, which he considered to account for their enjoying good health on the marshy lands which they occupied. In confirmation of the anti-malarial qualities of tobacco (and spirits), the women were less healthy than the men, and were unable to suckle their children, who were given to negro or Indian nurses until two or three years old. The Dutchman accustomed himself to the food of the country, not troubling himself about wheaten bread, but taking readily to cassava, maize, yams, and sweet potatoes. He took care to plant plenty of fruit trees, and grew a number of culinary vegetables from seed brought from Holland. The early settlers must have taken a great deal of trouble to introduce so many of the fruit trees which were

already common at this time, in fact so common that they were spoken of as being indigenous. All the fruit trees of the orange family had been introduced from the south of Europe; the sugar cane and plantain from the Canary Islands, to which they had been brought from the East Indies; and many other useful plants from the West India Islands. It is doubtful whether cacao or even the cocoa-nut are natives. Coffee was unknown in America before the early part of the eighteenth century. 1665

War with the Dutch commenced in Guiana. By authority of Lord WILLOUGHBY, BYAM commissioned March Captain PETER WRATH (called RUFF by the Dutch) as leader of a party of men from Surinam, to attack the Dutch Colony in the Apronage. The expedition was successful, the fort being destroyed and everything of value taken away.

Captain WILLIAM COWELL attacked and captured Aug. the French Colony in the Sinamary, sacked the place, and brought away its defenders as prisoners to Surinam.

Rumours of war were rife throughout the Nov. West Indies. All merchants vessel were ordered to sail in fleets and only at certain seasons. The captains were bound to keep company and protect each other, and preparations were made for sending the Barbados fleet under convoy of men-of-war, which would protect them against the enemy. The Surinam vessels were ordered to proceed to Barbados and go home with the fleet from that island, as the Dutch men-of-war and privateers had captured several West Indiamen, chiefly through their not keeping company. The Governor of Jamaica got together a number of privateers and sent them to make a raid on the Dutch islands, in which they partially succeeded, taking St. Eustatius and plundering the Colony of everything portable, including 900 slaves and many coppers and stills. It was apprehended

1666 at this time that the French were about to join the Dutch against England, and great fears were entertained that Barbados could not stand against such a powerful combination.

Early in this year Major JOHN SCOTT who had been commissioned by Lord WILLOUGHBY to make a raid on the Dutch colonies, attacked the settlements of Moruka, Wacapau, Pomeroun, and Essequibo, and compelled them to surrender. He is said to have plundered and burnt the houses of the inhabitants and demolished their forts, but this is hardly consistent with his own statement that he had left them garrisoned for England, and had tried to induce Lord WILLOUGHBY to strengthen the Colonies so that there should be a stronghold in those parts. It may be that SCOTT was not altogether so truthful as he might be, and that Lord WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY's statement that "perchance he has told some truth but not all gospel" may apply to this matter, as well as to some other shady transactions in which he had been concerned. The story of this raid is very imperfect, the Dutch accounts wanting particulars, but it appears from SCOTT's petition to the King that by the assistance of the Caribs he had burnt the enemy's towns, forts, goods, and settlements to the value of £160,000, and disbursed for his Majesty's service 73,788 lbs. of Muscovado sugar. In another petition he puts his losses at £1,620, and states that he was forced to pay for provisions for his soldiers on the coast of Guiana.

There is a vague account of an attack having been made on Berbice which was repulsed by the Commandeur of that Colony MATHYS BERGENAAR. Very little is known of this attack except a little episode of Indian cowardice thus related by HARTSINCK:—"A certain Captain or Owl of the Arrawacks named KAKABARETJE who lived in the Abary, had arrived accidentally at Fort Nassau with

some of his people for the purpose of trading, when a few English Privateers attacked the Fort in a Barque of 10 guns. The Indian took refuge in the forest, but the Captain to show his courage remained with the whites. Being frightened however, by the roaring of the guns, which lasted for half an hour, he crept into an empty sugar-boiler which was lying in the store, where being discovered, trembling with fright by some of the Dutchmen, he was much jeered at for his timidity. Returning afterwards to his Indians he reproached them for their cowardice, and boasted that he had saved the Fort in a great measure by his valour." 1665

A fleet was being prepared in England to make a raid on the enemy in the West Indies and to protect Barbados. The settlers in Surinam sent to Barbados for arms and ammunition, but the Barbadians were so busy repairing their rotten forts, that they could not even spare time to attend to such a small matter as sending a few hogsheads of lime for repairing that of their neighbour. As for arms and ammunition, they were in continual demand in all the colonies; 3,000 firelocks were wanted for St. Christopher and Surinam, and as many more for Barbados. It was stated that Lord WILLOUGHBY had sent the big guns from Barbados to Surinam, of which great complaint was made. 1666  
Jan.

Letters were sent to Lord WILLOUGHBY and other colonial Governors informing them that France had declared war on January 26th. Two frigates were also sent to Barbados for its defence, and to attempt the capture of some of the French possessions. On receipt of the news on April 4th, the Assembly of Barbados was convened and asked by Lord WILLOUGHBY to levy a tax for their defence, but the people did not feel inclined to agree to the Governor's proposition. Feb. 8

The English side of St. Christopher was Apl 10

1666 captured by the French, which was considered a serious loss by the Barbadians, who began to fear for their own island.

The Colonies in the Pomeroon and Essequibo are said to have been plundered by some French privateers soon after being captured by the English, but this raid could not have been of much importance as the small garrison left by JOHN SCOTT successfully defended the forts. This defence however only kept the Colonies in the hands of the English for a short time as Commandeur BERGENAAR raised a few soldiers from his garrison, together with as many of the settlers as Berbice could well spare, and the Company's negroes, with which force he proceeded to Essequibo, compelled the garrison to surrender, and give up everything they had, which HARTSINCK states to have been sufficient to pay the expenses of the expedition.

Meanwhile GROENEWEGEL had died and was succeeded by his son, but the States General not being satisfied with the poor defence which had been made in Essequibo, gave a Commission to JAN DOENZON as Commandeur of Kyk-over-al, with orders to send young GROENEWEGEL to Holland to give an account of his action in the matter. It may be presumed that DOENZON never arrived in the Colony as there is no account of his acting as Governor, while on the contrary as will be seen later two new Commandeurs were appointed to the Essequibo Colonies.

The following item from the "Calendar of State Papers" accounts for Commandeur DOENZON not arriving in Essequibo.

During this month a Dutch vessel of 8 guns and 22 men was captured by the *Amity* off the coast of New England. She was bound for the West Indies, and had on board Capt. JOHN DEENE, (JAN. DOENZON?) Governor of Kechovorell, (Kyk-over-al) river of Osequell, (Essequibo), on the coast of

America; and was laden with bricks, iron, and tiles for building, with beads and knives for the Indians, and with provision of beef and pork. 1666

Lord WILLOUGHBY received the King's orders to attack St. Christopher's and drive out the French. In his reply he promised to do his utmost, but he considered that the ships were too few and the force too weak. Leaving his nephew, WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY, as Deputy Governor, he left Barbados on July 18th, in H.M.S. *Hope*, one of the two frigates sent from England, accompanied by the other man-of-war, and 8 merchant vessels which had been impressed into the King's service. On the 23rd they took two prizes and were proceeding to Antigua, when a hurricane arose which lasted eight hours; all their bowsprits and masts being carried away and the fleet dispersed. Five of the vessels were never heard of again, and among them that of Lord WILLOUGHBY. At first it was expected that she had been driven ashore, but when no news could be got from any of the vessels which had put into Montserrat and Nevis as mere wrecks, it was feared that she had foundered with all on board. Up to December some lingering hope remained that Lord WILLOUGHBY had been cast away on some island, and letters were still addressed to him. On December 3rd WALTER MORGAN, Commander of the *Pearl*, undertook to deliver a packet of the King's letters to Lord WILLOUGHBY or in case of danger from the enemy to throw them overboard. His will was dated July 17th, the day before he embarked on what proved to be his last voyage. He left to his two daughters his plantations in Antigua, two-thirds of his moiety of the land in the Province of WILLOUGHBY Land, two-thirds of his plantation of Parham Hill, on the river of Surinam, and all his private estate in WILLOUGHBY Land. To his nephew HENRY WILLOUGHBY, the remaining thirds of his lands in Surinam; to his executors, 20,000 lbs. July

1666 sugar apiece wherewith to buy each other a ring ; and to HENRY HAUGHTON, for his faithful services, and to look after the plantations at Antigua and Surinam, his expenses, and £100 per annum for life.

The States of Zeeland sent out a fleet of seven vessels and a thousand men under ABRAHAM CRYNSSON Dec. with the intention of attacking Surinam. Proceed- 30 ing to Cayenne where it was expected that M. DE LA BARRE with a French fleet would have been met, but not finding him, CRYNSSON proceeded to Surinam and on this date anchored a league below the Fort, 1667 from whence he sent BYAM a summons to surrender, Feby. promising the inhabitants security in their posses- 26 sions if the Governor consented, while if on the contrary he should refuse, the invaders would give no quarter. BYAM answered that he had been commanded to keep the fort, which he would try to do against all opposers and so they might act their hostility as soon as they pleased. The attack was begun on the following day, but BYAM being very short of ammunition and prevented from receiving any assistance from the colonists by the Dutch vessels standing in the way of all support, he was obliged to ask for a truce after two or three hours fighting and surrender the fort on the following terms:—That the Governor and his soldiers should march forth with their arms and flying colours, and be at liberty to go where they pleased, taking with them all they had except artillery, ammunition, and provisions.

