

## **“Going Wild’. Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Interests on the Oyapock River”**

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*Silvia Espelt-Bombin and Martijn M. van den Bel*

This chapter explores Anglo-Dutch interests on the Oyapock River in north-eastern South America, in the period between the 1610s and 1631. The mouth of the Oyapock (or Wiapoco), which is also the mouth of the Wanari/Ouanari and the Urucauá/Uaça rivers in the eastern Guianas, was home to several indigenous groups when the Europeans arrived, who permitted the establishment of factors and settlers and participated in their trade. Although only fragmentary information has reached us, it is now clear that the Oyapock was one of several rivers that sparked European interest, as the coastal Guianas were peppered with European factors (agents), adventurers, and small colonies from 1600 onwards.

The Dutch and the English developed an interest in the region from the late sixteenth century, when northern South America had only been settled by the Spaniards and the French, and the Portuguese had significant trade with indigenous peoples in northeastern Brazil. Walter Raleigh’s visit to the Orinoco in 1595 searching for *El Dorado* inspired the Dutch to visit the coast as early as 1598. Meanwhile, the English founded a colony with indentured labourers to produce tobacco – a crop they had become familiar with in Virginia – and flax. Although they also engaged in trade with Amerindians, this was not their main goal. In contrast, the Dutch traded constantly with the Amerindians along what they called *De Wilde Kust* (The Wild Coast, with connotations of wilderness and the land of ‘savages’). Soon, small private companies contracted factors stationed along the coast to obtain local goods (hammocks, gums, bezoars, redwood, hardwood, annatto, etc.) for the Amsterdam-based Wiapogo Company. The Company sent a ship every year to collect these goods and deliver the cargo needed to trade with the indigenous peoples, such as fishhooks, knives, axes, glass beads, and various trinkets.<sup>1</sup> Merchants of Zeeland and of Holland (Amsterdam) also had ongoing interests in the area. Merchants from Zeeland had also posted traders on other rivers, such as the Amazon, Essequibo, and Courantyne.<sup>2</sup> Rare testimonies in the journals of Lourens Lourensz and Jesse de Forest clearly reveal Zeeland’s pretensions to make the Wild Coast ‘her private domain’,<sup>3</sup> despite the interests of the Chamber of Amsterdam, which concentrated primarily on Nieuw Amsterdam.<sup>4</sup> Amsterdam merchants had settled Cayenne Island as early as 1615 and continued to station factors on numerous rivers along the Guianese coast [fig. 1].

[INSERT FIG 1]

Fig. 1: section of the Hondius Map, 1599, courtesy of the University of Utrecht 104.05.04. The small circles are believed to represent factors or places of trade with the Amerindians.

Compared to the small but steady colonies of Essequibo and Berbice in the western Guianas, the settlements in the eastern Guianas, on the Suriname River, the island of Cayenne, and the Oyapock River, have been considered less stable. Through an analysis of four initiatives, this chapter demonstrates that during the 1610s and 1620s there were continuous settlements on the Oyapock, frequently alternating between, and competed over by Zeeland, Amsterdam, and England. Significantly, the flexibility and fluctuation of the Anglo-Dutch presence in the area, often disregarded by scholarship in favour of more stable and continuous settlements elsewhere in the Guianas and the Caribbean, points to myriad interests and initiatives dependent upon and revolving around the indigenous populations who were the permanent settlers of the river mouth. This interpretation breaks with older understandings, as put forward for instance by Cornelis Goslinga, that Europeans failed to establish permanent settlements due to ‘lack of knowledge, supplies, discipline, and cooperation, Indian hostility, and the many effects of European wars’.<sup>5</sup> Rather, thanks to changing relations with different indigenous groups, we argue that the patchy primary sources paint a much more complex picture from the early 1600s to the late 1630s: a degree of cohabitation and alternation of Dutch and English traders and settlers, ongoing transmission of knowledge between Europeans and between indigenous peoples and Europeans, and profitable trade and thriving plantations on the Oyapock. This re-evaluation highlights the importance of research going beyond national boundaries and placing Atlantic localities within international networks and interests of the time. Although the estuary of the Oyapock was mostly abandoned by the Dutch, English, and French from the late 1630s onwards, when their interests shifted to Cayenne and the Western Guianese coast, the Dutch returned to the area later that century, at a time when French-Portuguese rivalry returned the Oyapock to the stage of European politics.<sup>6</sup>

