Chapter 7
Violent Capuchin Removal and Spatial Extensions (1682–1817)

After several unsuccessful Spanish attempts to conquer and pacify Indigenous Peoples, and just one established settlement in Lower Orinoco (Santo Tome) throughout the seventeenth century, the Spaniards on the Orinoco were on the rocks. Therefore, this chapter is tracing the subsequent colonial appropriation practices of the Spaniards and emerging Capuchins until Venezuela's Independence in 1817. In particular, the chapter is focused on the legally debatable Capuchin practice of violent removal, applied after the first permanent Capuchin mission was established on the banks of the Orinoco in 1724. Thereupon, the spatial extensions of Capuchin mission in the Caroni area are subsequently traced until the abandonment of the Caroni missions about 1817 in relation to the peaks of Carib attacks in the early 1730s and throughout the 1750s, before the spatial extensions of Spanish settlements since the 1760s were investigated in the context of the Secret Boundary Expedition and the question is prompted, if the violent removal practice of the Capuchin's presents a form of "pacification" and equates with the practice of a lawful conquest.

From Deportation Plans to Violent Removal (1682–c. 1788)

Since the French and Carib alliance had kept the Spaniards in check throughout the 1680s and 1690s, the former captive Don Tiburcio Axpe y Zuñiga and the founder of destroyed San Carlos, Sancho Fernández de Angulo y Sandoval, had a score to settle with the Caribs. Therefore, the tabled plan of the Aragonese Capuchins came just right, since the Capuchins of Cumaná, in response to the royal abolition of "every sort of bondage-contract for Indians" in Trinidad and Guayana on 29 May 1682,[1] had advocated to connect the abolition with the condition that "at the same time a remedy should be provided against the Carib Indians on account of the mischief they do to those provinces, and that they should be taken from there, and transported to other parts". Proponents for the Capuchin deportation plan were thus quickly found, who advanced reasons and ideas for implementing the plan, after the royal reaffirmation to replace "conquest" with "pacification" in 1652.

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

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Accordingly, former Cumaná governor Sancho Fernández de Angulo y Sandoval suggested to transport male and female Caribs "above the age of 14"[2] as "prisoners" to Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, New Spain, or Havana to place them there "in the neighbourhood of Spanish settlements" in order that "by change of climate, and by being held in subjection on all sides, they may [. . .] be better educated in the Catholic faith and doctrine", which would be "necessary by the character of the Indians".[3] In result, the deportation would eliminate the Caribs from the mainland, where they were "very numerous" and occupy "various places", such as the "Amana, Pao, Caura, and all the coast from the River Orinoco to the Marañon"[4] and also "in the Island of St. Vincent",[5] which is why it appeared "impossible to conquer them all owing to their great number and the various territories[6] they occupy in a space extending over 300 leagues in length".[7] Similar, in April 1686 governor Axpe y Zuñiga favoured the "measure for removing the Carib Indians from their present place", by indicating that

> the Indians in those regions withdraw and defend themselves in order that they may not be compelled to settle [in missions]; and they regard the proposal to convert them as a snare, for they say that it is only for the purpose of making them work; and so His Majesty is continually defrauded, without any advantage, in his primary rights to extension of territories and feudal dues.[8]

2 De Axpe y Zuniga, "Report to Council Secretary Otalora", Madrid, 26 April 1686, p. 196.

3 De Angulo y Sandoval, "Letter to Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora", Madrid, 2 May 1686, pp. 194–198.

4 De Axpe y Zuniga, "Report to Council Secretary Otalora", Madrid, 26 April 1686, pp. 194–196.

5 De Angulo y Sandoval, "Letter to Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora", Madrid, 2 May 1686, p. 198. In this context, the Caribs of St. Vincent are described as being "[. . .] proud, valiant, warlike, and the arbiters of peace and war, and trample on the other nations", while the accounts again mentions that they would "eat human flesh generally, and every year at a fixed time they gather together and go to the districts of the River Orinoco to make war on other nations, and they eat the Indians whom they kill" (ibid.).