After the surrender, however, the Dutch demanded the arms of the soldiers and took possession of sixty slaves who were in the fort. The same day a vessel arriving under the command of Captain GOOSE, was also captured. BYAM went up to Tararica the same night and summoned the Council and Assembly and laid the matter before them asking their advice as to farther resistance or capitulation.



The answer of the Assembly and what followed is thus given in the SLOANE MS. No. 3,662, apparently written by BYAM himself :— 1667

To the Honourable Lieutenant General WILLIAM BYAM and the rest of the Council, to His Excellency FRANCIS LORD WILLOUGHBY of Parham.

The humble address of representation of the Assembly being the representative body of the Colony of Surinam.

Sheweth,

That whereas wee being deeply sensible as well of the trust reposed in us by the Inhabitants of this Colony as of our present dangerous estate, having so powerful an enemy in the midst of us whose Force we are neither able to resist or expell, and it being the earnest and important desires of the Good People of this Colony, That this present juncture of affaires, even when wee are ingaging unto blood with so much disadvantage, and in all probability so little hopes of success wee should now represent unto your honours their miserable and sad condition under the following considerations which we humbly offer to their prudent judgments and most serious thoughts.

That through the late heaveie visitation of sickness one fourth part of our ablest men are swept away, and of those few of us which remaine alive one third part are still sick, weake, unfit for service, and unable to contribute any thing of defence against an enemy so far surmounting us in Numbers, equipage, and all for warr, and such of us as are healthy are divided and dispersed at great distances, which of Necessity must be so, otherwise they or their Family's must suddainly starve and perish, provisions being at this time in so great a scarcity. That both the Lieutenant General by his infirmity and

1667 great distemper, and also his Sergeant Major at present very dangerously sick, are unable for Action and destitute of their conduct in this our great necessity.

That if we stand out in long opposition, the enemy will dayly burne, ruine, and distroy, our habitations and settlements, and we unable to check or hinder them, and our slaves when once in distress if not sooner will fly away from us.

That from the French, of whose merciless cruelty the English in the Neighbour Islands have lately had very sad experience, a Fleet is howerly expected, and we also feare the invasion of the Arwaca Indians, who will effect such mischiefe as will consequently produce the ruening of us all. That many of our men are already most Traytorously fallen to the enemie, who will prove very pernicious to us in guiding them to all our Creeks and private places, and discouvring our provisions, Cattle, and Goods, as also all or most part of our Christian Servants and persons dishonest and in debt will undoubtedly very speedily depart us and repaire to then.

And lastly considering that as we have few or no medicines for wounded men, our whole store of ammunition exceeds not six barrells, and that expended we must surcease the Contest by warr, and betake ourselves to the Miserable refuge of Flying into the woods, with our wives, children, and Familys for safety, and at last after a fineall ruining, if we escape all other perils, the Necessities of nature will force us to a shameful yeilding up ourselves; for any releife, as in all licklyhood we can expect none from his Majestie our Most Gracious Souvraigne, soo have we not soe much hopes of any from our Proprietors, who never yett assisted us but with six barrells of powder and a litle match; nor can we have thoughts of any

Kindness or succour from Barbadoes, who so lately were very unwilling to spare a little Limestone.

For all which reasons we doe as well in the behalf ourselves, as of the Inhabitants of the Colonie intrusting us, earnestly pray your honourables as well for the remouving of the before recited danger and sad inconveniences, soe for the preserving of those fortunes and estates which many of us brought hither, and others by many years industry and the painful swet of their browes have attained. That you will rather seek a speedy accommodation, and embrace composition upon safe and honourable Termes, then to perish in a warr, which we have noe abilities to performe, and which must unavoydably procure the utter ruineing of us all our children and posterity.

But in respect that we suppose the enemie for their owne Interest, and out of their desire to settle the Trade of this Colonie in themselves, which will undoubtedly much promote their advantage and gaine, or we conceive in themselves inclinable to a treaty, and that we only for the causes aforesaid, to prevent that soudaine devastation which they will bring upon us, have made this motion of peace, we humbly desire that such Articles of treaty as shall be proposed may be such as may certainly secure us in our estates and Liberties, and leave noe staine of dishonour or cowardice upon us, nor have any consequence of Abjuring that allegiance wee owe to our naturall Souverainge Liege Lord his Majestie of Great Brittain.

And we also humbly desier for ourselves and the people, the high favour of your honourables that the body of Articles you agree upon may be imparted to us before sent to the Enemie.

ROBERT COLLINSON, STEPHEN NEALE, JABZ  
WHITTAKER, ANGUS STORY, THO. SERGEANT,  
Jno. BZPETH, WM. PARKER, Gnl. THORNE.

1667

After a considerable view of the paper we found the representatives had fully and truly stated our condition, and heareing the defection of many of our men flyeing to the enemy, and of the Insolencies of our Negroes Killing our stock, breaking open howses, threatening our women, and some flyeing into the woods in rebellion, and finding the generality inclyning to a peace, the Enemie having sent Emissaryes for our owne men, applauding their cruelty, extoling their promises, and asserting the assurance of supplies which we ever wanted, we sent Capt. ANGUS. STORY and Mr. WM. PARKER for hostages aboard, and in the meane time drew up these proposalls.

PROPOSALLS TO THE ENEMIE.

1. What ever Revenue, guift, or Land, is or hath been set apart for the use of the Church, the maintenance of Ministers especially, the rent of ALLEN'S Estate given for that end by his Excellency FRANCIS LORD WILLOUGHBY of Parham, be intirely reserved for that purpose.

2. That our present Ministre Mr. GEO. VERNON be satisfied his arreares out of the produce of the said estate.

3. That the English who shall remaine here, have Ministers of their own Nation and chooseing and of the Church of England, and that their annuall exhibitions be paid them out of the produce of the said estate.

4. That all of what Nation soever who are present inhabitants of this Colonie whose tenants and practice are not inconsistent with Government, have free Liberty of concience.

5. Noe oathes be imposed on the English that shall inhabit here which may in the least grate against their Allegiance to their King.

6. That the heires of his Excellency FRANCIS LORD WILLOUGHBY of Parham may and shall possesse and

injoy and inherit all and every the Lands, Plantations, Slaves, Servants, Cattles, Stocks, Coppers, Stills, Boates, &c. that did and doe of right belong to his said Excellency as he is a planter here. And that the said heires have free Liberty att any time by themselves or agents, to transport their affairs or part thereof from hence in Shippes of their owne sending, or in Dutch bottomes, to any place whatsoever, without the least Lett, or Molestation, or hindrance.

7. That all persons whatsoever of what nation soever whither English, Jews, &c., whither absent or present, who have estates in this province, in Lands, Slaves, Servants, Cattle, Stock, Coppers, Stills, Barkes, Boates, Comodities, Goods, Debts, &c., have them intirely reserved and confirmed unto them their heirs, &c., to possess, injoy, and inherit for ever, without the least Lett, Molestation or hindrance.

8. That the persons aforesaid have full Freedome and Liberty to sell or transport when or where they please, all or part of their estates aforesaid. And that when sufficient freight presents, the Governor for the time being order Shipping for the same at moderate rates.

9. That no Imposition or taxe be layd on or exacted from any of the present Inhabitants, towards erecting of Fortifications, maintenance of Government or Garrisons.

10. That a Shipp, or two if needs require, be provided to transport forthwith such as are unwilling to live under the Dutch Government, both they, their Families, Slaves, &c. to Barbados, with a Convoy with them.

11. That all present Inhabitants of what nation soever, have and shall enjoy, all equall priviledges with the Dutch as shall cohabite here.

12. That the late Act made for the preservation of the Inhabitants estates be confirmed.

- 1667 13. That noe Inhabitants be denied the Liberty of Fishing in any parts as formerly, or to Turtle on the bayes, or to goe and trade with the Indians.
14. That they be furnished with all sorts of Indian trade.
15. That they have freedome to cutt specklewood in the River.
16. That all Laws, Acts, or declarations concerning the Inhabitants here be published in the English tounge.
17. That very great care be taken for the preservation of all orphan's estates.
18. That every Family be permitted to have a Fowling peice or peices in their houses with powder and ball, we being otherwise utterly unable to defend ourselves from the Indians, our Slaves, and Tygers and other vermins, which devour our stocke.
19. That our men belonging to this Colonie taken by the Governor of Barbice, be released, and all such of our countrymen as were taken in the English Shippes by your Fleete bound for this River, or in this River, and that for the French Prisoners here we may have Liberty to transport them to Barbadoes in a Sballop of our owne, they being promised to be sent thither for exchange of our men at the Carreebe Islands, and that we may send up a French prisoner to Cheyan, for release of one of our men that lyes prisoner there.
20. That such goods as are sent out and appertaine unto the Inhabitants of this Colonie by Capt. ROBT. COLVILLE dayly expected from Barbados, (or shippes from other parts which may be designed hither) be delivered unto them in case the said vessell shall arrive after the conclusion of this agreement, and the said vessell to be free soe far as the said Colonie or any here share in the same shall extend, he being an Inhabitant of this Colonie.
21. That the Inhabitants have free Liberty to

send off either Sugar or any other comodities for Holland or elsewhere, without excise or custome, and receive the product thereof in what Merchandize they please without incumbrance.