### **Precedents: Early Trade and Attempts at Colonising on the Oyapock, c.1600–1617**

After reconnaissance missions by the English captains Lawrence Keymis, Thomas Masham, and John Ley, the Leigh brothers were the first to attempt a colony upon the Oyapock in 1604. The bay area was inhabited by the Yao, indigenous peoples originating from the Lower Orinoco and Trinidad, who under the command of Anacaioury controlled access to the ‘Wiapoco’ River.<sup>7</sup> The Yao were keen to trade with the English whereas European private merchants and their personnel were welcomed at the river mouth, as illustrated by John Wilson of Wansteed, who in 1606 stated that the Dutch traded ‘manite stone and carow’ with the Amerindians.<sup>8</sup> Understanding between the English and the Yao went beyond trade and supplies, to military cooperation, as the English agreed to fight against the Caribes, the Yao’s enemies.<sup>9</sup> Although this adventure went awry, the Oyapock trade was enticing enough to tempt Englishman Robert Harcourt to start another colony a few years later. However, little is known about what happened to it after he left in 1609.

By then, the Oyapock was in some ways shared between the Dutch and English. Although they initially worked for different private companies, after the redemption of the cautionary towns in 1616, Anglo-Zeeland ties became even stronger both in the Oyapock and in the colonies upon the Amazon, the Guianas and the Caribbean.<sup>10</sup> The Oyapock was subsequently visited by many Dutch and English traders, and also the French.<sup>11</sup> For instance, the Englishman Edward Harvey, a former captain in Harcourt's party, returned to the Oyapock with 70 men in 1617. Previously, a few colonists under the command of Sir Thomas Roe had also spent time on the Oyapock, from where they returned in a Dutch ship with tobacco, while others remained behind.<sup>12</sup> Although little is known of some of these mid-1610s European settlements, trade hubs, and relations with indigenous peoples, they demonstrate continuous English and Dutch interest and presence on the Oyapock and set the scene for the four cases below.

### **1. De Moor I (Pietersen) on the Oyapock, 1616**

In 1616 and 1618, the Zeelander merchant and burgomaster of Vlissingen, Johan de Moor received three commissions signed by Maurits, Prince of Orange, and issued by the Admiralty of Zeeland, 'zij (indien gevalle) hun zouden mogen ter weere stellen, tegens den Spaengjaerden' '(to defend themselves (if necessary) against the Spaniards)' in the West Indies.<sup>13</sup> The commissions reveal that De Moor had been developing colonies upon the Amazon and Oyapock rivers for several years, including some agriculture.<sup>14</sup> De Moor wished to ensure Zeeland's presence upon both rivers and, according to Spanish sources, sent Pieter Lodewijckx and Jan Pietersz to the Oyapock.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, Amsterdam merchants sent Theodoor Claessen from Amsterdam to Cayenne Island with 280 colonists, who would eventually seek refuge in Suriname.<sup>16</sup> In 1617, Walter Raleigh was back on the Guianese coast and reported on important Dutch activities at Cayenne, notably that one Jansen from Vlissingen had been frequenting the coast to trade with the Amerindians for a decade.<sup>17</sup> Both the Spaniards and Portuguese were unsettled by the presence of other Europeans in their territories, and the Portuguese eventually fortified Belém do Pará to guard the Amazon.<sup>18</sup> This in turn bothered the Zeelanders, who even drew up plans to attack Belém in 1627.<sup>19</sup>

The fate of De Moor's colonies is unknown, but the journals of Lourens Lourensz and Jesse de Forest clearly show continuity upon the Oyapock. In 1618, Lourensz was shipwrecked upon the Cassiporé River and survived among the local Aricouros Amerindians as their slave.<sup>20</sup> It was only in 1625 that he was 'sold back' to the Zeelander Dutch West India Company captains Hendrick Jacobsz Lucifer and Gelein van Stapels, who were trading with and (perhaps) visiting factors at rivers along the Wild Coast. On that occasion, Van Stapels also picked up two survivors of the late Jesse de Forest's abandoned colony on the Oyapock, discussed below.<sup>21</sup>

### **2. Jesse de Forest's Colony on the Oyapock, 1623**

Jesse de Forest, who died in December 1624 and was buried somewhere on the banks of the Oyapock, was originally a Protestant from northern France who had fled to Leiden to avoid persecution. He hoped to find a new haven in the Guianas and, in July 1623, the so-called 'Family Fathers' led by De Forest boarded the *Pigeon* in Amsterdam, and left for the Amazon to find a place to settle their families.<sup>22</sup> His journal shows the intricate relationships between Dutch, Irish, and English traders upon the Amazon and Oyapock. On the Amazon, they met Pieter Janssen from Vlissingen, who traded with the English and Irish colonists at Sapanapoke and Tauregue.<sup>23</sup> Having heard about the increasing Portuguese threat, they decided to try their luck on the Oyapock, although they first traded part of their cargo of glass beads, iron axes, and gunpowder with the English at Sapanapoke.<sup>24</sup>

