Chapter 6
Santo Tome (1595–1699)

Following the myriad of unimplemented Spanish royal letter patents between 1530 and 1591 and the consequent lack of Spanish lawful colonial appropriation until then, the first Spanish settlement took its humble beginning in 1595. Therefore, this chapter investigates the subsequent Spanish colonial appropriation practices of occupation, treaty making (unlawful in the Vitorian, but lawful in the Grotian sense), and conquest, in its Vitorian legal version of "pacification", in the Orinoco area during the seventeenth century. The chapter starts with the establishment of Santo Tome in 1595 and traces the subsequent Spanish colonial practices until the emergence of the Caribs of Coppenam in union with the French, who kept the Spanish in suspense between 1682 and 1699, after the sole Spanish settlement at the Orinoco was continuously attacked by English, Dutch, French, Guayanos, and Caribs. At the same time, the chapter examines the Spanish "conquest" attempts and enslavement practices of the Spanish governor in the light of the valid European legal provisions of the time.

Santo Tome de Morequito (1595–1637)

The first Spanish settlement on the Orinoco had a humble beginning, namely the shelter of Antonio de Berrio "in the town of the Cacique Morequito" about July 1595, after the Spaniard had visited the "province of Morequito"[1] at the end of his third expedition in 1591 and encountered the Cacique again between April and June 1595 as captive of Walter Raleigh, who used him as a guide to Morequito's marvellous golden treasures, after Raleigh had attacked San Joseph in April 1595.[2]

1 Alternative spellings are Moriquite, Moriquito, Morguita or Muriquite. It remains unclear to which indigenous group this Cacique belongs, although contextual information suggests Arawak or Guayano.

2 Surprisingly, the location of Morequito's settlement was, most likely to hide the location of the related gold reserves, omitted in Walter Raleigh's Sketch map (Raleigh, "Chart of Guayana", c. 1595) but inserted in the Sketch map of De Bry in 1599 (De Bry, "Sketch map of Guiana", 1599), who had placed Morequito's settlement in the vicinity of the Orinoco-Caroni junction. Located between the towns of Toparimaca, Onocotana, and Anatopon at the Orinoco-Caroni junction, it was part of the province of Aromaia (along with the settlements of Capurepan and Macurguarai on the banks of the Caroni), situated between Emeria and Epuremei to the East and Anabas to the West. Furthermore, the legend at Morequito's settlement reads: "from this king, Raleigh brought the son to England", while the map itself was based on

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Raleigh and Morequito then entered into an agreement of friendship, which was based on the hostage practice by exchanging Morequito's son and three other peoples for two Englishmen.[3] While the practice had hedged that Raleigh would return in 1596 "with a thousand men to settle down there",[4] Raleigh's de facto return in 1618 resulted in a personal and diplomatic disaster.

Meanwhile, the Spaniard Antonio de Berrio settled in Morequito's town, after Raleigh had released him and his Captain Alvaro Jorges from captivity on the shores of Cumaná in June 1595[5] and the Spaniard had found his Trinidad settlement San Joseph devastated, depopulated, and in an "unprotective state".[6] Consequently, the Spaniard crossed over to the mainland and found shelter "in the town of the Cacique Morequito, a distance of 80 leagues from the mouth of the

information, which were "observed [. . .] by a sailor [who was] on the voyage with Raleigh" (De Bry, "Sketch map of Guiana", 1599). Neil Whitehead notes that Topiawari was the "uncle" of Morequito, who was "engaged in a struggle with the 'Lords of Epuremei'" or "rulers of the Guayana highlands" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 16).

3 NATT, De Liano, "Letter to King of Spain", 15 March 1596. This is confirmed by the Treasurer of Cumaná (De Montes, "Letter to the King of Spain", 18 April 1596, p. 12). In this context, it is, furthermore, indicated that Morequito appeared with "three or four hundred" of his people (NATT, De Liano, "Letter to King of Spain", 15 March 1596).

4 Ibid. The same source asserted that Morequito would have had also "give[n] up the country to him [Raleigh]" and had "announced obedience to the Queen of England", and "gave Guateral [Raleigh] three or four ingots of gold telling him that all that country was his and that they would be happy if he would come and settle there and he would surrender it to him" (ibid.). Moreover, Morequito had brought Raleigh also to "the mine, which was a league inland", from which the latter "carried away three or four tons of earth from a mountain and put it on board" and the Cacique received "curious things" from England in exchange (ibid.). For the different perception of metals by Indigenous Peoples and Europeans, see N. Whitehead, "Native American Cultures along the Atlantic Littoral of South America, 1499–1650", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 81 (1993), pp. 197–231, at 213.

5 NATT; De Salazar, "Letter to King of Spain", 10 July 1595; NATT, De Liano, "Letter to King of Spain", 15 March 1596. Prior, the Englishman had also attempted to attack Cumaná on 23 June 1595 with "200 men", which was, however, assertively compelled by the Spaniards with "15 or 16 men", since the Spaniards would have killed 80 Englishmen and "[t]he rest escaped by swimming" (ibid.). Another account gives the number of killed English soldiers with six (NATT, De Salazar, "Letter to King of Spain", 10 July 1595).

6 Ibid. By decree of the Council of the Indies, de Berrio was actually already on 18 January 1594 ordered "to leave the Island of Trinidad to Francisco de Vides to whom it belongs in conformity with the agreement made with him and with the terms and conditions therein granted to him" (NATT, Council of the Indies, "Decree", 18 January 1593, publication No. 19). This decree was ignored by Antonio de Berrio.

River Orinoco",[7] which eventually became his last refuge, since the Spanish explorer had lost the legal dispute with Cumaná governor Francisco de Vides about the governorship of Trinidad in January 1596[8] and was commanded "to proceed and explore and conquer [sic!] Guayana".[9] Predated by a violent encounter at the Orinoco with de Vides' Captain Phelipe de Santiago in November 1595,[10] who was ordered by the governor of Cumaná to "driv[e] [Antonio de Berrio] away",[11] the Spaniard thus remained at Santo Tome de Morequito, where Antonio de Berrio died in 1597 after a serious illness.[12] Beforehand, his Maestro Campo Domingo de Vera in the first half of 1493 was entrusted with an expedition "to penetrate in the interior of Guayana by means of Morequite's settlement Chucopare"[13] to enter the

7 NATT, De Liano, "Letter to King of Spain", 15 March 1596. In contrast, Neil Whitehead suggests that the settlement was located "on an island in the mouth of the river [Orinoco]" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 83).

8 NATT, De Montes, "Account on dispute between de Vides and de Berrio", January 1596. In this dispute, de Vides had grounded his argument on his royal nomination (AGI, Spanish king Philipp II, "Nomination of Francisco de Vides as Governor and Captain General of the provinces Guayana, Caura and Cardemas including the government of the province New Andalusia [. . .] and the islands of Trinidad, Granada and Tabaco [Tobago]", Madrid, 12 April 1592, PATRONATO, 293, N.15, R.7), which was granted to him as a "principal reward" (NATT, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, "Report about the Grant of Francisco de Vides", December 1591, publication No. 114). In contrast, Antonio de Berrio reasoned with his de facto settlement San Joseph, which he had formally established in May 1592 (NATT, Antonio de Berrio, "Report", after May 1592, publication No. 810) and his (unsubstantial) claim that the disputed area was comprised in his letter patent. However, the letter patent of 1582 had referred to the "discovery and population" of the area between the "Pauto and Papamene" (based on the Quesada capitulación of 1568/69), despite his subsequent (unsubstantial) attempts to equate the Pauto and Papamene with the Orinoco and Amazon (NATT, Domingo de Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", September 1595, publication No. 94), which was, consequently, rejected by the Council of the Indies (NATT, Council of the Indies, "Report", 30 January 1599, publication No. 132).

9 Ibid. It was in this context assumed that "Vides is too old and with too much to do so that he would not object to having Guayana and Caura taken away" (ibid.).