22. That no prohibition be against the planters here inhabiting for making any manner of comodities for his advantage.

23. That noe president obligation stop any that are minded to goe off, and that all debts that are or shall be contracted between English and English, we may have full power to order and determin if under 10,000 lbs. of Sugar, and for what publique charges the Colonie stands indebted we may be impowered to make a leavie for the same on the present Inhabitants, and distraine in case of refusall to pay, that all may beare an equall share.

24. That all Negroes that either were runaway about Pramorabo or detained in the Fort may be delivered to the owners.

25. That the Carebees our neighbours be civelly treated, not abused by the Arwacas, and that we and our estates be protected from the French and Arwacas, and other Indian enemies.

26. That all and every expression in all and every the aforesaid Articles, be always sure incorporated according to the plaine meaning, just sence, and true intention, of the words and expressions, and never wrested to the prejudice of the present Inhabitants.

On Fryday the 4th of March stilo novo, came the States Commander to Toorarica, viz:—Capt. LIDENBERGE and Capt. RAME, Commanders of standing Companies in Zealand. There were with me the Councill, Sergeant Major THO. NOELL misirably weake hardly able to goe, Capt. NATHAN CLARKE, and Mr. OLLIVER HUMPHREYS, who was very weake thorow his long sickness. The first and sharpest in our treaty arose about our allegiance to our King, and after a

1667 long contest we concluded on the oath in the Articles, which we presume noe subject in our condition but might take it salvo honore et conscientia.

The next thing which they bogled at was his Excellency's estate, and the interest of all absent persons, which we stood stiffly to reserve and uphold, but at length they told us that they could proseed noe further unlesse we yeilded to the confiscation of them, for they were strictly bound up by their orders from the states not to treat unless we consented to the forfeiture of them. Att Lenth we desired to lay asside and note such Articles as for the present we could not agree on, and proseed and see what we mutually would assent unto.

The treaty was tedious, we not understanding Dutch well, neither they English, so that all things were twice translated, by which delay thorough the insinuating infidelity of some of our men, they better understood the Distraction and weakness of our condition, which made not them onely receed from which they intended to grant, but to impose more difficult Termes on us, and amongst the rest they demanded no less than 500,000 lbs. of Sugar for a present to the States, we profered them 30,000 lbs. and they would have taken 50,000 lbs., had not the forward and ignoble prodigality of some profered in their hearing very largely, so that a peace were concluded, and that they might save their estates, which made them not abate an ounce of 100,000 lbs. Every day they would alter something and propose higher demands, and therefore we thought it best considereing our totoring condition and howrly feareinge the arrivall of the French Fleet, which would have lessened the honour and goodness of our Articles, to delay no more time, but to hasten to a conclusion, for we could not expect the least releife, and therefore on the 6th of



the aforesaid month about twelve at night these 1667  
Articles were signed.

Articles concluded upon between Commander  
ABRAHAM CBYNSENS, Admirall of a squadron of shippes  
belonging unto the noble and mighty Lords the  
States of Zeeland, and Collonell WILLIAM BYAM, late  
Lieutenant-Generall of Guyana and Governor of  
Willoughby Land :—

1. That all revenues whatsoever, guifts or lands which are appointed for the use of the Church and maintenance of ministers, and especially the rents of John Allen's estate, given for that end by my Lord Willoughby, be absolutely reserved for that end, to witt as well for the payment of Dutch as English ministers.

That the English shall have the election of their owne ministers, the same to be paid their exhibitions as well as the Dutch from the said revenue.

That the present minister, Mr. George Vernou, be satisfied his arreares, from Mr. Marcus Munnich out of the said rents, and that all persons, of what nation soever, have free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, whose opinion and practice is not inconsistent with the Government.

2. That noe other oath shall be required of the English but the following :—

"I, A B, doe, in the presence of Almighty God, promise from my heart and faithfully swear to be true and faithfull to the noble and mighty Lords of the States of Zeeland here in Surinam, whilst I shall live under it, and will neither directly nor indirectly endeavour to oppose or undermine the same, and shall to my utmost assist and fight against all their enymes whatsoever that shall come to attaque or annoy them. But in case my Sovereigne Lord the King of England, my Lord Willoughby, or any whatsoever of the subjects of the King of England, shall come to attaque Surinam, in that case I do swear that I will keep my self quiet, and neither directly nor indirectly assist them, and if it shall please the Governour render my selfe a prisoner into his hands."

3. That all persons whatsoever, and of what nation soever, whether they be English, Jewes, &c., that at present doe personally inhabit Surinam, with their families, shall have absolutely reserved and continued unto them their estates, lands, goods, of what nature and conditions soever, to enjoye, inherit, and possess them to themselves and their heires for ever without the least opposition, molestation, or hindrance. Butt that all those that doe not live in Surinam, and yet have estates therein, be absolutely excluded out of this article, notwithstanding they have persons that do represent their persons and families, and that all their estates of what nature and species soever, from henceforth be absolutely confiscated unto the Province of Zeeland, according to their lordshippes' order.

4. That all present inhabitants of what nation soever shall have and enjoye all equall priviledges as the Netherlanders that shall cohabite with them.

5. In case any inhabitants of this Colony shall now or hereafter intend to depart hence, he shall have power to sell his estate, and the Governour in this case shall procure that he be transported at a moderate freight, together with his estate.

6. That the liberty of fishing and turtling upon the Bays as before, and to trade with the Indians, is permitted, provided they have permission from the Governour.

7. That they shall have liberty to cutt speckle wood.

8. That wee shall be furnished with Indian trade.

9. That all lawes, Acts, and declarations shall bee published in the Dutch and English tongues, because that the inhabitants do not understand the Dutch language, and that the inhabitants shall be governed by the Netherland laws.

1667

10. That there be no prohibition upon the planters to make anything a commodity for their best profit.

11. That the Charibees our neighbours shall be used civilly, and that care shall be taken that wee and our estates shall not be endamaged by the Dutch, French, and other Indian nations.

12. That all persons present inhabitants in the river of Cummauweene and Napawny are included with these Articles.

13. That the inhabitants shall only keep soe many Armes as every one in his family need to keep his negroes in awe, and to defend themselves against the Indians, wilde beasts, and all other vermines, the rest of the armes to be delivered up.

14. That the inhabitants shall raise 100,000 lbs. of sugar for the noble and mighty Lords States of Zealand to take it with them.

15. That the inhabitants shall pay till further order, the same impositions, and beare the same charges which were imposed on them before the country was conquered, according to the tenor of an Act made by my Lord Willoughby, which shall bee put into our hands.

16. That the records shall be delivered and secured in the hands of the Governour, and that a perfect list shall be given in of the inhabitants, slaves, cattle, coppers, &c., which are in the country, as also a perfect list of the Christian and Hebrew inhabitants that are in every division.

17. That sixty negroes shall be sent by the inhabitants to worke at the fort for the space of four months if occasion shall require them so long.

18. That all inhabitants which are willing to goe off with this fleet shall not be deteyned in the least by any debts contracted before the date of these articles, and that commissioners shall be appointed who best understand the nature of these matters with full power to examine the debts, as well of such as goe off as of those which remain inhabitants, and of such as leave atturnyes behind to make them to pay the same. The Governour after sentence of the Commissioners being to assist them, that those that are condemned to pay and refuse may be compelled thereunto.

19. That such as intend off shall be furnished with a vessell to transport themselves with their slaves and goods, &c., with a passe from Commander Crynsens, and be permitted to take their sloopes with them, provided they sett sayle together with us.

20. That all and every expression in all and every article aforesaid shall at all tymes and ever be interpreted according to the right meaning, mind, and true intent of the words and expressions, and at noe tyme wrested to the prejudice of the inhabitants.

21. That this present Treaty bee confirmed by the Lords States of Zealand as soon as it is possible, and that an authentick copy thereof be sent hither with all expedition for further security of the inhabitants of this Colony, and the said authentick copy bee delivered unto them.

This done on board the shippe *Zeealandia*, 16th March, 1667, N.S.

ABRAHAM CRYNSENS.

WILLIAM BYAM.

Besides these the Commissioners engaged their honours to the following:—

1. That absent orphans estates should be reserved to them.
2. That Capt. COLVILLE, who was daily expected, should have what he had in his ship belonging to himself or other inhabitants.
3. That the prisoners at Barbice and Cayenne be released and the seamen taken be set ashore at Barbados.
4. That all persons living on confiscated estates shall keep possession, paying to the States of Zealand what they were bound to do to their employers during the time of their agreements.