When the *Pigeon* arrived in the bay of the Oyapock, the Fathers went to visit Henry Fonston (or Johnson), an Englishman who lived on the Wanari 'avecq trois negres'.<sup>25</sup> Fonston was probably a (former) member of the Thomas Roe colonists. The Fathers eventually explored upriver, and three of them, Jesse de Forest, Louis Lemaire, and Jean Mousnier de la Montagne, settled there with a few men, while the *Pigeon* left on 1 January 1624 to explore the coast west of the Oyapock. One week later, Pieter Janssen arrived from the Amazon and the next day one of De Forest's crew returned from Cayenne, inviting them to relocate there, where they had found beautiful plains to settle. The colonists, arguing that the Yao were very friendly, refused and decided to stay in Commaribo and for four axes bought some land to plant tobacco from one Ariane (Adriaen) from Texel – possibly a settler from De Moor.<sup>26</sup> Their friendly relations with the Yao made them full participants in the region's conflicts. Mirroring earlier patterns of trade and military alliance between the Yao and the English, in March 1625, after De Forest's death, when the Fathers were thinking of leaving as the colony was no longer self-sufficient, the Yao asked them to participate in a war against the Mays (or Mayés)s.<sup>27</sup> After fulfilling their duty to their allies, the remaining two Fathers and crew left the Oyapock in June 1625 to return to Holland to fetch other colonists, although ultimately they never returned – they went to Nieuw Amsterdam instead. By then, on 23 May 1625, Gelein van Stapels and Hendrick Lucifer had reached the Oyapock from the Amazon, where they had left Nicolaes Oudaen, to establish a settlement for Jan de Moor.<sup>28</sup>

### **3. Colonies in Cayenne and the Oyapock: Van Rijen and Prevo's, 1627**

In the mid-1620s, the Dutch undertook several initiatives to settle the Guianese coast and Caribbean islands.<sup>29</sup> De Moor aimed to strengthen and expand his network as a patron and in 1626 launched two new colonies of approximately 50 men each at Tobago and Cayenne, with fortifications commanded by Jacob Maerssen and Claude Prevo (or Prevost) respectively, and a fort on the Oyapock commanded by Jan van Rijen.<sup>30</sup> These colonies were to produce tobacco, cotton, annatto, and sugar with hired labour, but also to collect wood and fruit to be sent back to Holland.

The 35 conditions and articles for the Cayenne colony stated that colonists were not allowed to inconvenience the Amerindians and could not negotiate with persons other than those from the Company. Interestingly, Condition 33 stated that if they came across English or French – De Moor was well aware of the English and French colony at St Christophers – they were to invite them to become part of their colony, on condition of swearing allegiance to the Prince of Orange.<sup>31</sup> However, when identifying the crew members for Cayenne, the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber stated that Prevo could hire men for the colony, but not Englishmen.<sup>32</sup> Prevo departed for Zeeland in 1632 never to return, leaving behind some colonists.<sup>33</sup> These were met by David Pietersz de Vries when he stopped in Cayenne in September 1634 to drop off 30 colonists for Amsterdam's merchant Jan Bicker at the foot of a small hillock, where they found the remnants of an abandoned French fort. Two miles from this fort they encountered seven or eight Zeelanders and Englishmen growing tobacco for the account of Jan de Moor; they had been stationed there for eight months.<sup>34</sup> The two nations were evidently part of a flexible web of settlements and agents rather than running isolated, static, national colonies, , though the collaboration was fragile and occasionally broke down. After the 1630s, little is heard of the Dutch colonists at Cayenne except for the 1640 declaration of a Danish factor and interpreter who had worked there for six years. He complained that the cargo sent to Cayenne was not fit for selling to the Amerindians: the Amerindians did not want the tools delivered, as they were not what they had asked for.<sup>35</sup>