10 NATT, De Salazar, "Letter to King of Spain", 10 July 1595. Phelipe de Santiago had escaped the Raleigh attack on San Joseph of 4 April in Trinidad, fled from there to Cumana. The Captain also confirmed extensive Carib and Arawak settlements on the Orinoco (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 15).

11 NATT, De Montes, "Account on dispute between de Vides and de Berrio", January 1596. Furthermore, de Santiago was instructed for the "settling and defence" of Trinidad and resisting "the great number of the enemy's privateers", in particular the English and Caribs and ordered also to "took out of the power of the Indians one of the two Englishmen [left by Walter Raleigh]" (De Montes, "Letter to the King of Spain", 18 April 1596, p. 12).

12 NATT, De Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", April 1596.

13 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 13. This referred to the Jorge Griego expedition of 1583 (ibid.).

"rich provinces"[14] by barter and "rais[ing] war" against the "Guayanese".[15] And indeed, with 35 soldiers Domingo de Vera[16] went to the village of the Nepojo Chief Carapana[17] to unload "red bonnets, glass beads, knives, cutlasses, combs and flutes"[18] and also visited "the province of Morequito", situated at the "entry for these large provinces".[19] Nevertheless, after having proceeded for "25 leagues" and passed "many large settlements of Indians",[20] Don Domingo was forced to return, since "the Indians were seeking to kill" him and his men,[21] after de Vera under the pretext of "make[ing] friends with the people of these lands" had stolen "17 pieces of worked gold". However, the outcome had not stopped de Vera from announcing the "definite news that 11 days journey from that place was a very large lake [. . .] in the country round about was very numerous race of people well clothed, very warlike and rich" as success.[22] Blocked from re-entering by Cumaná troops of Governor Francisco de Vides, Domingo de Vera went to Spain for

14 De Berrio, "Letter to king", Margarita, 1 January 1593, pp. 4–7. Antonio de Berrio claimed to have Morequito "in [his] power" and the "other Chiefs of the same entrance" being his "friends", which is why "the Guayanese have commenced to make war because they are my friends", while de Berrio in turn intended "with theses few Spaniards and a number of friendly Indians to try to raise war against them and sustain it for some days" (ibid.).

15 De Berrio, "Letter to king", Margarita, 1 January 1593, pp. 4–7.

16 NATT, De Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", September 1595.

17 The Cacique Carapana emerged for the first time in the accounts of de Berrio in December 1594 (Antonio de Berrio, "Report to Spanish King", 2 December 1594, in: BRC, Serial No. 3, pp. 8–9, at 8). By contrast, neither Carapana nor Barguicana were mentioned in his expedition report of January 1593 (De Berrio, "Letter to king", Margarita, 1 January 1593 pp. 2–3), but was known to the Spaniards since the 1530s (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 33). At that time, Carapana's settlement was reported to contain "more than 400 houses, 'so large that each one houses an entire kin-group'" (ibid.). Therefore, Carapana was, for example, already encountered by Jorge Griego in 1583, who had indicated Carapana's settlement as being "2,000 people" strong, but "was said to rule over 'many more'" (ibid.). In addition, Jorge Griego mentions a Warao settlement at the Cotopi, numbering 3,000 people. This Spanish explorer had departed to that "unofficial" expedition from Margarita, where Antonio de Berrio resided between January 1591 and 1593, before moving to San Joseph in Trinidad (see chapter 5). Furthermore, the settlement of Nepojo Chief Carapana was indicated in 1596 in the Sketch map of Raleigh as being situated on the southern part of the Orinoco mouth towards the Amacura, just behind the islands between the Orinoco and Amacura (Raleigh, "Chart of Guayana", c. 1595). Moreover, the English explorer Raleigh connects "the province of Carapana" with "Emeria" in his reports (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 16).

18 Boomert, *Indigenous Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago*, p. 100. In 1596, Carapana was reported to be "'sicke, olde, and weake'", and had died by 1610 (ibid., footnote 34).

19 De Berrio, "Letter to king", Margarita, 1 January 1593, pp. 4–7.

20 NATT, De Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", September 1595.

21 De Berrio, "Letter to King of Spain", Margarita, 1 January 1593, pp. 1–7.

22 Ibid., pp. 4–7.

advancing his plan "to settle and occupy" respectively "pacify and conquer" the "great provinces".[23] Therefore, in September 1595, the claim was repeated before the Spanish king to ask for a license "to collect a thousand [sic!] men from Spain"[24] in order to "complete the entry by settling towns". Hence, the Spanish monarch approved "600 bachelors and 400 married men with their wives and children" are to be sent[25] and conveyed by "a number of flyboats", financed by a loan from the Royal Treasury. In result, Domingo de Vera and 1,500 Spaniards crossed the Atlantic Ocean and reached Trinidad in April 1596, whereupon they intended to cross over to Antonio de Berrio at the Orinoco.[26]

However, the enormous settlement attempt turned into a huge disaster, since a significant number of the 1500 Spaniards[27] perished during the crossing from Trinidad to Orinoco, either through drowning in the Gulf of Paria or through the attack of "a fleet of Caribs from Dominica and Grenada". In addition, those Spaniards who made it to Morequito's town, soon after deserted "by twenties and thirties and went away down the river and this practice spread among those left", who followed in deserting and were killed by unspecified Indigenous Peoples in response to "the outrages committed by the Spaniards", in particular the seizure and maltreatment of indigenous women, while others went lost, since "[t]hey were not skilful at this navigation which is divided into many streams and as there was little food, of all these numerous people, very few got through in these seven months".[28] In result, Domingo de Vera was sued for "his lack of foresight and his bad government", which had caused the loss of peoples "without having

23 NATT, De Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", September 1595. In addition, de Vera intended to "divide the lands between us [Spaniards], as was done in Peru and New Spain which were settled in this way" (ibid.).

24 Ibid. More precisely, de Vera claimed that he had "made the entry" to the "immense provinces so long desired" and also "made a post with a sergento mayor and some soldiers at Carapana and Muriquite [Morequito]". In addition, he indicated that he preserved "friendship [. . .] confirmed by barter" with him (ibid.).

25 NATT, Council of the Indies, "Report", 30 January 1599.

26 NATT, N. N., "Account on the 'El Dorado' Expeditions of Antonio de Berrio", publication No. 113; NATT, De Liano, "Letter to King of Spain", 15 March 1596.

27 In comparison, the Spaniard Pedro de Mendoca in 1535 went to the Río de la Plata with "two thousand men and thirteen ships" (Benton, *Search for Sovereignty*, p. 46).

28 NATT, De Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", April 1596. At the same time, Antonio de Berrio undertook one final attempt to find El Dorado under the command of his Captain Alvaro Jorge, but after Jorge died, the soldiers ill-treated the Indigenous Peoples encountered and took "the daughters and wives", whereupon the Indigenous Peoples had "killed 350 men", the remnants "escaped to join the pirate enclaves on the Caribbean coast" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 83).

gained any positive knowledge of what these lands contained"[29] and charged with frauds on 30 November 1609.[30]

Prior, Antonio de Berrio was, after his death in 1597, succeeded by his son Fernando on 22 April 1598, who nominated himself as governor for "La Nueva Guipuzcoa del Dorado" at a place determined as "Ciudad de S. Thomas Riberas del Rio Orinoco"[31] and introduced himself as the "Marques of Weyana [Guyana] in 1599"[32] with an abode named Santo Tome de Morequito[33] and a couple of remnants of Domingo de Vera's disastrous large-scale settlement attempt.[34] Until August 1599, Santo Tome remained a "hamlet" with "60 horsemen and 100 musketeers",[35] who by 1603 even decreased to "60",[36] arguably due to war victims, since Fernando de Berrio in August 1599 had made "daily attempt[s] to conquer the [. . .] Weyana [Guayanos], but cannot conquer the same either by the forces already used or by any mean of friendship". Instead, "the nation named Charibus [Caribs]" would daily offer the Spaniards

> hostile resistance with their arms, which are hand bows, and they shoot poisoned arrows therewith, which are so poisonous that if any one is hot by them so that blood flows, he must per force die within twenty-four hours unless a remedy is immediately applied, and all his flesh would drop from his bones, so that the Spaniards greatly fear that nation and their arrows, for in battle they stand unmoved, and will not budge, and they have maintained their ground up to the present, and the Spaniards seeing that they can win nothing there.[37]

While the Spaniards of Cumaná in February and March 1605 turned their means of appropriation from negotiating "peace with the Caribs" to "full scale military conquest", after a Cumaná expedition to the three Caciques Aguareba (Guanipa Hills), Ingles (Guarapiche) and Aruaca, who was "dominant in the region near Santo Tomé" had produced "fruitless" results, in particular in the Guarapiche

29 NATT, Council of the Indies, "Report", 30 January 1599.

30 De Alquica, "Letter to King of Spain", 14 June 1612, p. 29. Nevertheless, still in March 1611 de Vera owed the Royal Treasury the "greater part" of the 70,000 ducats loan (ibid.).