6 The Spanish original reads "territorios" (ibid.).

7 De Axpe y Zuniga, "Report to Council Secretary Otalora", Madrid, 26 April 1686, pp. 194–196. At that time, the Caribs of the Guarapiche and Golfo Triste were, by contrast, then perceived as being "few in number" and, therefore, "easily attacked", while "the others who, upon the attack against their nation, might retire to other places should be left alone" (ibid.).

8 Ibid., p. 195. The latter was proposed under the condition that the converted Indigenous Peoples should "remain subject to the missionaries for the space of ten years, and should afterwards be under the Royal Crown, and that, in recognition of vassalage, a small tax be placed upon them, not exceeding 12 reals yearly" (ibid.). However, the taxation was still not introduced one century later, which the Capuchins quoted their argument that both the Capuchins and Indigenous Peoples remained independent from the Spanish Crown.

Thus, the governor continued that instead the "conveyance" of the Caribs "to another part [. . .] would change their habits, as we have experienced with those who were brought from Brazil [in 1666]" to Trinidad, Cumaná, and Margarita would be now "peaceful",[9] which contradicts the "outbreak of war" in Trinidad in December 1666.[10] Afterwards, the deportation practice was with certainty applied by the Capuchins as a threat, since the Dutch planter Christian Finet in December 1748 had transmitted to the Dutch commander in Essequibo that the Spaniards would "continually" take the Indigenous Peoples of Cuyuni and Mazaruni "by surprise in their dwellings and carrying them off; with their wives and children, to send them to Florida".[11] While Alexander von Humboldt later concluded that "[t]he voice of the Gospel is heard only where the Indians have heard also the sound of firearms",[12] the Dutch planter in 1748 continued to indicate that

> the Chief of the Spaniards [. . .] had placed before his eyes the unfairness of this treatment, as well as the consequences of it, but that the latter had replied that the whole of America belonged to the [k]ing of Spain, and that he should do what suited himself, without troubling about us.[13]

However, the implementation of the deportation practice is not recorded.[14] Instead, plenty of evidence is available for a modified version, namely the violent removal of Indigenous Peoples from their settlements by escorted missionaries to forcefully bring them into missions (*entradas*),[15] which had as early as 1721 replaced the royal Spanish "punishment" expeditions. Accordingly, Franciscan friar José Jurado in 1721 carried out "entradas" on the Pao and Guere to form the missions San Buenaventura de Panapotar in 1723 and San Joacquin de Pariri in 1724,[16] after Governor Don José Carreño had until 1720 carried out an expedition for "punishing the offenders", namely the two Caciques Maturin and Tuapocan

9 Ibid., pp. 194–196.

10 NATT, N. N., "Account on Killed Franciscans in Trinidad in 1699", publication No. 310. The report refers to an event and place of 10 December 1666.

11 Commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 2 December 1748, in: BB3, serial No. 85, p. 90. Similar practices had been reported for the Portuguese in December 1746 (commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 7 December 1746, in: BB3, serial No. 78, pp. 87–88).

12 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 147.

13 Commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 20 July 1746, in: BB3, serial No. 77, p. 86; the same letter also in: BRC, serial No. 232, p. 45.

14 For the deportation practice in the opposite direction during the sixteenth century, see chapter 4.

15 D. Robinson, "The Syndicate System of the Catalan Capuchins in Colonial Southeast Venezuela", *Revista de Historia de América* 79 (January–June 1975), pp. 63–76, at 68.