5. That the Englishmen coming from the Pomeroon shall have liberty to go off or stay, for Lieut. EYARARD, who was Lieutenant at Essequibo with 12 more, all that were left of the men at Pomeroon and Essequibo, all the rest having perished for want of supplies.

6. That the negroes detained in the Fort, the property in which was disputed, be left to the decision of the States of Zeeland.

Having as the Dutch said, "taught the covetous Britons good manners," CRYNSEN gave the name of Zeelandia to the Fort, and left a garrison of 150 men in charge under command of MAURITZ DE RAMA. He is said to have plundered the Colony of everything valuable that could be confiscated as either belonging to Lord WILLOUGHBY or the Government.

Proceeding to Berbice he learnt that the Essequibo Colonies had been recaptured by BERGENAAR from the English, and going to Kyk-over-al he found the inhabitants recovering from their misfortunes. Leaving two of his officers in command, SAEL and BAERLAND, together with a supply of ammunition and provisions, he proceeded to Tobago and thence to Holland. He appears to have claimed the honour of re-conquering Essequibo on behalf of the States of Zeeland, which afterwards led to some disputes with the West India Company.

When CRYNSEN arrived in Holland with the news of the "glorious" capture of Surinam, his countrymen were very much pleased, as they considered that Colony a great acquisition. In compliance with a resolution of the States General of Oct. 22nd, he was presented with a gold medal and chain, and his Captains, LICHTENBURG and DE RAMA, each received a similar medal and promotion for their great services.

Lord WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY arrived in Barbados to take over the Government, where he heard of the capture of Surinam, which he stated to have been pitifully surrendered without resistance. The conditions were not amiss, but it was small comfort to think that His Majesty's dominions should be lost even on the best terms.

April  
23

1667  
June      Admiral Sir JOHN HARMON arrived in Barbados with a squadron of seven men-of-war, two ketches, and two fire ships, from whence he was despatched by Lord WILLOUGHBY the following day on a cruise round the Islands, where he destroyed some of the French vessels.

July  
21st      Peace was signed between Great Britain, France and Holland at Breda. The gains in territory of either party were not very great, and the result seems to have proved that the contending parties were pretty equally matched, and that England could hold her own against the only two other nations who were able to dispute her supremacy. In discussing the terms of the treaty with Holland, CHARLES II thought of Surinam, but as the only alternatives presented were, that each party should retain its own conquests as possessed by them at this time, or that they should return to the same position as they were before the war, it was considered more advantageous to England to accept the former alternative. By this arrangement Surinam was ceded to the Dutch and what is now New York became English. By the third article of this treaty, both nations were entitled to retain what they had conquered during the war, as they possessed and enjoyed them on the 10th day of May, 1667, and by the twelfth and the twenty-third articles provision was made for certain contingencies, such as cases of injuries committed by either party after the signing of the treaty, "that justice should be rendered and satisfaction given to all persons concerned, by all such who committed anything against this treaty, by land or sea, in any part of Europe or in America." The arrangement with France was more in accordance with the latter alternative, that the parties should return to the same position as before the war. Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Christopher were to revert to England, while France was to

receive back "all islands, countries, forts, and colonies anywhere situated, which might be gotten by the King of Great Britain before or after the subscription of the agreement." The treaty allowed ten weeks for captures to be made from Cape St. Vincent to the Equator without being considered as breaches of the agreement. All the old treaties have provisions of this kind, to prevent disputes in cases where war was still being carried on in the Colonies. It will be well to mention that the "days of grace" would expire in Guiana on the 29th of September, while the average duration of a voyage from England was about two months. The news of the treaty is acknowledged as having been received by Lord WILLOUGHBY about the middle of November, the letter being dated September 3rd, and answered on the 26th of November. These dates are important to the proper appreciation of the events of October.

1667

Admiral HARMON who had returned to Barbados on the 8th of this month and sailed again two days afterwards, held a Council of War, in which it was decided that Cayenne should be attacked. It was understood that the Colony was garrisoned with 600 or 700 soldiers, with a strong fort, and forty pieces of ordnance. Everything being in readiness he sailed for Guiana, but a calm which lasted eight days, delayed the fleet so that a French vessel was able to be beforehand with a warning to the Governor the CHEVALIER DE LEZY, who was at Mahuri, some fifteen miles from the Fort. He immediately hastened to Remire and alarmed the inhabitants, and from thence proceeded to Fort St. Louis, to prepare for the defence of the colony. In passing along he descried the English fleet in the offing passing the Fort, and apparently preparing to land on the east of the island. Taking 200 men from the Fort and neighbourhood, he proceeded to Remire, where he found his Lieutenant

Aug.  
19Sep.  
13

1667 the Sieur d' Estienne with 100 men. Putting his troops in order during the afternoon and evening, he waited all night in anticipation of the enemy attempting to land early in the morning. The English anchored off a small island, where 15 boats were sent off loaded with armed men, which proceeded along the coast for about three miles followed on shore by the French soldiers, who tried to keep them in sight so as to prevent their landing. Sinking in mud, walking through the shallow creeks, or climbing over the mangrove roots, now walking away from the shore and then coming back again, DE LEZY led his men until they were almost disorganised. When it was thought that the enemy would land, they quite suddenly turned back, pulling as hard as they could in another direction, which quite disconcerted the French soldiers, who became disorderly and scattered following a long distance behind their impetuous leader. Meanwhile the English had found a good landing-place, and by the time DE LEZY arrived at the spot, sixty men had been put in good order round the colours to protect the landing. Only about twenty of the French had been able to keep up with their leader, but he being quite undaunted, fired his pistol at the enemy before he was even within range. The English returned the fire, slightly wounding both the Governor and his Lieutenant, who were the only Frenchmen near, as the soldiers were not so rash as their leader. DE LEZY called to his men to charge, but found they had no swords; whether they had thrown them away in the scramble through the mangrove swamps or not been supplied at all, history does not say. He therefore retreated, and the English being busy landing their troops, did not attempt to follow at that time. The French made a stand at Remire, a small village of 60 or 70 houses, where they were soon followed by the English, who

had landed in good order. HARMON'S men became somewhat unmanageable at sight of the store where was a good quantity of wine and brandy, which, being very thirsty, they wanted to pillage. To prevent this and also to dislodge the French, who had taken up their position in the houses, from whence they poured a most galling fire, orders were given to fire the village, which was soon done. The houses being very combustible both parties were obliged to retreat, a wall of fire preventing the invaders from following the retreating Frenchmen, who proceeded to Fort St. Louis, leaving 23 of their soldiers dead and a considerable number wounded, while the loss on the English side was very trifling. The Colonists then proceeded to take refuge in the fort, carrying most of their moveables as well as a good supply of provisions. DE LEZY seemed to have had enough fighting for the time, and instead of remaining in the fort to defend his Colony, he embarked with 200 of his soldiers and as many valuables as he could secure, and made a hasty retreat to Surinam, telling the people to save themselves among the Indians. This cowardly flight of the Governor depressed the spirits of the poor Frenchmen, and very much surprised the English when they learnt such a reputed soldier had quitted a fort so well manued and fortified as this was. The few soldiers who remained were not satisfied to give up so easily, but elected a Sergeant as commander, who, however proved as cowardly as the Governor, embarking late in the evening with as many soldiers as would follow, and saved himself among the Indians. A Swiss Sergeant named FERANT, finding that 50 soldiers remained, strenuously endeavoured to persuade them to hold the fort, representing that they were strong enough to at least obtain a honourable capitulation. There seems however to have been a general panic, and FERANT, Sept. 15

1667 the only brave soldier of the garrison, was compelled to send a flag of truce with offers of capitulation, which were accepted on condition that the garrison should be prisoners of war.

The English having taken possession of the fort found 39 pieces of ordnance, 1,500 balls, 27 barrels of powder, 26 barrels of bullets, 400 shells, 6 barrels of brimstone, 80 pieces of armour (back, breast, and head pieces), 200 bundles of match, and 430 small arms. This list shows how well the fort was prepared for defence, and how utterly incomprehensible was the behaviour of the Governor and his garrison.

Sept. 17 A Council of War was held by Sir JOHN HARMON, where an account was given by one of the French Company's factors and a Jew, of the property on the island, which included 295 negroes, 51 sugar-coppers, stills, &c., 10 mills, 49 cattle, and 10 horses. Taking as much of the plunder as the vessels could conveniently carry, HARMON proceeded to demolish the sugar works, destroy the plantations, and set fire to the houses and churches. The French declare that he knew that peace had been made or was in negotiation, and therefore it would be useless to attempt to retain the Colony for England.

While this destruction was going on the Admiral was visited by an "Indian Prince famous in those parts, known by the name of JOHN VANDER-GOOSE, who requested to be admitted into amity." He offered to capture the slaves who had run away into the bush, and reserve them until they should be sent for, and requested that the island should be put under his control until the English came back. A letter of protection having been given to this Chief-tain, the Admiral took as many of the French prisoners as his vessels would hold, with all the Jews, and proceeded to Surinam.