31 NATT, Fernando de Berrio, "Appointment of Fernando de Oruña y de la Hoz, Governor of La Nueva Guipuzcoa del Dorado and Pedro de Beltranilla to be Contador Juez Official", Ciudad de S. Thomas Riberas del Rio Orinoco, 22 April 1598, publication No. 19.

32 A. Cabeliau, "Report to the States General", 3 February 1599, in: BRC, serial No. 8, p. 20.

33 Alternative spellings are San Tomé, Santo Thome, S. Thomas or Cuidad de S. Thomas.

34 NATT, De Vera, "Letter to King of Spain", April 1596.

35 Cabeliau, "Report to the States General", 3 February 1599, p. 20. This hamlet was, furthermore, described as being "60 horsemen and 100 musketeers strong" (ibid.).

36 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 85.

37 Cabeliau, "Report to the States General", 3 February 1599, p. 20. This was narrated by the Dutch expedition, which had then navigated the Orinoco with two ships, inspired by Walter Raleigh's (Walther Halley) expedition report (ibid.).

and Orinoco and thus turned to warfare,[38] the governing Spaniard on the Orinoco, Fernando de Berrio, instead turned his focus at least since 1605[39] on enslavement expeditions and slave trade, wherefore he also illegally traded with Dutch, English, and French, who were present at the port of Santo Tome with "up to 18 vessels at a time."[40] After "royal warrants" were proclaimed in February 1610[41] and an official investigation undertaken,[42] the Council of the Indies sued Don Fernando, who unsuccessfully attempted to escape his "thirty-eight charges" of 20 November 1614 by voyages to Margarita[43] and Santo Domingo. Among the charges was "the seizure and sale of Indian natives of that province unjustly [sic!]", which confirms the spatial limitation of the royal license of 1608 "to make war [. . .] against the *caribes* of Dominica, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent and St. Lucia",[44] while enslavement on the Orinoco mainland, Trinidad, and Tobago remained prohibited. In result, Don Fernando was sentenced with the "perpetual deprivation of his Government",[45] which was watered down "by licence from Your Majesty" on 29 July 1615[46] to "the exclusion from his provinces".[47] Hence, de Berrio proceeded to his "estates" (70 leagues distant from Bogotá) until the ban was surprisingly rescinded in 1618.

Meanwhile, the English had in May 1614 settled in the Orinoco mouth and in October 1614 also established a presence "[i]n the country of the friendly Indians the Aruacas" situated "not far from Margarita on the coast of the mainland" with the "favour of the Caribs", whereupon the Spanish governor of Margarita requested royal permission "to subdue the Caribs and drive the English from

38 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 84. However, Governor Pedro Suárez Coronel had contended "himself with seizing a few Carib prisoners" before turning northeast to Aguareba, with whom Campos attempted an agreement for the establishment of the Spanish fort San Felipe de Austria, but recalled the Captain in mid-1607 to control a Cumanagoto rebellion on the Aragua River (ibid.).

39 NATT, N. N., "Account on the Contraband trade of Governor Fernando de Berrio", publication No. 80.

40 De Alquica, "Letter to King of Spain", 14 June 1612, p. 29. Furthermore, the investigator claimed that Santo Tome had become a "seminary of rascals" and "chosen resort of secular criminals, irregular priests and apostate friars" (ibid.).

41 NATT, De Betranilla, "Letter to King of Spain", 30 November 1609.

42 De Alquica, "Letter to King of Spain", 14 June 1612, p. 31.

43 NATT, Governor of Margarita Bernardo de Vargas, "Letter to King of Spain", 11 July 1611, publication No. 118.

44 Whitehead, "Carib Cannibalism", p. 73.

45 De Alquica, "Letter to King of Spain", 14 June 1612, pp. 29–31.

46 NATT, Council of the Indies, "Sentence to Fernando de Berrio", 24 November 1614. See also De Alquica, "Letter to King of Spain", 14 June 1612, pp. 29–31.

47 NATT, Council of the Indies, "Sentence to Fernando de Berrio", 24 November 1614.

their settlement" and "the Lieutenant of Morequito" on 30 May 1614 likewise received "assistance in ejecting [the] Carib-supported English settlements" in the Orinoco mouth.[48] However, the Arucas were still in December 1615 reported to have "thrown off the obedience [to the King of Spain]" and are instead "allying themselves with the enemy". The royal permission for a reinforcement "to reduce the rebellious natives" was then approved by the King of Spain on 9 August 1621,[49] after the English had in December 1617 received significant support by the returning Walter Raleigh, who brought from England "a large military force and installed himself, once again, on Trinidad". Hence, his son Wat and Lieutenant Lawrence Keymis were immediately dispatched to proceed to the Orinoco[50] and attacked Santo Tome in union with the Guayanos, who were situated "nearest to the town" and on 1 January 1618 "at once rose in rebellion".[51] Conducted in violation of the Peace Treaty of London (1604), the joint attack killed both Diego Palomeque de Acuña, Spanish governor of Santo Tome since 12 December 1615,[52] and Raleigh's son Wat[53] and had left the town of Santo Tome, monasteries, and the church "burned to their foundations".[54] Lost by the Spaniards,[55] the English remained in Santo Tome for "26 days". In the meantime, Keymis had "stripped Morequito of its guns and took his troops up river as far as Cabruta, where he established friendly relations with [the] Caribs trading there".[56]

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were preparing a counter-attack. In result, the two Captains Juan de Lezana and Jeronimo de Grados, "24 soldiers" and "60 Indians" proceeded to Santo Tome to expel the English, who then returned to the Orinoco mouth, but also "exited and raised all the native Indians in rebellion", in particular the "Aruacas, Chaguanas and Caribs of that province, who renounced obedience to S.M. [your Spanish Majesty]". In consequence, Captain Grados received a "battlefield promotion" and troops "to capture Caribs, for slaves, on the Essequibo and Barima Rivers" in November 1618, which resulted

48 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 86.

49 King Philip IV, "Royal Cedula", Madrid, 9 August 1621, in: BRC, serial No. 21, Annex 4, pp. 57–58.

50 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 86.

51 Cooperation of Santo Thomé, "Report about the Walter Raleigh attack to King of Spain", c. 1621, in: BRC, serial No. 20, pp. 49–53, at 49.

52 Procurator of Santo Thomé and San Joseph Captain Juan de Lezama, "Minute of Council", 21 July 1621, in: BRC, serial No. 21, Annex 1, pp. 53–54, at 54.

53 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 86.