16 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 109–110.

from the Guarapiche, English and French,[17] who in 1719 had burnt the Spanish settlements San Félix and raided Aragua in the province of Cumaná, after the Franciscans had undertaken a missionary attempt in Aragua in 1718. In result, the Spanish fort of Maturin was established in 1722, whereupon "many Caribs" were forced to "abandon the Guarapiche" and proceeded to the Tigre and Orinoco. At the same time, the Cacique Maturin was killed in a Spanish attack and Tuapocan was captured and "taken to Cumaná to be baptised", while the Franciscan mission Panapotar was abandoned in 1728 and Pariri destroyed by Cacique Yacabai, who was seized on the Tigre, but managed to escape in 1736 and on his return had in August 1737 "burnt it to the ground". In response to "the threat from the Caribs" in the Orinoco,[18] Spanish governor Carlos de Sucre had, shortly after the attacks of Barima Carib Taricura, divided the "vast country" among the three congregations of the Catalonian Capuchins,[19] the Franciscan Observant Fathers of Piritu, and the Jesuits of Santa Fé in July 1734,[20] after Guayana had been formally annexed to Cumaná in 1731. Thus, Sucre designated to the Catalonian Capuchins, who were "situated until then around the city of Guayana", an area of "eighty-three leagues", running from "the mouth of the Orinoco and Angostura and thence drawing a line up to the Marañon or Amazon rivers". Moreover, the subsequent area of "one hundred leagues from the Angostura to the mouth of the Cuchivero river, with their corresponding land between them and the Amazon river, was formally declared as belonging to the Franciscan Observant Fathers" and "the rest, to the sources of the Orinoco (then unknown)"[21] to the Jesuits (see Figure 6).[22] At the same time, the spatial

17 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 6.

18 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 109; 113–114.

19 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300.

20 NATT, Spanish king, "Royal Cedula on Jesuit missions in Trinidad", 25 July 1734, publication No. 379. At that time, this formally divided area was "unknown and unexplored" (commander Guayana, "Letter to Secretary of State", 11 November 1773, in: VEN, No. 424, pp. 410–413, at 412). Until then, the Spaniards had, consequently, not established legal title of appropriation.

21 Commander Guayana, "Letter to Secretary of State", 11 November 1773, p. 412.

22 This spatial partitioning was endorsed in 1736 (Prefect of Capuchin missions of the Lower Orinoco Fray Benito de la Garriga, "Report to King of Spain", Alta Gracia (Guayana), 6 July 1769, in: BRC, serial No. 463, pp. 19–25, at 23), 1743 (Governor Don Carlos Sucre, Jesuit Reverend Father Joseph Gumilla, Capuchin Prefect of missions Reverend Agustin de Olot and Franciscan Reverend Friar Francisco de las Llagas, "Agreement about the Spatial Division of Guayana", 1743, in: VEN, No. 352, pp. 286–294, at 292) and 1763 (Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 68) and remained as such until "it was discovered [. . .] that the upper Orinoco, Rio Negro, and Casiquiare are in reciprocal communication [wherefore] that territory was found to be too extensive for only one mission"(commander Guayana, "Letter to Secretary of State", 11 November 1773, p. 412). In consequence, the territory of the Jesuits was reduced to the "one hundred leagues which they

division was intended to resolve the boundary conflict between the Jesuits and Capuchins, as the whole province given to the Jesuits had "been abandoned [. . .] since the last century to the discretion of the Missionaries"[23] and the Capuchins demanded "to prevent any other Missionaries entering to found a Mission or establish a house in that area other than the Capuchins."[24] Prior, the Catalonian Capuchins had established their first permanent mission in Lower Orinoco in 1724, namely La Purisima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora de Suay,[25] which was situated between two and three leagues[26] west of Santo Tome and 15 leagues east