Sir JOHN HARMAN appeared before the fort in Surinam and demanded its surrender, but the Dutchmen under MAURITZ DE RAMA did not give up quite so easily as the French at Cayenne. DE LEZY having given warning of the expected assault they were prepared to fight, and having had the accession of the two hundred runaway Frenchmen, they gave some trouble to their assailants. On the 7th of October the English landed and attacked the fort, in which were 225 men and 24 guns, and after a smart assault—in which 54 of the defenders were killed and wounded, and several of the English, including two Captains, killed—the fort was compelled to surrender. LORD WILLOUGHBY speaking of this affair said “Hans exceeded Mons much in his defence and it was an honourable parting blow.”

1667  
Oct.  
3

A Court-Martial was held at his own request upon Lieutenant-General BYAM in reference to his surrender of the fort on the 17th of February, 1666. The Court declared that they found he had in all particulars demeaned himself as became a loyal and faithful subject, as a valourous prudent commander, and an honourable person.

Oct.  
15

It was ordered that the estates which on the Dutch invasion had been confiscated to the States of Zeeland, should be given to the officers and soldiers of the expedition as prize money. Parham Hill having been thus disposed of, the new owners presented the estate with all its slaves to HENRY WILLOUGHBY, who had taken a prominent part in the expedition.

Oct.  
16

It being proposed to remove the slaves and other effects from the Colony, objection was made on the part of some of the principal colonists, as they hoped to be able to purchase the slaves. A Declaration was then published to the effect that the Government should be as it was before the capture by the Dutch, but immediately under the

1667 King, and all former taxes and customs were abolished.

Nov. 3 The soldiers not being healthy the Lieutenant-General sailed for Barbados, leaving Colonel BARRY as Governor, with a garrison of 100 men, taking with him De Rama and his officers.

DE LEZY proceeded to Guadaloupe, from whence he returned to Cayenne in November with 200 of his followers, where he met some of the inhabitants who had taken refuge among the Indians, with whom he soon re-established the colony. HARMON'S prisoners were sent by Lord WILLOUGHBY to Martinique, he having received news of the Peace of Breda at the time of the return of the expedition.

Dec. 16 In a letter from Lord WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY to the Privy Council of this date he gives the report of Sir JOHN HARMON'S successful capture of Cayenne and Surinam. Having by this time learnt the particulars of the Treaty of Breda he sent his son, HENRY WILLOUGHBY, back to Surinam "to use his utmost endeavours to bring off the inhabitants and their moveables, (which will utterly disable the Dutch to settle it), intending to put them on Antigua; but if those men will not quit their stations, will suspend the surrender till he receives positive commands from their Lordships." By taking away the inhabitants he expected to strengthen the English power in the West Indies as well as to destroy the Colony.

A Zealand frigate and 6 merchantmen had arrived at Surinam on the 10th of November bringing with them the news of the peace, and demanding the rendition of the Colony. Governor BARRY answered that he could not surrender his charge without positive order from the King or Lord WILLOUGHBY. It seems, however, that he afterwards wanted to curry favour with the Dutch, and did some acts that are stated to have "savoured of a traitor." What these acts were does not appear, but BYAM,

WROTH, and others were examined in connection with the matter, and after the arrival of HENRY WILLOUGHBY, on the 1st of February, 1668, BARRY was deposed and Sergt.-Major JAMES BANNISTER appointed in his stead. 1667.

To prevent the Dutch having any advantage by the Colony, all the estates which had been confiscated in accordance with the Articles of Capitulation were stripped of everything moveable, even to the boiling coppers, and the buildings destroyed as far as possible. The sugar mill on Parham Hill was set on fire, and many of the principal settlers who intended to leave the Colony, also demolished and burnt the buildings on their estates. The Jews took no part in these disturbances, and therefore suffered little molestation. The full accounts of these transactions may be gleaned from the complaints of the Dutch Ambassadors, and to prevent recapitulation they are omitted under their dates.

The Ambassadors of France and Holland made complaints, of the attack and capture of Cayenne and Surinam as being contrary to the Articles of the Peace, and demanded restitution and satisfaction for the injuries they had received. CHARLES II. seems to have had a strong feeling against giving up Surinam, and many of the inhabitants of that Colony thinking that the dispute might end in England retaining the place, excused themselves from giving up their flourishing plantations. 1668  
Jan.

The "Norwich" frigate arrived in Surinam with a declaration from Lord WILLOUGHBY, inviting the English inhabitants to withdraw to Antigua or some other of the English Colonies, but those who remained hesitated as to taking advantage of this opportunity, thinking perhaps that some arrangement might be come to by which they could remain. March

Admiral CRYNSEN arrived in Surinam with three Dutch men-of-war, delivered to Governor April  
15

1668 BANNISTER the King's Letters Patent for the restitution of the Colony, and demanded his surrender. There being a prospect of a fight if the Colony refused to submit, the Governor called together his Council, who agreed that they ought to obey the King's orders. The Governor would not give up on the first demand, but hesitated, and asked that the Articles of Capitulation of the previous year should be confirmed, which being produced and ratified, all judicial proceedings and grants of land being also confirmed, together with a promise made that everything done to the prejudice of the States General should be forgotten, BANNISTER agreed to surrender the place. Then came a disagreement as to the manner of delivering up the fort, which CRYNSEN stopped by a threat to attack them without mercy if they did not surrender. The matter was at last settled, and on the 1st of May it was agreed that the Governor, soldiers, and inhabitants should take their colours, arms, and what else belonged to them, provided they left behind the ammunition and whatever belonged to the fort.

May A commission was granted by Lord WILLOUGHBY to Major NEEDHAM against the Arrawaks, probably for the purpose of capturing some of them as slaves for the islands. Lord WILLOUGHBY described this tribe as having abominably butchered his Majesty's subjects, and as being one of the most powerful on the coast of Guiana, mortal enemies to the Caribs, who were and are our true friends. During the Dutch war they had committed horrid cruelties against the English at the instigation of the Hollanders. The Commission was said to have been given for rivers not in the possession of the Dutch, and Lord WILLOUGHBY did not consider that the English had lost all their rights in Guiana by the loss of Surinam. Major NEEDHAM arrived off the coast at the end of May in a sloop belonging to

Col. CODRINGTON, with 20 men, which vessel was taken by the Dutch, and NEEDEDHAM and his men sent to Zeeland. About the same time five Indians were captured by some English in the Marowyne and taken away, but Lord WILLOUGHBY denied any knowledge of this transaction. 1668

J. MEERMAN and J. BOREEL, the Ambassadors of the States General, presented a Memorial to CHARLES II, in which the grievances of their masters are set forth. They found themselves obliged to join the Memorial to the letters of their masters about Surinam, to represent the just resentment they had against Lord WILLOUGHBY, who after the peace had been published in Barbados on Dec. 1st, and even the prisoners of war exchanged, sent his son to Surinam with a Royal frigate, who there comported himself as appears by their master's letter. They were therefore obliged to pray his Majesty that not only Lieutenant-General HENRY WILLOUGHBY, but also his father, and all who have had a hand in that affair, might be bound to make real and speedy satisfaction, and restore everything as the States General had desired. They expected his Majesty's declaration on this Memorial to send as soon as possible to their masters, having already received great contentment by his Majesty's answer by mouth concerning this very work. The letter of the States General is as follows:— May 16

“With great regret they are constrained to make complaint that Capt. WM. HEYDRICKSEN, commander of the ship of war *Schakerloo*, who was sent to Surinam for the restitution of that Province according to the third and sixth articles of the Treaty, could obtain neither right nor reason from those who governed, though it was taken by his Majesty's arms long after the 10th May. Lieut.-Genl. HENRY WILLOUGHBY was abundantly convinced by the exhibition of the Treaty and his

1668 Majesty's letters for restitution, but he would not obey, and said captain was constrained to protest against him according to the protest annexed; and also wrote him a letter also annexed. But all in vain, he was so bold as to commit acts of hostility by burning a mill, carrying off slaves, cattle and tools, and endeavouring to persuade the inhabitants who had become subjects of this State, to follow the same evil example, so as to restore only a ruined and depopulated country. They pray his Majesty to do justice for these outrages and then to punish the said Lieut.-Genl. WILLOUGHBY and all who have aided him as violators of the Peace, and also to cause satisfaction to be made for all damages, and all things to be restored to the state they were on arrival of news of the Peace.—Trust his Majesty will not permit the inhabitants debauched by Lieut. General WILLOUGHBY, with their slaves, cattle, and goods, to be received in His Majesty's other islands and colonies, but that all may be treated according to the 13th and 16th Articles of the Treaty."

The enclosed protest of WM. HENDRICKSEN, dated December 28th, 1667, was to the effect that he had exhibited to HENRY WILLOUGHBY a patent in Latin and English under the Great Seal of England, for surrendering all places taken or recovered from the Dutch after the 10th of May, and summoned him to surrender the fort and colony of Surinam, which HENRY WILLOUGHBY refused to do, pretending that he had not received any certain information of the pretended peace. On this refusal HENDRICKSEN protested against all the ruins, spoils, disasters, and prejudices which might arise to his masters by reason of that refusal.