54 Cooperation of Santo Thomé, "Report about the Walter Raleigh attack to King of Spain", c. 1621, p. 49.

55 De Lezama, "Minute of Council", 21 July 1621, p. 54.

56 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 86.

in his capture and had killed six Spaniards, while "no Caribs were taken". At the same time, Lezana was ordered "to rebuild the fort at Morequito" with reinforcements from Cumaná.[57]

Surprisingly, the Spanish king also unexpectedly rescinded the ban of Fernando de Berrio, who was pardoned and ordered back to government, since Don Fernando was perceived as "*persona grata* to the Indians" and instructed to draw them back "to the Spanish side and so make it more difficult for the English to return [. . .] and make fortifications".[58] However, upon his arrival in Santo Tome in November 1618, the new Spanish governor was immediately received by the "Caribs", who made their representation with "30 pirogues", attacked Santo Tome and also killed "many of the friendly Indians nearby".[59] It was probably this event that had caused the Spanish attack of 1618 on the "Caribs" (Kalinago) of Dominica, St. Vincent, and the Orinoco, in which many Englishmen were killed, but also 25 Caribs from a "village on the Orinoco", where also "many" had been enslaved because of "their attacks on Spanish settlements and their 'cannibalism'".[60] Moreover, in September 1619 Fernando de Berrio had "put aside other matters" in order to again "deal at once with these Caribs" of Barima.[61] Indicated as "punishment" for their "latest outrage and the capture of Captain Grados the previous year", Don Fernando thus went to the Barima, but remained unsuccessful, since the English were still present in the Orinoco mouth and had "captured all but six of these troops" and had also in union with the Guarapiche Caribs destroyed the beginnings of a Spanish fort at Punta de Galera in Trinidad.[62] Nonetheless, Fernando de Berrio dared a second attempt in 1619, this time against the "Province of Aruacas", whom the Spaniard intended to "reduce", as the province had cancelled "their former obedience [to the Spanish king]" and "six of the enemy's ships" trading there would do "all in their power to dissuade them from acknowledging your Majesty's jurisdiction, and urging them to kill all the Spaniards of the town". However, de Berrio was again unsuccessful, as five Spaniards were killed "in the encounter [. . .] with the Indians"

57 Ibid., pp. 85–86.

58 NATT, N. N., "Account on J. de. Lezama and Fernando de Berrio", publication No. 209.

59 NATT, N. N., "Account on Raleigh, Fernando de Berrio and San Thomé", publication No. 214. This was done after Fernando de Berrio has left his "estates" in June 1618 (ibid.).

60 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 87.

61 NATT, N. N., "Account on Raleigh, Fernando de Berrio and San Thomé".

62 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 87.

and one Spaniard "carried off" by the English, who had transmitted that they "were only awaiting the end of the truce" to "devastate" Santo Tome.[63]

This story turned into reality, but unfolded without Fernando de Berrio, who had in 1620 requested yet another royal permission to proceed against the Caribs to restore "a great number of natives in the said provinces of Guayana", as "there would be no [other] means of bringing them to acknowledge of the holy Catholic faith, and numbers of Spanish villages would remain unpeopled".[64] The request was approved by King Philip III on 12 May 1620 and de Berrio ordered "to bring the Caribs back to obedience" by endeavouring to punish "the principal leaders [with] suitable means and admitting the rest to pardon".[65] However, Don Fernando never carried out this order, but (in violation of royal orders) departed to Spain and was during the Atlantic crossing "taken prisoner by the Moors"[66] and transported to Argel (Algiers), where he died in captivity in May 1623 along with his brother, the Venezuela governor Francisco de Berrio.[67]

Meanwhile, the Aruacas, Caribs, and Chaguanes on the other side of the Atlantic (see Figure 4) in 1621 remained in "disobedience" to the Spanish Crown[68] and Santo Tome was again attacked in 1629, this time by the English and Dutch,[69] who had just recently settled in the Essequibo and Berbice and on the island of Tobago. The attack had again left the Spanish town burnt down to the ground, killed Governor Luis Monsalbe and took "many slaves on the return journey to Essequibo",[70] while the "defenceless residents [. . .] abandoned [it] and withdraw to the woods". Again threatened by a "squad-

63 Cooperation of Santo Thomé, "Report about the Walter Raleigh attack to King of Spain", c. 1621, p. 50.

64 Ibid., p. 52.

65 NATT, King Philip III, "Royal Cedula", 12 May 1620, publication No. 217.

66 NATT, N. N., "Agreement related to Trinidad", publication No. 219.

67 NATT, N. N., "Account", Madrid, 24 May 1623, publication No. 222. In contrast, Arie Boomert gives the year 1622 (Boomert, *Indigenous Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago*, p. 108) and Neil Whitehead claims that Antonio de Berrio died in 1629 at the Atures Rapids (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p.87).

68 Cooperation of Santo Thomé, "Report about the Walter Raleigh attack to King of Spain", c. 1621, p. 49.

69 Marques de Sofrage, "Report to King of Spain", Santa Fé, 8 July 1631, in: BRC, serial No. 31, pp. 70–71. Instead, the Sketch map of Raleigh places the province "Aromaia" and the settlement Awraona on the Orinoco mainland (Raleigh, "Chart of Guayana", c. 1595).

70 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 88.

ron of corsairs" in July 1631,[71] Santo Tome was rebuilt in 1637 on "a site named Usupamo" in the vicinity of the Caroni mouth.[72]

Santo Tome de Usupamo (c. 1637)

Due to attacks by the Caribs, English, Guayanos, and Dutch between 1599 and 1631, Santo Tome was moved to the mouth of the Caroni in 1637, but remained under serious threat, after Governor Cristóval de Aranda was in June 1636 lamenting that "the natives [were] in rebellion" and the Spanish forces were so reduced that "barely 30 could bear arms".[73] The next attack on battered Santo Tome took place in July 1637,[74] followed by another raid on San Joseph in October 1637 in response to the Spanish attacks on Dutch settlements in Trinidad and Tobago in 1636. The Dutch attack on Santo Tome in 1637 was carried out in alliance with Caribs "from the Essequibo and Caroni"[75] and had left Santo Tome again "taken, burnt, and plundered",[76] as the Dutch-Carib alliance would have arrived "in such strength"[77] and "entered so suddenly" before daybreak that "they devastated and sacked it, leaving it so poor and wretched, both as regards the churches and the governor and residents" and even had "carried off the Most Holy Host, and burnt the temples and the images of the Saints".[78] Although the Cabildo of Trinidad assumed that the Dutch forces were led by "the Dutch and Indian Caribs from the River Bervis [Berbice], and other tribes from Orinoco, Amacuro, and Essequibo",[79]

71 De Sofrage, "Report to King of Spain", Santa Fé, 8 July 1631, p. 70. The Audiencia of Santa Fé responded with a reinforcement of fifty men (ibid.), but could not prevent the next series of attacks in 1637.

72 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 88. Despite the series of attacks, the number of Santo Tome inhabitants was constantly indicated as 60, such as in 1603 (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 85), November 1609 (NATT, De Betranilla, "Letter to King of Spain", 30 November 1609), and 1637 (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 88).

73 NATT, Escobar, "Account", San Joseph, November 1636.

74 Escobar, "Letter to King of Spain", February 1638; Escobar, "Letter to King of Spain", Guayana, 20 February 1638, p. 101. See also Cooperation and Governor of Santo Thomé, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia of the New kingdom of Grenada", 1638, pp. 115–116; Maldonado, "Account of the Great Rivers Orinoco, Meta and Casanare", 1638–1639, p.121.

75 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 89.

76 Cabildo of Trinidad, "Report", San Joseph, 27 December 1637, p. 88.

77 Cooperation and Governor of Santo Thomé, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia of the New kingdom of Grenada", 1638, p. 115.

78 Ibid., p. 114. See Maldonado, "Account of the Great Rivers Orinoco, Meta and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 125.