had assigned as far as the rapids of the Atures and Maipure" (ibid.), the latter dividing the "river into the Upper and Lower Orinoco" (Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 301) and the Andalusian [sic!] Capuchins charged "to attend to the reduction and conversion of the Indians of the upper Orinoco and Rio Negro" and later with "catechizing the settlements left by the Jesuits of Orinoco, [when] everything was afterwards abandoned" (commander Guayana, "Letter to Secretary of State", 11 November 1773, p. 412). Until September 1771 (Council of the Indies, "Report", 16 February 1776 and 26 April 1777, in: BRC, serial No. 549, Annex 5, pp. 148–160, at 152), another change took place in the former Jesuit territory after their "expulsion" (Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, pp. 299–305), when the Jesuits had "evacuated" their missions (Council of the Indies, "Report", 16 February 1776 and 26 April 1777, pp. 148–160) in Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro (commander Guayana, "Letter to Secretary of State", 11 November 1773, p. 412) and the Andalusian Capuchin's were likewise charged "with the spiritual care of the villages" of the Jesuits (ibid.). However, the Andalusian Capuchins "abandoned the whole of it immediately [. . .] after the general flight of their brethren, and the [. . .] death of the Prefect" (Andalusian Capuchin Reverend Father Hermenegildo de Vich, "Table of the missions of the Reverend Father Capuchins of Catalonia of the Province of Guayana sent to Father Fray Joseph Cervera", 31 August 1788, in: BB3, serial No. 37 [Spanish sources], p. 324). Thereupon, the Jesuit missions were handed over to the present Governor Centurion before July 1772 (Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 299) and a Franciscan Father ordered to "constantly going up and down the Orinoco, Casiquiari, and Rio Negro, to assist as far as possible with spiritual aid in all the villages deserted by the Andalusian Capuchin's in both territories" (Council of the Indies, "Report", 16 February 1776 and 26 April 1777, p. 152).

23 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 301.

24 NATT, Spanish king, "Royal Cedula on Jesuit missions in Trinidad", 25 July 1734, publication No. 379.

25 Prior, the Capuchins had made some sporadic, failed attempts in 1638 (Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, p. 344) and 1703, before they returned to the Orinoco in 1724. In contrast, Robinson erroneously equates Suay with the subsequent headquarter of the Catalonian Capuchins San Antonio on the Caroni (Robinson, "The Syndicate System of the Catalan Capuchins in Colonial Southeast Venezuela," pp. 67–68), which had replaced Suay as headquarter in another location, after the mission was burnt in 1766.

26 The indicated distance between Suay and Santo Tome varies between two (Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, p. 344), "2 ½" (Diguja, "Report", 15 December 1763, p 356), and three Spanish leagues (Anonymous, "Sketch Map of the Capuchin missions in the Province of Guayana", about 1735, in: BC, No. 72, p. 173).

of the Caroni. Initially filled with violently removed Guayanos,[27] Suay served as "the base of armed entradas" until 1766,[28] when the mission was burnt[29] and ousted by the mission of San Antonio de Caroni,[30] which served as headquarter until the Catalonian Capuchins had established their last new mission Tumeremo (Cantuario) with violently removed Caribs in 1788.[31]

Hence, the first recorded violent removal practice of the Catalonian Capuchins took place in 1734, when Governor Carlos de Sucre had "directed [. . .] that the missionaries should be provided with [. . .] escorts and supplies as could be obtained, which enables the missionaries to push inland",[32] whereupon violent removals peaked in Cuyuni between 1769 and 1770 and took place on the seacoast between 1752 and 1794, when the captured Carib Chief Paripa from Aripiaba in Upper Pomeroon was released by his son from the Capuchin mission of Tupuquen. Crucially, the Capuchin missionaries acted on the basis of their own authority in their violent removals, as was particularly evident in the context of an incident at the Moruca post in February 1769, when two Capuchin missionaries yet again requested the Dutch postholder for permission to search for Indigenous Peoples assertively "belonging to the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia" and on 28 February 1769 had signed a Certificate, which stated that the Capuchin missionaries would act "by mandate of our Superior [the Prefect]" and mistakenly also "[with] permission of the Honorable Commandant-General of the River Orinoco, Don Manuel Centurion",[33] which had caused a serious problem between King Charles III and the Capuchins. The Capuchin Prefect then admitted in a letter to the Spanish monarch in July 1769 that

> the Fathers did not act well in mistakenly giving to the Dutchman of the post a paper, in which they stated that they were sent by order of the above-named Commandant, when it was by my order. I am sure that I should not have complied with my obligations and the duty of my office, if I had not sent the said Fathers on that mission, and as to what they have done in bringing the Indians to the Mission, I consider it is quite lawful.[34]

27 Prefect of Capuchin missions Fray Carlos de Barcelona, "Memorandum as to Condition of Capuchin missions in Guayana", 12 September 1770, in: VEN, No. 417, pp. 398–402, at 398.