The colony founded by Jan van Rijen on the Oyapock is better known to modern scholarship thanks to its short description by Johannes de Laet and a letter written by Van Rijen himself from Fort Nassau in 1627.<sup>36</sup> When Van Rijen arrived on the Oyapock, the Amerindians had revolted against the men of Oudaen, who themselves needed to escape from Portuguese campaigns on the Amazon. Members of Van Rijen's crew constructed a sloop and went off to the Antilles.<sup>37</sup> No further information about the colony is known, but Van Rijen returned to Zeeland only in July 1632.<sup>38</sup> According to the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, he expressed interest in returning to the Oyapock but, alas, this is the last trace of Van Rijen in the Zeeland archives.<sup>39</sup>

#### **4. The Last English Colony on the Oyapock: Harcourt's Return in 1626**

Harcourt had apparently always intended to return to the Oyapock to re-establish his colony; in 1626, he conspired with Roger North to found The Guiana Company.<sup>40</sup> In 1628, the *Little Hopewell* was bound for the Amazon, but instead went secretly to the Oyapock, against the plans of North and the Company. These first colonists 'cleared, & planted the ground, made provision for victuals & convenient habitations, acquainted w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, & noe question by their assistance gotten a pfect discoverie of those parts'.<sup>41</sup> As others before them, several colonists traded with the Amerindians, the Narrack, dwelling upriver. For instance, Robert Hayman and his servant Thomas Duppe went about 20 days up the Oyapock in the canoe of a chief captain of the Charibes, with indigenous rowers, carrying 'axes, bills, Cassada Irons, strong waters and

diverse other commodities'.<sup>42</sup> This list of items shows that iron tools were made specifically for the trade with Amerindians ('Cassada' here is cassava, and the iron was used to grate the root).<sup>43</sup> Although there had been decades of continuous trade with the Amerindians, the English feared the colonists would be vulnerable if left in small numbers. When the Guiana Company decided to move the colony to the Amazon in phases, Richard Thornton highlighted this danger: if only about 50 colonists were to be left on the Oyapock, it was likely that they would 'bee destroyed by the natyves, as those 60 Dutchmen whoe not long since lost their lyves in the same place'.<sup>44</sup> Thornton was also acutely aware that the Dutch had the upper hand in the region. He argued that if the colony was to be moved and only a skeleton crew left behind, the colonists should not wait for trade goods from England but 'trafficke with their Flemmings whoe use those parts & can speedilie supplie their wants, than send their comodities home into England'.<sup>45</sup> The 'Flemmings' may have been the Dutch who had escaped from Portuguese attacks on English and Dutch colonies in the Amazon in 1625 and decided to establish themselves on the Oyapock. They seemingly settled in four separate spots but were massacred by indigenous groups soon after.<sup>46</sup> Only a few survived and lived amongst indigenous communities until they were picked up by Jan van Ryen in 1627.

After Harcourt's death on the Oyapock in 1631,<sup>47</sup> then, a few Dutch and English colonists may have persisted, as recorded by the Spanish,<sup>48</sup> but by the late 1630s the interest in the delta was surpassed by other rivers in the Guianas, predominantly westwards, such as Cayenne, Maroni, Suriname, Berbice, and Essequibo, and perhaps only visited by members of these colonies for small traffic and fishing. Further Anglo-Dutch alliances are only witnessed on Cayenne Island, where Jan de Moor had his tobacco plantations, and on the Suriname River, where the English had settled in the early 1630s.

## **Conclusion**

The initiatives surveyed in this chapter ensured a continuous presence of English and Dutch traders, colonists, and settlers on the Oyapock. A natural port on the navigation route between the Amazon and the Orinoco, the Oyapock attracted foreign interest from the early 1600s. The exchanges that took place there between English, Dutch, and indigenous peoples – the Yao, but also others – shifted between initial supply support, to trade, cohabitation, and joint war. The territorial dominance of the indigenous peoples and their control of trade, the river routes, and local knowledge was unassailable and the Dutch and English sources make clear that they had the upper hand in interactions. The Dutch and English on the Oyapock shared the same locations for trade and tobacco production, but did not as a rule mingle, contrary to the situation in and around Cayenne. Why exactly the Oyapock lost its centrality in the late 1630s remains unclear. Perhaps the more prominent Portuguese presence in the Amazon discouraged English and Dutch settlements on its northern shores, together with increased interest in the Western Guianas and the Caribbean islands. However, this shift was also contemporary with the Yao's gradual loss of

dominance over the Oyapock area, shown by their gradual disappearance from archival sources over the 1630s and 1640s. Whether it was the departure of the Europeans that shifted the balance of power or their ally's decline that encouraged the Europeans to try their luck elsewhere is still unclear.<sup>49</sup> Finally, it is instructive to note the patchwork nature of European activity in the area, with inter-provincial Dutch competition operating alongside national and international rivalries, and the generally small scale of settlements belying the busy and adaptable traffic in the region.