79 Cabildo of Trinidad, "Report", San Joseph, 27 December 1637, p. 88.

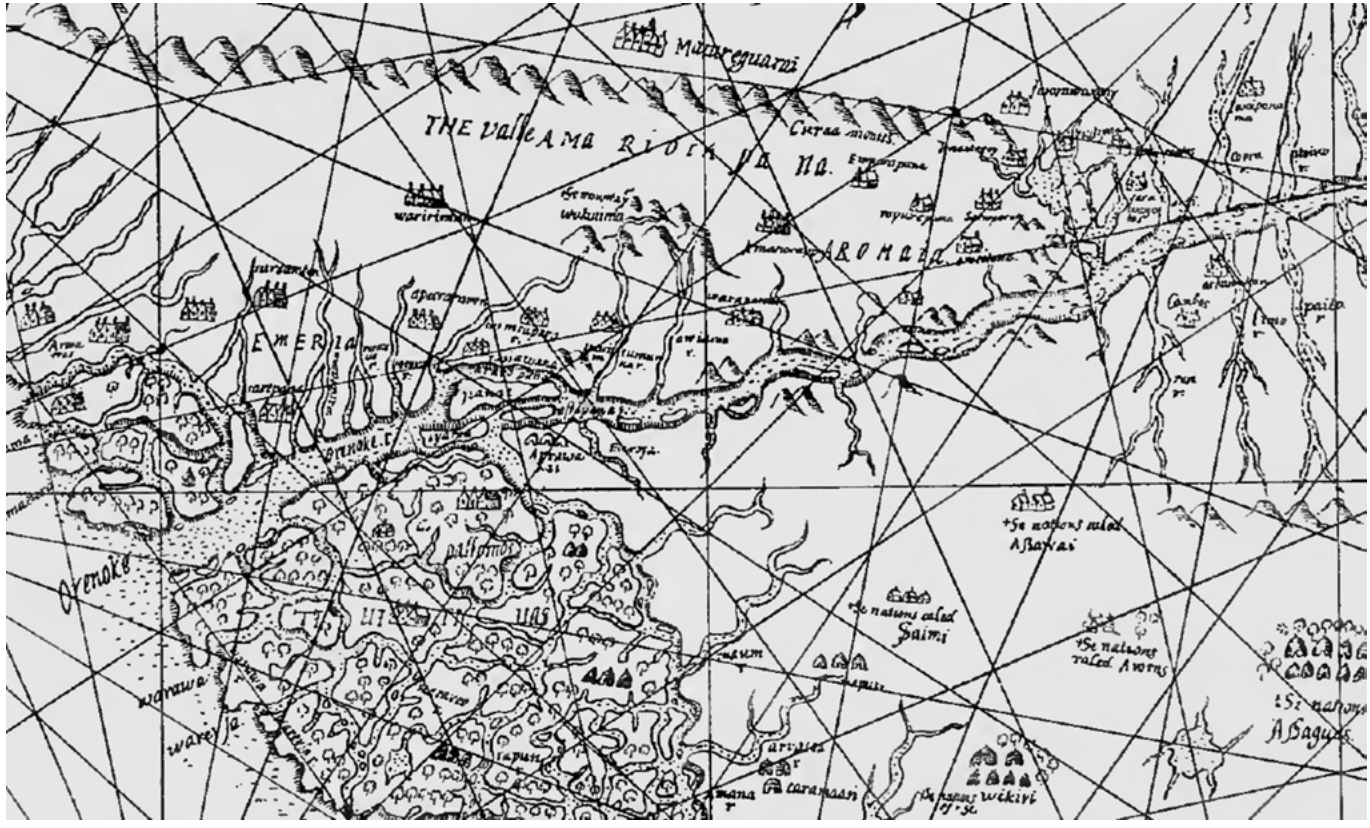

Figure 4: Indigenous Settlements along the Orinoco Mouth, as indicated by Walter Raleigh.

Cornelis Goslinga argues in a plausible manner that the attack was undertaken by the private Zeeland trader Aert Groenewegen of Essequibo, who then proceeded to Trinidad. Meanwhile, Santo Tome had at least until February 1638 faced "unexpected attacks every day", which had left "the people so exhausted and so desirous to abandon it".[80]

At the same time, the Dutch since 1636 had built settlements in the Orinoco, after Dutch colonies were established in Essequibo, Berbice, Tobago, and Trinidad. Accordingly, "sixteen Dutchman" had then settled in the Orinoco mouth among "a great population of Carib Indians" in 1636,[81] who were reinforced in April 1637, when the Dutch had also established a fort[82] on the Amacuro[83] and had also settled in the mouth of the Aniavero (Amavero) "among the Caribs and Aruac nations".[84] Furthermore, the Dutch in 1638 Dutch had established a salt pit between "the mouth of the Guayapiche" and the creek Curiaco and established the cattle farm Oquetay with "more than 20.000 head of cattle".[85] Already in April 1637 it was also reported that the Dutch were united with the Indigenous Peoples in Trinidad, who are "all [. . .] in revolt" and were "approach[ing] nearer to this town [of Santo Tome]" and are collecting all the nations of those parts, all the coast of Guayana and the River [Orinoco] and propose to come and attack this said town [of Santo Tome], which is quite unprovided with men, arms and ammunition and everything, for there is not one that has a shirt, as it is many years since a vessel came from Spain.[86]

80 Cooperation of Santo Thomé de Guayana, "Letter to Governor of Carácas", Santo Thomé de Guayana, February 1638, pp. 103–104. Moreover, Neil Whitehead claims that there was yet another attack by the Caribs and Dutch in 1639 (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 90), but overlooks that the related report referred to the previous attack of the Dutch in July 1637.

81 Cooperation and Governor of Santo Thomé, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia of the New kingdom of Grenada", 1638, pp. 115–116.

82 Maldonado, "Account of the Great Rivers Orinoco, Meta and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 124. This fort was reported to be situated in the mouth of the river, 20 Spanish leagues "windward of the Orinoco" (ibid.).

83 Cooperation and Governor of Santo Thomé, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia", 1638, pp. 115–116.

84 Maldonado, "Accounts of the Great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 124. This settlement still existed in 1638 (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 89).

85 Cooperation and Governor of Santo Thomé, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia of the New kingdom of Grenada", 1638, p. 116. Furthermore, it *is* indicated that "(a)ll these villages are subject to, and under the protection of Essequibo" (ibid.).

86 NATT, Escobar, "Report to Audiencia", St. Thome, 11 April 1637. According to Arie Boomert, the strength of the Nepoio and Arawak was estimated by the Dutch as being over 600 able-bodied men (Boomert, *Indigenous Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago*, p. 111).

Prior, the Yaio vanished from the historical record. Mentioned for the last time in Trinidad in 1598 after the "punishment" expeditions of Antonio de Berrio between 1593 and 1595, the presence of the Yaio (Iao) in the Orinoco was confirmed in November 1595, in particular in the Lower Orinoco between the Orinoco mouth and Caroni,[87] when the Chaguanes and Tivitives (further distinguished as Crawani and Waraweete) were occupying "the swamps" of the Orinoco mouth, situated "on the banks of all these [rivers]"[88] and islands,[89] while both banks further up the Lower Orinoco were seamed by the "various territories of [. . .] the Aruacas, Yayos, Sapoyos, Caribs, and Napuyos [Nepoio]" until "the territories of the Province of Guayana are reached [. . .] one of them that is entered is the Province of Morequito".[90] Furthermore, Yaio (Iao) settlements are confirmed by the Sketch map of De Bry of 1599 for the whole "Wild Coast" between the Waini (Wayemi) and Arowary River, including the indigenous settlement Maburesa on the Essequibo mouth, where the Sketch map reads "Iaos en arw[akas]" (see Figure 5).[91] At the same time, some Yaio were forced to escape Spanish-Arawak slave raids by moving southwards, such as the Yao (Iao) Cacique "Warao", who led his people from the Moruca along the coastal mainland to the Caw River about 1593/94, after Arawak had guided several Spanish enslavement expedition to his settlement, who "had taken many Yaio women and children", among them 'his best wife', wherefore the Cacique "burnt his houses, destroyed his fields and fled to the east, leaving his country 'to be possessed by the Arawaccas.'"[92] Similarly, Arie Boomert narrates the story of Cacique Weepackea, who was born on the Orinoco and settled in in the Maron (Marowijne)

87 De Santiago, "Report on the Navigation of the River Orinoco to Cumaná Treasurer Roque de Monte for His Majesty", 1595, p. 9. Furthermore, it is reported that from there onwards is "the large Indian town of the natives of Guayana", which is spatially defined as extending "from the bank of the said River Orinoco along the windward side as far as that of the Marañon, so that they lie between these two mighty and celebrated rivers" (ibid.).