28 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 113.

29 Commander of Guayana Manuel Centurion, "Report about the Conduct of the Capuchin missionaries of Catalonia", Guayana, 29 July 1771, in: BRC, serial No. 500, pp. 90–84, at 90–91.

30 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 398.

31 Governor Miguel Marmion, "Letter to Knight of Malta Don Antonio Valdes", Guayana, 7 July 1788, in: BRC, serial No. 625, enclosure, pp. 52–67, at 56–57.

32 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 22.

33 Friars Felix de Carradar and Joseph Antonio de Cerrera, "Certificate of the Capuchin Fathers", 28 February 1769, in: BRC, serial No. 456, Sub-enclosure, p. 9.

34 De la Garriga, "Letter to King of Spain", Alta Gracia (Guayana), 6 July 1769, pp. 19–20.

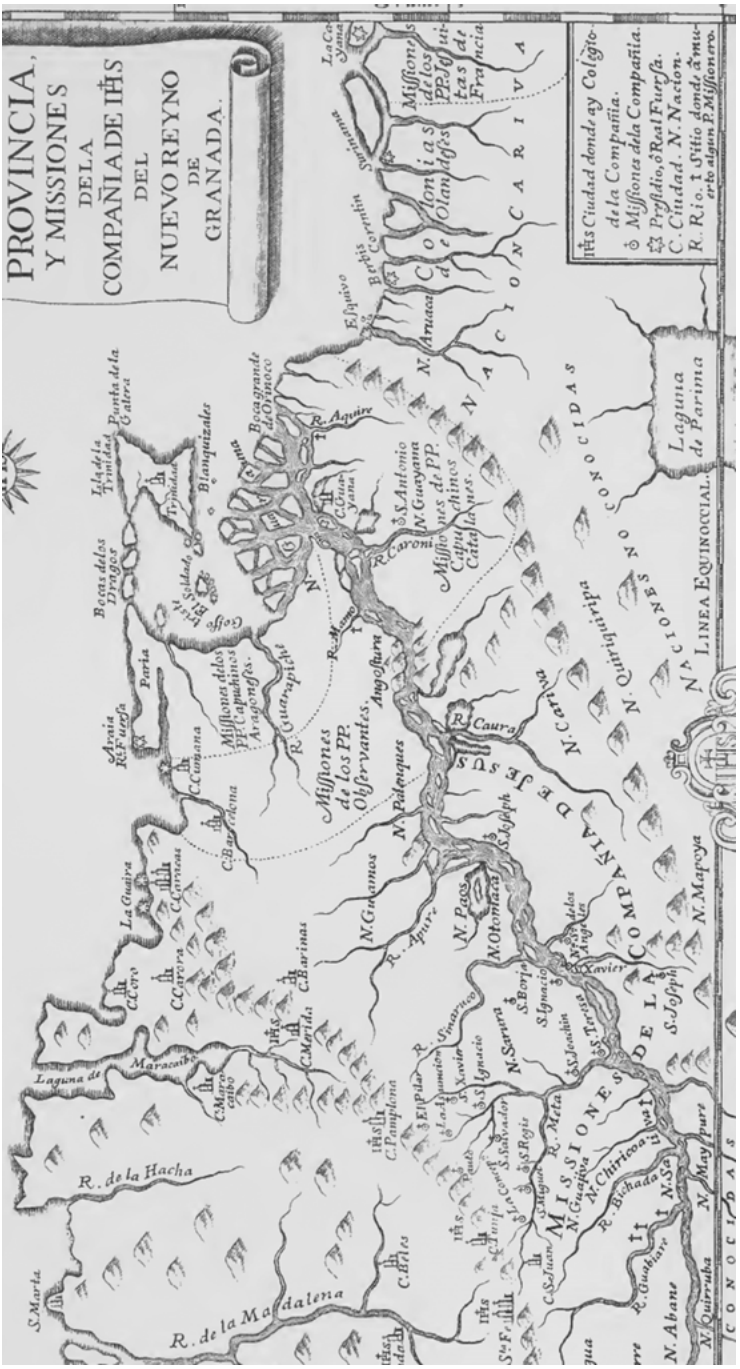

Figure 6: The Spatial Division of Missions by Jesuit Gumilla in 1741.