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<sup>8</sup> Wilson in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travells, by Englishmen and others [...]* (London: W. Stansby for H. Fetherstone, 1625), p. 1264; Van den Bel and Collomb, ‘Beyond the Falls’, pp. 343–344.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, p. 1261.

<sup>10</sup> Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, pp. 74, 415.

<sup>11</sup> Van den Bel and Collomb, ‘Beyond the Falls’, pp. 340–342.

<sup>12</sup> UK, The National Archives Catalogue Reference: SP 14/95, No. 22, See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, pp. 514–516, Calendar Reference: Item 67, Vol. 1 (1574–1660), p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, The Netherlands (Hereafter NL-HaNA) NL-HaNA 1.01.46 2425, scan 351 (16161123).

<sup>14</sup> NL-HaNA 1.01.46 2425, scan 351 (16161123); NL-HaNA 1.01.46 2425, scan 340–339 (16180600); NL-HaNA 1.01.46 2425, scan 338–337 (16180601).

<sup>15</sup> *British Guiana Boundary Commission*, pp. 40–42; George Edmundson, ‘The Dutch in Western Guiana’, *English Historical Review*, 16 (1901), 640–675, and ‘The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century. Part 1: Dutch trade on the Amazon’, *English Historical Review*, 18 (1903), 642–663; James A. Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon, 1604–1668* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 63–64; Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, pp. 411–413; Joyce Lorimer, ‘The Reluctant Go-Between: John Ley’s Survey of Aboriginal Settlement on the Guayana Coastline’, in C. H. Clough and P. E. H. Hair (eds.), *The European Outthrust and Encounter. The First Phase c. 1400–c. 1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on His 85th Birthday* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994), pp. 191–223.

<sup>16</sup> *British Guiana Boundary Commission*, p. 39; Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, pp. 79, 513. However, to date, no references have been found in the Dutch archives for this Cayenne colony.