88 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 16.

89 Raleigh, "Chart of Guayana", c. 1595.

90 De Santiago, "Report on the Navigation of the River Orinoco to Cumaná Treasurer Roque de Monte for His Majesty", 1595, p. 9. Moreover, the report describes the Caribs of Caura as "friendly towards the Spaniards" and also indicates that "upstream from the said Province of Caura" would be "the territories of the Amaivas", where "there is a great number of natives, and it is very rich in gold, although in this province the natives are very much persecuted by the Caribs, who every year descend upon them in fleets, and also upon the others inhabiting these territories in the neighbourhood of the new kingdom" (ibid., p. 10).

91 De Bry, "Sketch map of Guiana", 1599.

92 Boomert, *Indigenous Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago*, pp. 104–106. This Cacique also indicated that the Yaio are "a 'mightie people' [who] of late time were Lorde of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidado, which they likewise possessed" (ibid., p. 106).

in 1610 to escape the torture of "slave raids" by mainland Arawaks and Spaniards from Margarita and Caracas. Subsequently, the Yao and Sapoyo disappeared from Maldonado's 1638 report on the Orinoco,[93] which confirmed Tivitives and Chaguanas in the Orinoco mouth who were very "docile" and "like the Spaniards much".[94]

Moreover, the Spanish Major Maldonado in the early 1640s mentioned a "village of the Guayanos" in the Orinoco mouth, situated "on this bank [of the Tivitives]", whom he likewise determined as "belong]ing] to His [Spanish] Majesty", since they would have had "rendered succour" during "all the [Lutheran] invasions of Guayana", had themselves "not united with them" and instead had supported the Spaniards "with provisions on the occasions that have presented themselves",[95] which stands in stark contrast to their involvement in the Santo Tome attack of Wat Raleigh in January 1618. Likewise, Maldonado mentions a "town of the Aruacas" in the Orinoco mouth, situated "on the other side of the river" from the Tivitives and Guayanos, who were described as "a very powerful people", while "(n)one of these have any knowledge of the law of God." Again, those Arawak were asserted to be "all enemies of the Caribs and friends of the Spaniards",[96] which also contradicts with the involvement of the Arawak in the attack on the Spanish settlement in Trinidad in October 1637.[97]

Finally, the Spaniards still in 1638 were exposed to the threats of the "Caribs" in the Orinoco mouth and along the coastal mainland, who are "united with the heretics", whom they grant "great security", whereas the Spaniards, who "ascent from the Island of Margarita and Cumaná up the coast to Trinidad or Guayana" had to travel "with an escort of soldiers" and would "even with

93 Ibid. Neil Whitehead assumes that the "major migration" of the Yao (Suppoya and Paragoto) from Trinidad "to eastern Guayana" was the result of "European influence" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 18).

94 Maldonado, "Accounts of the Great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 121. The Spanish Major also indicated that none of the Indigenous Peoples had been "instructed in the Faith", because "the Bishop of Puerto Rico is so distant from Trinidad and Guayana" (ibid., pp. 120–121).

95 Ibid., p. 120. In addition, the report suggests to the Governor to send "pirogues with Guayanese and Mapoyes Indians" to "the port of Casanare" (ibid., p. 122). While the precise date of the Maldonado report was not given, the content of the report clearly indicates that it was written after 1642.

96 Maldonado, "Accounts of the Great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 120.

97 Neil Whitehead indicates that the Arawak would have been "in a majority" on the Orinoco mouth, "as well as on the sea board as far as the Essequibo River, interspersed with Warao" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 12).

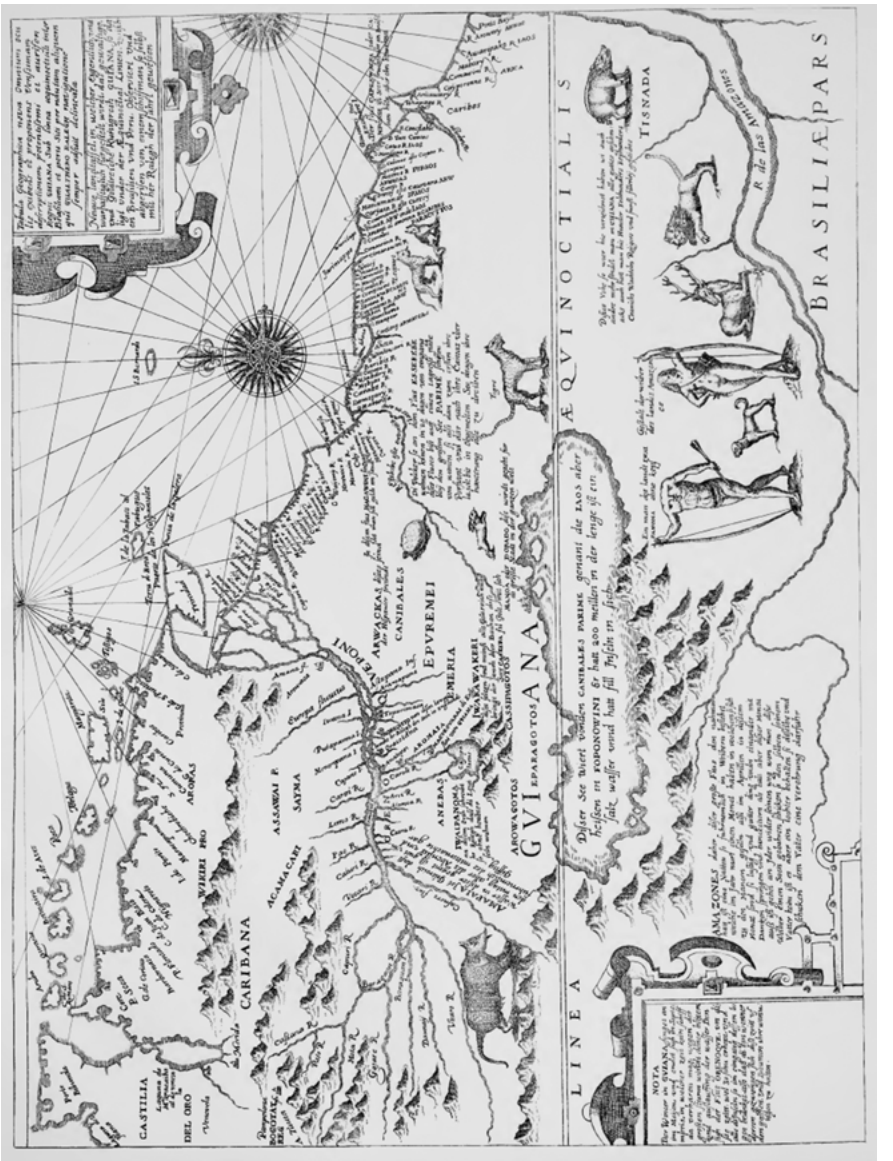

Figure 5: Sketch-map of Guiana by Theodor De Bry (1599), including the indication of the indigenous town Maburesa at the Essequibo mouth.

this protection [. . .] generally perish",[98] as there are along the way "some ports in which the Caribs hide themselves, for the purpose of making their raids on the Indians or Spaniards whom they endeavour to murder, and then roast the quarters and store it for provision".[99] Repeating his cannibalism claims, the Spanish Major Maldonado also narrates that the "Caribs", who are "met with at every creek",[100] had "from the mouth of the Orinoco to the windward [. . .] united with the heretics" and would "every year [. . .] during the summer" with a significant "number of pirogues [. . .] murder and rob along the entire coast", such as in the case of Father Sedeño, who "was carried away with all the others" on his way from Cumanagoto to Cumaná before Paria, as well as other perishing sailors and passengers. At the same time, Maldonado reported that the Caribs between Cabruta and Caracas were still not "domesticated" (1638) and that the Caribs "settling the plains of San Sebastian" had threatened the Spaniards, causing "some" to leave for the province of the Cumanagoto,[101] where the "iron hand of Juan de Orpin" had caused "heavy causalities" between 1635 and 1639. In addition, in the 1630s the Spaniards had also conducted several "armed entradas" against the "cannibals" of the Guanipa and Guarapiche, which had killed "over 200 and taking many more as slaves", who were "shipped to Margarita and Trinidad". In response, a "solid Carib resistance" was formed in the Guarapiche to block the Spaniards from further encroachments,[102] which was supported by the French since the 1650s.