The second enclosure was a letter from HENDRICKSEN to Lord WILLOUGHBY dated Jan. 9th, 1668, in which he complained of being prohibited going up and down the river, and desires his categorical and

absolute answer to the protest. He desired him seriously to consider that his masters would prosecute their rights to the uttermost and punish those that contribute to the least infraction of the treaty, and also that if His Majesty withdrew his hand from His Lordship as His Majesty ought to do, he will be declared an enemy to both nations, and a rebel to his King.

1668

The last enclosure was a deposition of JAN CORNELISSEN BOER, and JAN CRYNSSEN VANDERGRACHT, to the effect that they left Flushing with Capt. HENDRICKSEN on the 16th August, 1667, and arrived at Surinam with 3 ships on the 20th of November, where next day they went up to the fort and summoned the Governor to surrender according to the Articles of Peace, who said he was ready to do so when he saw an order from the King. A fortnight later arrived a galliot of Zeeland with a sealed letter from the King of England, and the same night came young WILLOUGHBY with a frigate. In the morning BOER was sent with a copy of the King's letter to WILLOUGHBY who had gone up the river, but his Captain confessed that he had seen the Articles of Peace at Barbados. On seeing WILLOUGHBY two days afterwards when he had already burnt the wind-mill on Parham Hill, the letter was shown him to which he answered "he must first hear from his father before he surrendered the fort." The deponents were then sent back to the States of Zeeland on Jan. 16th with letters; were stranded at Milford Haven, but succeeded in saving themselves as well as the box of letters.

Another Memorial was presented to the King by the Dutch Ambassadors, in which they said that the outrageous proceedings in Surinam oblige them again to insist that a good resolution may be had on so exorbitant a business. If WILLOUGHBY did not satisfy their superiors, they would offer his Majesty an exact account of the damage sustained. They

May  
29

1668 had heard that his Majesty had appointed a Commission to examine the matter with all severity, but that was not sufficient, therefore they prayed the King to declare that what Lord WILL UGHBY and his son had done at Surinam was a notorious rupture of the Peace, and a contempt of his Majesty's commands; that whatever had been taken away should be restored, and satisfaction given for what could not be restored. After which declaration, if Lord WILLOUGHBY still continued disobedient he should be held according to the Treaty to be an open enemy of his Majesty as well as the States.

In the reply of Lord WILLOUGHBY's agent to the Dutch complaints, it is stated that the Articles of Capitulation had never been signed in Zeeland, and therefore the colonists considered that it was intended to ignore these articles altogether. Until the 12th of March no order of his Majesty for the re-delivery of the Colony had been shown to Lord WILLOUGHBY and no inferior officer on the place had power to deliver it. It might be true that several mills had been burnt and goods carried away, and that his Majesty's subjects, finding that no faith had been kept with them in confirming the Articles had transported themselves to other colonies, and dealt as they pleased with their own, as they were empowered to do under the Articles. The agent expected soon to have advice that the Colony had been delivered, and intreated that nothing prejudicial to Lord WILLOUGHBY should be done in the meantime.

June

4

The Ambassadors thanked his Majesty for his resolution of May 30th, to cause orders to be suddenly despatched for the restitution of Surinam. (Lord WILLOUGHBY in a letter dated May 30th stated that he was prepared to surrender the Colony to the Dutch when they should apply for it.) They had learnt since their last Memorial that Capt. Du Bois had again summoned HENRY WILLOUGHBY,



to restore the place, and had written a serious letter to BARRY, but that WILLOUGHBY had departed on the 19th February, taking his booty. They claimed the restoration of 412 slaves, 20 kettles, 16 head of cattle, and 150,000 lbs. of sugar for the value of planks, speckled wood, and dry wares carried off. In case any of these have been transported to other plantations they expected to be satisfied at Barbados with slaves and effects of equal goodness, and that the Dutch who had been taken to Barbados should be provided with forage and victuals for the voyage to Surinam. They also insisted that orders to this effect should be sent to Barbados and that a letter be addressed to the Governor of Surinam requiring him to immediately surrender the fort and colony to the bearer, without obeying or expecting any other order whatsoever. 1668:

According to the letter from Capt. DU BOIS, enclosed with this Memorial, BARRY had answered to his summons, "that his instructions were so strict that if a man in the least offend against them, he must be punished with death."

The King sent a letter to Lord WILLOUGHBY to the following effect:—"Being informed by the Ambassadors Extraordinary from the States General that in the matter of Surinam, himself and his son Lieut.-Gen. WILLOUGHBY, have done many things not only contrary to the late Treaty of Breda, but in disobedience to his Majesty's Letters Patent for the execution thereof; the King cannot but express his just resentment of the same, and does therefore declare that Lord WILLOUGHBY ought not to have had anything to do with the colony of Surinam since he had knowledge of the conclusion of the Peace and received the same, and printed copies of his Majesty's Letters Patent, and particularly since said Peace was published at Barbados. The King will also tell him that his said son and all with him at Surinam were July

1668 obliged to obey his Majesty's orders, which not having been done, they have justly incurred his Majesty's displeasure. And lastly, the King judges that all goods which Lord WILLOUGHBY and his son possessed in Surinam when the same was taken, were by the Articles made at the capture confiscate to the States of Zeeland, and though since retaken ought to be restored by virtue of the said Treaty of Breda. And therefore his Majesty strictly commands him to restore all the said goods which his son carried from thence, and if he took away so much as is contained in a bill presented to his Majesty, to wit, 168 slaves, 8 coppers, 126 cattle, and 21,000 lbs. of sugar, that he forthwith make restitution of the same; but if he did not carry away so much, to restore what he hath taken away under pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure. Also, whatever his son or any other have caused to be burnt or ruined, or have taken from those willing to remain at Surinam, is to be restored, or full satisfaction made for the same, as also for damages suffered. He is further commanded to restore the fort to whomsoever shall exhibit his Majesty's warrant to that purpose, and strictly enjoined to make all said preparation at Barbados, to furnish victuals and forage for sustenance of the slaves and cattle on their voyage from Barbados to Surinam, as also the freights of their transportation. Also to restore the 120,000 lbs. of sugar, if he took so much, belonging to the church of the said colony, and to reimburse the five per cent. he has levied upon merchandise since his Majesty's said Letter's Patent were exhibited. And lastly, it is the King's pleasure that he publish in all his Majesty's Plantations that all who have been removed from Surinam by force or menaces of his said son or his officers, be free to return without any molestation, and that Lord WILLOUGHBY bear the charge of their transportation thither. To all

these commands the King expects and requires his punctual obedience and exact observance, as he tenders his Majesty's highest indignation."

On the same day the King's commands were sent to the Governor of Surinam, that he should forthwith restore the Colony and fort, with all guns and utensils of war, to the States General.

After the seizure of CODRINGTON'S sloop, most of the English inhabitants of Surinam became very dissatisfied, and wishing to take advantage of the Articles of Capitulation to leave the Colony with all their goods, they joined with Major BANNISTER in demanding permission to remove. CRYNSEN and his Dutch officers did not like the idea of having a Colony without any people in it; in fact, as may have been already seen in the previous disputes, they did not wish to comply with the Articles of Capitulation at all. When therefore BANNISTER made his formal demand for license for himself and a number of the principal inhabitants to leave the Colony with their effects, CRYNSEN charged him with acting beyond his sphere in comprehending other persons in his demands, and summoned him on board the Admiral's ship, where a Council of War being held, it was resolved that on the first of August he should be sent as a prisoner to Zeeland. BANNISTER refused to submit, claiming his own as well as the other Colonists' rights to proceed to Barbados in an English vessel which lay in the river. WILLOUGHBY'S opinion of this matter is thus given in his letter to CRYNSEN:—"Has received a letter from him dated about the 2nd August, and with it a narrative of his severe behaviour to Col. BANNISTER, Governor of Surinam, and the rest of his fellow subjects, wherein if rightly informed CRYNSEN has broken the Articles of Peace, and his own articles with the inhabitants, by refusing them liberty of removing with their goods. By the Articles WILLOUGHBY conceives only

1668 the land to be Dutch, and that his master's subjects ought not to be detained prisoners, or refused transporting their goods and negroes, but Col. BANNISTER for asserting those articles is sent prisoner to your High and Mighty. If by our masters you and I be appointed judges in this matter, I shall endeavour to justify my own nation, and perchance trouble you ; but will obey orders and be very cautious of the breach of that happy peace of Breda." He would not send any English vessel for traffic till he received a positive answer, and the return of Col. CODRINGTON'S sloop with the persons belonging to her ; when he received the answer he would provide for the transport of such of his master's subjects as shall desire to remove.

Whether the King and Privy Council really approved of Lord WILLOUGHBY'S action is very doubtful. Diplomatic matters have always been intricate and they were especially so at this time, as appears from a Report of the Committee for Foreign Plantations of March 12th on several letters from WILLOUGHBY. That gentleman was to receive the thanks of the Board, but it was qualified on the margin to be "a Civil letter that may signify nothing," meaning probably anything.