- <sup>17</sup> Robert H. Schomburgk (ed.), *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado), etc., Performed in the year 1595 by Sir. W. Raleigh, Knt.* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1848), pp. 198–199.
- <sup>18</sup> Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *Historia Geral do Brazil* (Madrid: Imprensa de V. de Dominguez, 1854), pp. 330–333. See also Joyce Lorimer, ‘The Failure of the English Guiana Ventures 1595–1667 and James I’s Foreign Policy’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21.1 (1993), 1–30 (p. 23).
- <sup>19</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 20, fol. 91r (16281009).
- <sup>20</sup> Martijn van den Bel, ‘The Journal of Lourens Lourenszoon (1618–1625) and his Stay among the Arocouros on the Lower Cassiporé River, Amapá (Brazil)’, *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências humanas*, 4.2 (2009), 303–317.
- <sup>21</sup> Martin van Wallenburg, Alistair Bright, Lodewijk A. H. C. Hulsman, and Martijn M. van den Bel, ‘The Voyage of Gelein van Stapels to the Amazon River, the Guianas and the Caribbean, 1629–1630’, *The On-line Journal of the Hakluyt Society* (January 2015), <[https://www.hakluyt.com/downloadable\\_files/Journal/Gelein%20van%20Stapels.pdf](https://www.hakluyt.com/downloadable_files/Journal/Gelein%20van%20Stapels.pdf)> [accessed 8 April 2021].
- <sup>22</sup> British Library, London, UK: Sloane Manuscripts 179b (hereafter UK-BL Ms Sloane 179b), ‘*Journal du voyage fait par les peres de familles envoyez par Mrs les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes occidentales pour visiter la coste de Gujane*’ (c. 1625). See also Robert de Forest’s English translation, *A Walloon Family* (1914) or its French transcription in Gérard Collomb and Martijn M. van den Bel, *Entre deux mondes: Amérindiens & Européens sur les côtes des Guyane, avant la Colonie (1560–1627)* (Paris: La Librairie des Cultures, Éditions CTHS, 2014).
- <sup>23</sup> UK-BL Ms Sloane 179b, fols. 6v–7r.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7v.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 8r.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 8v.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 9r–10v (see also 8r).
- <sup>28</sup> Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon 1550–1646* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1989), pp. 79–81.
- <sup>29</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 42.
- <sup>30</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 42, fol. 48.
- <sup>31</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 42, p. 15.
- <sup>32</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 20, fol. 27v (16261224).
- <sup>33</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 21, fol. 96r (16320212); Doeke Roos, *Zeeuwen en de Westindische Compagnie (1621–1674)* (Hulst: Van Geyt Productions, 1992), p. 26.
- <sup>34</sup> In 1636, De Vries heard that the colonists of Cayenne had left the colony. A Spanish slaver had entered the road of Cayenne to get water and its crew was diverted in the forest by the Amerindians; the colonists then took the bark and killed the Spanish on the ship. The Englishmen took control and went to Barbados where the ship was sold as well as the Dutch colonists as servants. David Pietersz de Vries, *Korte Historiae ende Journaels Aenteykeninge van verscheyden Voyagiens in de Vier Deeles des Werelds-ronde* [...] (Brekegeest: Symon Cornelisz, 1655), pp. 123–124.. See De Vries, *Korte Historiae*, p. 144.
- <sup>35</sup> NL-WFA 1685 975, fols. 175–176 (1640).
- <sup>36</sup> Johannes de Laet, *Historie of iaerlijck verhael van de verrichtingen der geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* [...] (Leiden: Bonaventuer & Abraham Elsevier, 1644), pp. 111–114. English translation by Lorimer: *English and Irish Settlement*, pp. 269–271. A. van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland*, pp. 21–33 and pp. 256–258, for the letter written by Van Rijen to the board of the Zealand Chamber. See also Collomb and Van den Bel, *Entre deux mondes*, pp. 287–293.
- <sup>37</sup> Pieter M. Notscher, *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice, van de vestiging der Nederlanders aldaar tot op onze tijd* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888), p. 56; Arie Boomert, ‘Amerindian-European Encounters on and around Tobago (1498–ca. 1810)’, *Antropológica*, 97–98 (2002), 71–207 (p. 106); NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 20, fol. 75v.
- <sup>38</sup> He went on board the vessel *Leeuwe*. See NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 21, fol. 114r.
- <sup>39</sup> NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 21, fols. 114v and 125v (the last trace so far).
- <sup>40</sup> Williamson, *English Colonies*, chapter V; Harris in Robert Harcourt, *A relation of a voyage to Guiana by Robert Harcourt 1613. With Purcha’s transcript of a report made at Harcourt’s instance on the Marrawini district, edited with introduction and notes by Sir C. Alexander Harris* (London: Hakluyt Society, second series, 1928), p. 34; Vincent T. Harlow, *Colonising Expeditions to the West-Indies and Guiana, 1623–1667* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1925 [2010]), pp. 148–174; Joyce Lorimer, *Sir Walter Raleigh’s Discoverie of Guiana* (Cambridge: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 288–297.
- <sup>41</sup> Richard Thornton in Harlow, *Colonising Expeditions*, pp. 148–174 (quote from p. 150); Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, p. 348. Lorimer dates this text to 1630 (p. 345).
- <sup>42</sup> ‘Voluntary Deposition of Jonathan Selman of Ludlowe in the Countye of Salop gent’, 23 Sept/3 Oct. 1630, in Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, pp. 319–321 (p. 320).
- <sup>43</sup> Martijn van den Bel, ‘How to Make Cassava Bread: The Introduction of Metal Graters in the Guianas during the 17th Century’, *Americae: European Journal of Americanist Archaeology*, 5 (2020) <<https://americae.fr/en/papers/make-cassava-bread-introduction-metal-graters-guianas-17century/>> [accessed 6 June 2021].
- <sup>44</sup> Richard Thornton in Harlow, *Colonising expeditions*, p. 152; Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, p. 349.
- <sup>45</sup> Richard Thornton in Harlow, *Colonising expeditions*, p. 153; Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, p. 349.
- <sup>46</sup> See De Laet, *Historie of iaerlijck verhael*, pp. 111–114. See also n. 37.

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<sup>47</sup> Harris in Harcourt, *A relation of a voyage to Guiana*, p. 34.

<sup>48</sup> *British Guiana Boundary Commission*, pp. 109, 115; Harlow, *Colonising Expeditions*, p. 148; Harris in Harcourt, *A relation of a voyage to Guiana*, p. 14; Lorimer, 'The Failure of the English Guiana Ventures', pp. 5, 115.

<sup>49</sup> Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, p. 124; Van den Bel, *Archaeological Investigations*, p. 620; Espelt-Bombin, 'Makers and Keepers of Networks', p. 602.