98 Maldonado, "Accounts of the Great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 124. According to Maldonado, the Caribs would also barter with the Dutch in "spices" (ibid., p. 124) and "Indian women", whom "they steal from the villages" (ibid., p. 120).

99 Ibid. According to Maldonado, those hiding places of the Caribs between Cumaná/Margarita and Guayana/Trinidad would have been situated in the vicinity of a settlement "of brave Indians", who are "Christians" and whose "Encomendero (sic!) is a resident of Margarita", who would have an abundance of provisions (cassava-bread, plantains, maize, fruits, fish, and fowl), and which "they give all to the passengers who put in there, or exchange it with merchants for knives and hatchets and other articles with good-will" and "the dwellings inhabited by people of Margarita" (ibid.). The Spanish settlement may have been established on the site of the "coastal outpost called Nueva Ecija de los Cumanagotos", which was determined by Michael Perri as having been established by "some poor Spaniards" about "32 kilometres west of Cumaná", who "made a living smuggling tobacco to European interlopers, primarily the Dutch" (Perri, "'Ruined and Lost'", pp. 147; 149).

100 Maldonado, "Accounts of the Great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare", 1638–1639, p. 121.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid. About the same time, Carib settlements were indicated by a Dominican friar in 1648 for "Essequibo, Amacuro, Aguire, Cuyuni and Barima", the mouth of the Orinoco and "across the Llanos to the south" and Guarapiche, where they border the Cumanagoto and Palenque on the Guere and Unare Rivers (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 12–16).

Prior, the Spanish Major Diego Ruiz Maldonado had in the early 1640s[103] suggested to "effectual" proceed against the coastal Caribs, to wage war against them and "apprehend [them] for slaves" because "they are such cruel butchers of human flesh, and have destroyed many villages of the natives of the coast committed to the charge of residents of the four governments [Caracas, Cumaná, Cumanagoto, and Margarita]", which would promote "their removal from [the] alliance with the Lutherans" and also remove the present "hindrance" to the spread of Christianity, since "neither the Bishop dare undertake the journey, nor will the priests go up". Consequently, their enslavement would produce the result that "the natives will become more tractable and embrace the Faith, and the Caribs will soon cease from killing the miserable Indians in cold blood, and eating human flesh", wherefore "it will be a great service to God and reduce many settlements and lead the more to Heaven", as the Caribs would "by degrees become reduced to the Law of God".[104] However, it was Martin de Mendoza de la Hoz Berrio y Quesada, last heir of the Quesada and Berrio family and sole survivor of the capture by the Moors,[105] who had resumed his office as "governor of Trinidad, Guayana and El Dorado" in August 1642[106] and by 1652 had just managed to "rebuild the two towns of San Josef in Trinidad and Santo Tome in Guayana"[107] and fortify "a position at Moitaco".[108]

Carib and French Intervention (1651–1699)

Thus, Governor Martin Mendoza followed instead the royal order of Philip IV of 1652, which had reaffirmed the cessation of "armed conquest" and replacement

103 The account of Maldonado does not bear any precise date, but since the text contains the passage "at the present time, during Don Martin de Mendosa's government" (Maldonado, "Accounts of the Great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare", 1638–1639, pp. 117–129, at 125), it is apparent that the report was written after 1642.

104 Ibid., pp. 121; 124–125.

105 Mendoza had commenced to raise "claims of succession" since August 1626, after his father Francisco and uncle Fernando both died in captivity of the Moors.

106 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 91.

107 NATT, N. N., "Governors of Guayana Escobar and Hoz Berrio y Quesada, including Ciacomare Indigenous Peoples", 1652, publication No. 121. Notably, this took place *after* the conclusion of the Treaty of Münster between the United Provinces and Spain on 30 January 1648. By contrast, Neil Whitehead states that Mendoza already in 1642 would have had "completely refurbished the fort of Usupamo" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 91).

108 This place was established opposite to the large Carib settlement at the Pao mouth, assertively without Carib resistance (ibid., p. 99).

with pacification.[109] He ordered the Carib Cacique Macuara of the Orinoco to be baptized by the two French Jesuits[110] Denis Mesland and Pierre Pelleprat, who were established on the Guarapiche since 1651 in alliance with "Caribs" from Grenada and Saint Lucia,[111] who were well connected to the Caribs of Tierra Firme. Nonetheless, pacification through baptism was not prevailing long, since Santo Tome was again attacked by the Dutch in 1658,[112] while a detachment of 80 soldiers sent by the Audiencia of Santa Fé "for defence" came too late, as Governor Mendoza was already dead.[113]

Martin Mendoza was succeeded in August 1658 by Governor Pedro Viedma,[114] who changed the focus back to enslavement, war, and "punishment", *nota bene* in breach to the royal orders of 1652 and orders of the previous century. Accordingly, Viedma conducted a "punishment" expedition in Trinidad in April 1661, since the Indigenous Peoples "were in rebellion, and did not wish to serve the Spaniards", wherefore he aimed to "compelling them for their subjection and instruction to settle on the outskirts of the town [San Joseph]", but had to admit "that my orders had not been complied with". At the same time, the Caribs of Caura in alliance with the Guaiqueries (Guayqueries) and Mapoies (Nepoio) raised "a general rebellion" and had "killed all the people that were among them, more than thirty persons",[115] whereas an English account of the 1660s confirms Carib settlements between "Wina [Waini] to the upmost part of Awarabish, on the west syde of Oranoque, Poraema, and Amacora", along with "Warooes" (Warouws) in the Orinoco islands, "neare the mouth of that river [Orinoco] and also in Maroca

109 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 206. See M. Watters, "The Colonial Missions in Venezuela", *The Catholic Historical Review* 23 (July 1937) 2, pp. 129–52, at 132.

110 Council of War, "Consulta to King of Spain", Madrid, 10 May 1662, in: BRC, serial No. 72, pp. 156–162, at 158.

111 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirits*, p. 97. The "Caribs" of Saint Lucia had retired to the mainland, since the French were "usurping their lands", whereupon some 140 had left the island "in three pirogues" to join the "Caribs" of the Guarapiche in order to plan their vengeance (ibid.).

112 Ibid., p. 99. Therefore, Mendoza had failed in fulfilling his order to "dislodge the enemy from [. . .] these parts" (NATT, King Philip IV, "Royal Cedula", 31 July 1640).

113 NATT, Council of War, "Report to Spanish king", Madrid, 10 May 1662. While a historical source indicates the year of his death as 1657 (NATT, N. N., "Account on Governors of Guayana Pedro de Viedma and Martin Mendoza de Berrio"), it appears more plausible that Mendoza died during the attack of 1658 (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 91).

114 Council of War, "Consulta to King of Spain", Madrid, 10 May 1662, p. 158.

115 Pedro de Viedma, "Letter to King of Spain", Guayana, 20 March 1662, in: BRC, serial No. 71, pp. 152–156, at 154–155.

[Moruca] and Wina [Waini]",[116] while the "great powerful nacions" of the "Occowyes [Akowaio],[117] Shawhouns [Wapishana] and Semicorals"[118] are settled "200 [English] leagues south-east from St. Thome", in "the uplands of Guiana, either under the [Equator] line or in south latitude" and "in a most fertile countrey and cover a vast tract of land, beginning at ye mountaines of the Sun on the west and north, and extending themselves to Rio Negroe".[119] Hence, Viedma emphasized in a letter to the King of Spain that he would "not grant them [Spanish colonists] the licenses they desire, and today more so by the rising of these Indians", but "if some remedy does not come to them within a year", Santo Tome would have to be abandoned.[120] Nevertheless, the Spanish governor had led "armed *entradas* against the Caura Caribs" – many of them "were transported to Trinidad as slaves" – and also provided some Aragonese Capuchins with "an armed escort". In result, the first mission was established in 1662 (Pilar), filled with the people of Cacique Macuare and 600 captured Caribs from Caura.