July

In a letter from Lord WILLOUGHBY to ABRAHAM CRYNSEN, Governor of Surinam, to give his answers to several complaints made by that gentleman, Lord WILLOUGHBY stated that he had sent his Majesty's orders for the rendition of Surinam early in July, and had afterwards received an advice that the Colony had been surrendered. He knew of nothing having been removed but what the articles of surrender allowed, on the contrary much had been left behind which belonged to the English. At NEEDHAM'S solicitation he had given him a letter to his son to obtain a Commission against the Arrawacks, but on recollecting himself he had sent a countermand

which NEEDHAM had opened and concealed; therefore if NEEDHAM did not get his deserts from CRYNSSEN, he would take care that he should be punished when he came within WILLOUGHBY's jurisdiction. Nevertheless he would justify himself in giving a Commission against the Arrawacks, and knew not how CRYNSSEN came to claim so great a latitude of protecting that nation. He desired the restitution of Col. CODRINGTON's sloop and the Englishmen in her, with the exception of NEEDHAM, and did not believe that CRYNSSEN could imagine that by possessing Surinam, the Dutch had become lords of the whole mainland of America. Though he had thought fit to surprize a poor sloop that intended him no injury, and to keep it and send the persons in herto Zeeland, Willoughby believed he would repent it, for full satisfaction would be required at his hands.

Lord WILLOUGHBY in a letter of this date stated that CRYNSSEN had supplied new matter, and wished that his Majesty would supply him with ships that he might discourse with the Admiral in his own dialect. By the narrative of BANNISTER the affair might be understood, but he wanted to hear from England what to do; in the meantime he would give his admiralship good words.

Lord WILLOUGHBY writing to the Privy Council said that he had been informed how the Dutch had made great clamours against pretended actions of his sons at Surinam, but as his Majesty had given him leave to return to England he would leave his vindication to that occasion. He had a great aversion from that reproachful way of complaining, so suitable to the dishonourable temper of that nation, at such a distance, but when he came to England he would prove to their faces, that their agents at Surinam had by many lewd actions tyrannised over his Majesty's subjects and confined their persons, to prevent their departure from thence

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- 1668** to some other place within his Majesty's dominions, in accordance with the Articles of Peace.
- Oct.** BANNISTER writing to Lord WILLOUGHBY from Flushing stated that according to his instructions he had demanded liberty for himself and all his Majesty's subjects, that were desirous to move with their moveable estates; which did so disrelish the Dutch Governor and Council that they sent him prisoner to Zeeland, away from his wife and children, and a considerable estate. He had arrived on the 5th inst., and been twice before the Lords of the Province, who took little notice of the charges against him, but often questioned him as to Lord WILLOUGHBY's actions, to which he had replied that he could only answer for his own. He was ready to vindicate his Honour both there and at home and desired to hear from him by the first opportunity.
- Nov.** It was ordered by the Council of Trade that Lord ARLINGTON be desired to represent to his Majesty as the advice of the Council,—that whereas both by the Treaty of Breda and the private articles granted to the inhabitants of Surinam by ABRAHAM CREYNSEN, and afterwards confirmed by him when he took possession of the place, the English should have liberty to depart thence at any time with their goods, servants, &c., and that privilege is now denied them, and the late Governor Serg-Major BANNISTER has been sent to Zeeland a prisoner, for having demanded the benefit of the said Treaty and Articles; his Majesty may take order for the execution of the Treaty and Articles, and for redress of the injuries done.
- Dec.** BANNISTER was at last released from prison some time in December. He was suspected by the Dutch of having incited the Caribs to attack some their plantations in Surinam, but it appears that nothing could be proved against him. It is hardly necessary

to charge the English as the cause of the Indian troubles which followed, the fact of the Dutch being friends to the Arrawacks being sufficient to account for them.

Notwithstanding all the complaints of Lord WILLOUGHBY and the King of England, CRYNSSEN and the Dutch seemed determined to keep the English Colonists in Surinam, well knowing that their conquest would be of little use to Holland if it should be abandoned by its inhabitants. No good result followed from WILLOUGHBY's letters to CRYNSSEN, so he proceeded to England towards the end of that year to bring the matter before the King, who demanded of the States General that the English Colonists should be permitted to leave Surinam with all their goods, in accordance with the Articles of Capitulation. How they were at last permitted to leave in an English man-of-war and proceeded to Jamaica where land was given them in a part of the Island called Surinam quarters, will be described in the next volume. By the surrender of the Colony to Holland, England lost her claims on Guiana, although it required another war to settle the rights of the English settlers.

At this time the Sugar made in Barbados and Surinam was of three qualities, white, clayed, and brown. According to some authorities it took four pounds of the unpurged brown sugar to produce one pound of white, or three pounds of the clayed quality for the same quantity. The respective values in England were about sixty, forty-five, and twenty-three shillings per cwt., duty paid. The charges on a ton of the white quality were as follows :—

Carriage from plantation to port	£	1	5	0
Packages (4 casks) ...		1	10	0
Freight and Primage ...		4	12	0
Petty Charges ...			10	0
Customs duty ...		5	0	0
<b>Total</b> ...		<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>0</b>

1668 This quantity being worth in England £60, the difference of £47. 3s. 0d would represent the return to the planter.

Four tons of the lowest quality although it would be apparently worth £92 never returned anything like that amount, as the drainage was very considerable, while the cost of packages and freight was four times as much. The return to the planter from four tons of unpurged brown sugar was stated as £47 13s 0d., *i.e.* ten shillings more than the ton of white. The molasses, however, and the bottoms obtained in making the white, would more than compensate for the extra gain on the common quality. The commonest muscovado sugar of the present day would bear very favourable comparison with the brown sugar in question, in fact this was so very moist that it was a common complaint that if it was kept long in the store it ran to molasses.

The clayed brown gave a return of only £35 13s 0d on three tons, which was the equivalent of the one ton of white. It was recommended in England that the shipment of raw sugar should be encouraged, because it would employ more shipping as well as giving more employment to the refiners.

The returns of the importation of sugar into England for the following year (1669) were entered at the Custom House as 8,338 tons muscovado, and 118 tons white.

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[*End of Vol. I*]



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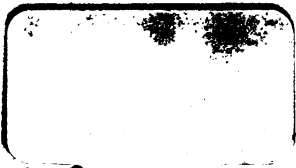




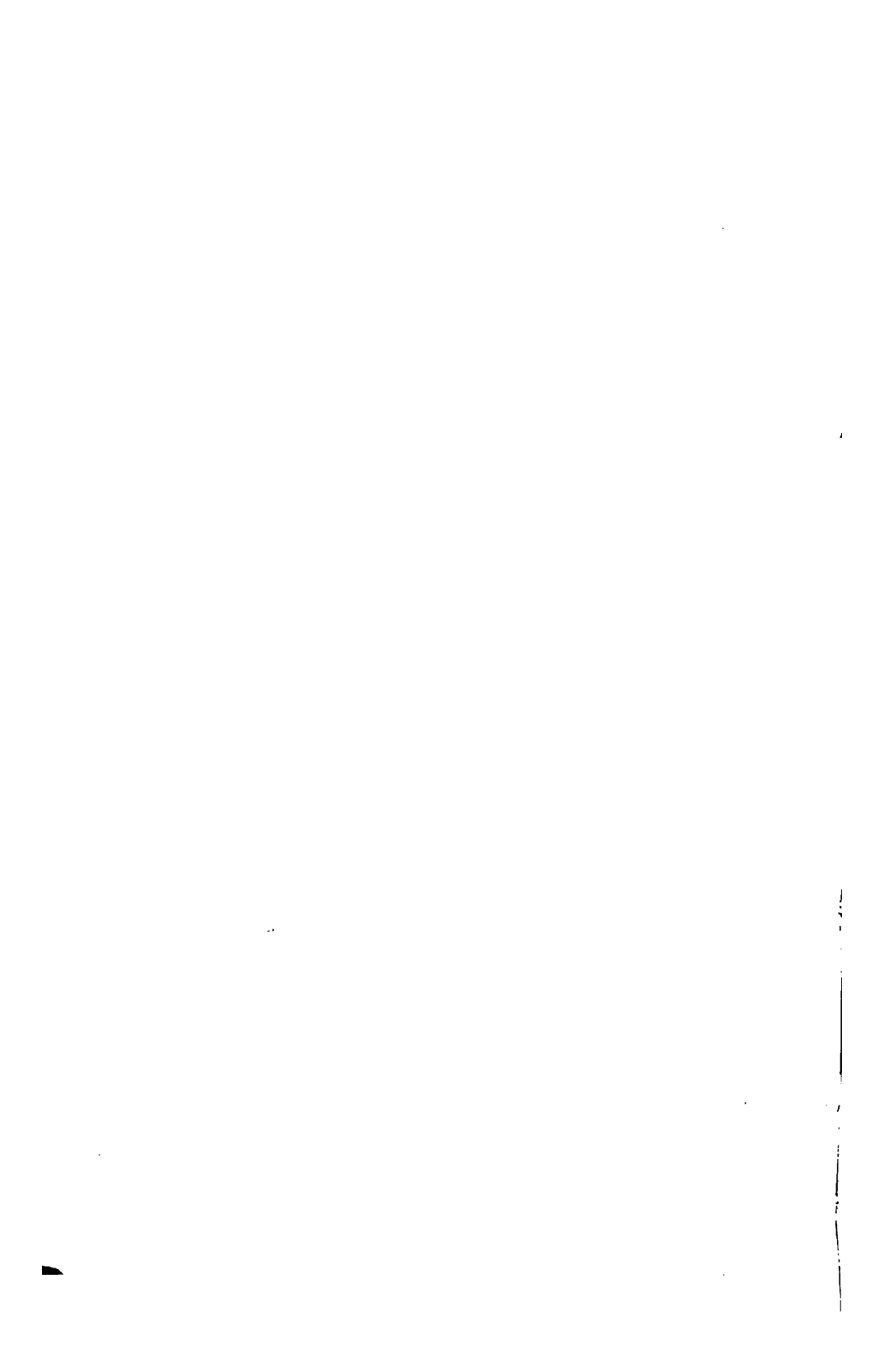








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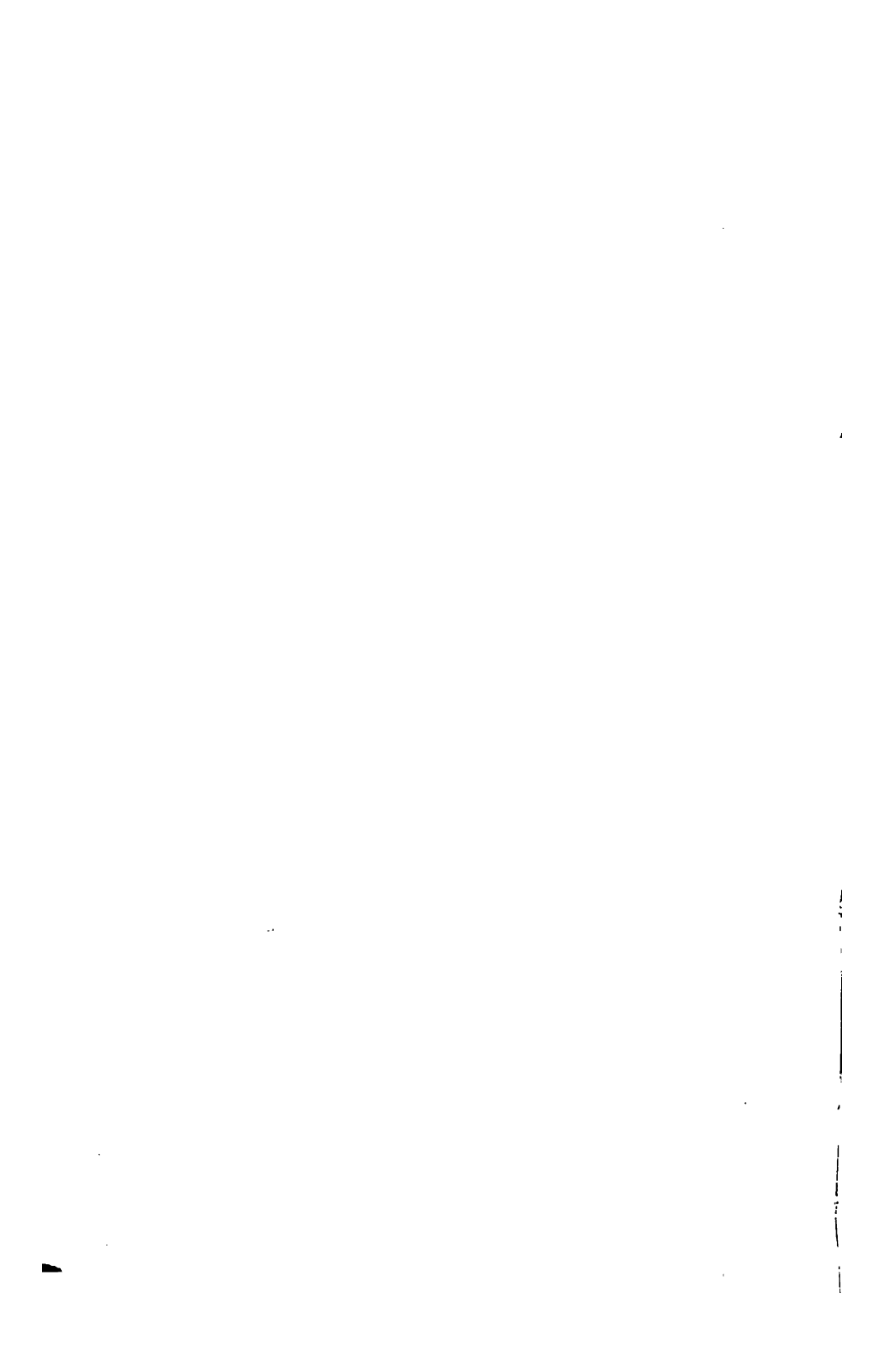


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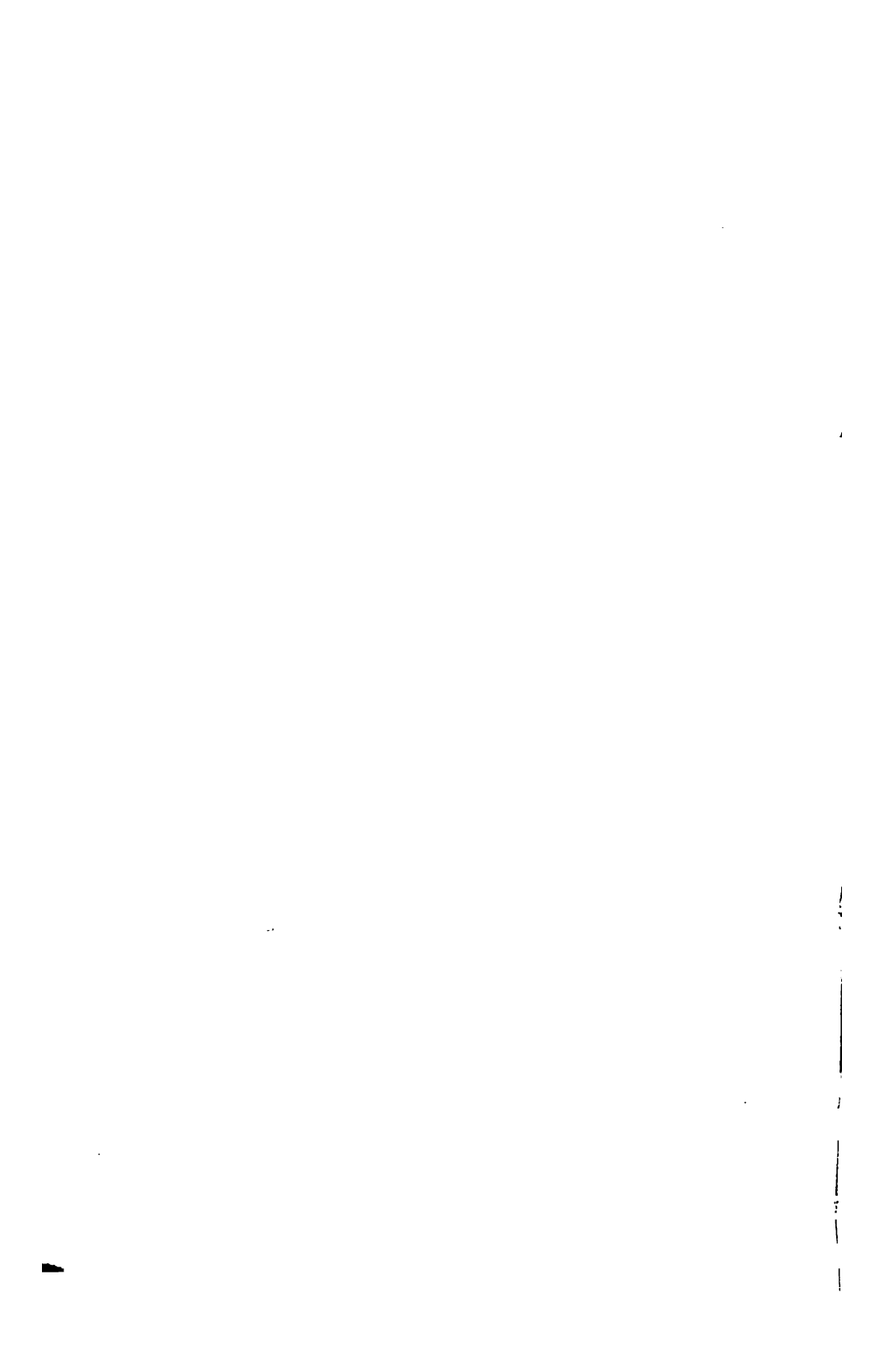


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