Beforehand, the French had entered the scene in October 1656 when they built fort Ovantique at Guarapiche,[121] which served as the starting point for several joint attacks with the Caribs between 1664 and 1684, destroying the missions Juan Bautista (1664, Cacique Ocapra, Coacas),[122] San Francisco (August 1669, Caribs),[123] and the Spanish Fort San Carlos.

Shortly expelled, the French returned in 1673 and undertook several raids on attempted missions[124]and Spanish settlements, before "the rebellion collapsed". Hence, the French temporarily withdrew and joined the "independent

116 J. Scott, "Description of Guayana", after 30 April 1668, in: BRC, serial No. 77, pp. 167–171, at 169. Those Warouws [Warooes] were described as "the only shipwrights of those partes, for all the great periagoos [pirogues] are made by them" (ibid.).

117 The various names of the Acowaio are indicated by anthropologist Audrey Colson as: "Waccawaes", "Wacawaios", "Waccewayes", "Awacoways", "Occowyes", "Akuwayas", "Acoway", Acquewyen/ Akawai (Colson, *Land: The Historical Record*, pp. 21–26).

118 Crucially, Colson had identified that the term "Semicorals" presents "a corruption of 'Kanukus' (Kanucus etc.) referring to the people of the mountains of this name, which divide the North Rupununi Savanna (of the Makushi Pemong) from the South Rupununi Savanna (of the Wapishana)". Therefore, the anthropologist concludes that the "Semocorals are the Serekong, the upper Mazaruni basin Akawaio" (ibid.).

119 Scott, "Description of Guayana", after 30 April 1668, p. 169.

120 De Viedma, "Letter to King of Spain", Guayana, 20 March 1662, pp. 155–156.

121 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 97–99.

122 Ibid., p. 99. Beforehand, the Cacique Ocapra had left the mission due to tensions with the Coacas.

123 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 99–100.

124 Council of the Indies, "Minutes", Madrid, 26 April 1686, p. 193.

Carib settlements of the Orinoco"[125] due to events in Trinidad and on the Orinoco in August 1684,[126] after they had in union with 300 Caribs in 1679 proceeded against the Jesuit missions, established at the junction between the Orinoco and Casanare and the Meta and Atures. The Jesuits then abandoned their missionary work on the Orinoco and in Trinidad because three missionaries had been killed and another missionary attempt had also failed in 1693,[127] after the Bishop of Bogotá denounced "all" Jesuit military approaches and ordered the missionaries to pull back. Thereupon, the Jesuits only returned to the Orinoco "fourty years" later.[128]

Meanwhile, the peak of joint Carib and French attacks in the Orinoco was yet to come, since both Santo Tome and San Joseph were blockaded and taken into possession by the French and Caribs of Coppenam in July 1682,[129] before Santo Tome was attacked in September 1683, after the Spanish settlement had been previously been attacked by the English in June 1662.[130] Hence, the Spanish garrison of Santo Tome had fled in September 1683, leaving the Commandant "as a prisoner in the Chapel",[131] whereas Governor Zuñiga was captured in July 1684 and taken "to the Carib village in the Aguire",[132] after they had

125 At the same time, the Chiama "retreated to the lower Guarapiche", which was characterized by its "mass of small creeks and channels" (Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 100–102), and re-emerged about 1745 in Moruca (chapter 12) and Trinidad until the 1760s (chapter 5), after having been chased and forcefully removed by the Catalonian Capuchins of Lower Orinoco (chapter 7).

126 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 100–102.

127 Jesuit Father Joseph Gumilla (Superior of missions of Casanare, Meta, and Orinoco), "Report on the means of Preventing the Hostilities suffered by the Colonies of the great River Orinoco from the Caribs and the Dutch, and means of attaining this End", signed by Secretary of State in Madrid, 9 December 1745, in: BRC, serial No. 391, Book 2, Annex 3, pp. 83–88, at 84.

128 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 102.

129 Commander Essequibo Abraham Beekman, "Letter to the West India Company (WIC)", 18 July 1682, p. 155; commander Essequibo, "Letter to the West India Company", Essequibo, 18 August 1684, p. 187.

130 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 99. Beforehand, the Spanish Governor Viedma in March 1662 had lamented that the settlement was still harassed by Dutch and English (De Viedma, "Letter to King of Spain", Guayana, 20 March 1662, pp. 152–154). Governor Viedma was replaced by Don Tiburcio Axpe y Zuñiga about the year 1665 (German Captain Clemente Gunter, "Declaration on Trade and Entering the Orinoco", 7 March 1666, in: BRC, serial No. 74, Annex 3, pp. 164–166, at 165).

131 NATT, Francisco de Vinera Galindo y Torralves, "Letter to Spanish king", 12 September 1683, publication No. 580.

132 NATT, Alcaldes of Trinidad, "Letter to the Governor of Margarita", 15 July 1684.

made themselves "masters of the fort in Oronoque" in May 1684,[133] which was resumed by the Spaniards in May 1685.[134] Thereupon, the Caribs of the Orinoco raised in a "great rebellion", proceeded to the Guarapiche and Golfo Triste and successfully raided the Spanish Fort San Carlos, which was responded by the Spaniards with a failed attempt of Sancho Fernández de Angulo y Sandoval in May 1686 to raise "a war against the Caribs".[135] Instead, the Caribs in 1688 also threatened Cumaná with 200 Caribs,[136] before the French and 300 Caribs of Coppenam on 30 April 1689 attacked the recently established Dutch post in Pomeroon.[137] Established in the Barima (October 1689),[138] Guarapiche and Guanipa (July 1696), they also occasionally attacked the first Capuchin missions in Trinidad (until 1699), while Santo Tome hit rock bottom and the Spaniards seriously struggled to maintain their presence on the Orinoco.

In sum, this chapter has traced the Spanish colonial appropriation practices on the Orinoco from 1595 until 1699 to conclude that Spanish occupation was limited to Santo Tome, which evolved from the residency of Spaniard Antonio de Berrio among the people of Morequito, before it was transferred to the Usupamo (1637) and several times destroyed by attacks of English, Caribs, French, and Guayanos in 1618, 1629, 1631, 1637, 1658, and 1682–1685. In addition, several attempts to "conquer" the Guayanos (1599), Caribs of Barima (1618/19), and the Province of Aruacas (1619) by Fernando de Berrio failed, while unlawful capture, enslavement and trade with Indigenous Peoples continued. Consequently, the Spaniards had just lawfully acquired land as property for the area of Santo Tome. Hence, the next chapter examines the lawfulness of Capuchin and Spanish colonial practices from 1682 to 1817.

133 Commander Essequibo, "Letter to the West India Company", 1 May 1685, p. 188; Beekman, "Report to WIC", 1 May 1685, p. 173.

134 Commander Essequibo, "Letter to the West India Company", 1 May 1685, p. 188; commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 1 May 1685, in: BB3, serial No. 14, p. 60. For a slightly different translation, see Beekman, "Report to WIC", 1 May 1685, p. 173.

135 Sancho Fernández de Angulo y Sandoval, "Letter to Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora", Madrid, 2 May 1686, in: BRC, serial No.107, Annex 2, pp. 196–199, at 198.

136 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 102.

137 Commander Pomeroon Jacob de Jonge, "Letter to WIC", 6 July 1689, p. 66.

138 Beekman, "Letter to WIC", 12 October 1689, p. 190.