The dispute with the Spanish governor in Orinoco ongoing in the period 1761–1817, the Catalonian Capuchins had also not received any financial support from the Spanish Crown, although "[t]he Capuchins should have been paid by the Crown a Royal Treasury 'assignment', a sum of money usually paid annually for the benefit of missionaries actively engaged in colonizing or serving secular communities, but [. . .] this was practically never paid to the Caroní missions".[35] Although the "military escorts" of the Catalonian missionaries were provided by the Spanish Crown in 1763[36] and 1776/77,[37] the violent removal practice was clearly differentiated from the practice of "conquest", as missionary escorts were responsible for "the conversion and pacification" and the troops "sent by their commandant directly, and under their own officers, to the frontiers or to conquests".[38] Instead, the Catalonian Capuchins from 1724 to 1788 established missions eastwards of the Caroni with violently removed Indigenous Peoples, whose spatial extent was reduced by the responding attacks of the Caribs.

Capuchin Missions and "Carib" Responses (1724–1813)

Headquartered in Suay since 1724, the Catalonian Capuchins during the 1730s extended their missions mainly southwards by establishing San José de Cupapuy (Guayanos/Pariagotos,[39] 1733),[40] San Francisco de Alta Gracia (Guayanos, Pariagotos,[41] 1734) and the Divina Pastora cattle farm (1737).[42] Established twenty

35 Robinson, "The Syndicate System of the Catalan Capuchins in Colonial Southeast Venezuela", p. 69.

36 Governor Don Miguel Marmion, "Report to Don Antonio Valdez", Guayana, 10 July 1788, in: BRC, serial No. 625, enclosure, pp. 50–66.

37 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 302.

38 Ibid., p. 302.

39 Prefect of Capuchin missions Fray Carlos de Barcelona, "Memorandum as to Condition of Capuchin missions in Guayana", 12 September 1770, in: VEN, No. 417, pp. 398–402; Capuchin Fray Carlos de Barcelona, "Map of Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, in: BC, No. 73, p. 175).

40 Alternative names are San Joseph de Capapui or simply Capapui.

41 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175).

42 Capuchin Father Buenaventura de Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions in the Lower Orinoco", 1799, in: BRC, serial No. 670, p. 171. Instead, the account of 1813 is confusing the foundational years of the missions Divina Pastora and Palmar (N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, in: BB3, serial No. 46 (Spanish sources), p. 356).

Spanish leagues south of Suay[43] and 4,5 leagues south of Alta Gracia, the mission Cupapuy was filled with violently removed Guayanos (same as Alta Gracia)[44] and represented the furthest mission in this direction until the 1740s (see Figure 7), while both Alta Gracia and Cupapuy were in general the most continuous Capuchin missions, as they remained uninterruptedly in existence until 1813.[45] In contrast, the four additional missions established during the 1730s in the vicinity of Suay were all short-lived, since Tupurma (Tiparua) and Casacayma (Payarayma) were both destroyed during the English invasion of 1740 and the Asayma rebellion of 1742,[46] while San Antonio de Caroni, situated seven Spanish leagues westwards of Suay and eight leagues distant from the Caroni river,[47] and San Miguel

43 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.

44 Reverend Father Hermenegildo de Vich, "Table of missions of the Reverend Father Capuchins of Catalonia of the Province of Guayana sent to Father Fray Joseph Cervera", 31 August 1788, in: BB3, serial No. 37 (Spanish sources), p. 324.

45 By contrast, "Divina Pastora" disappeared from the accounts since December 1761 and was functionally most likely replaced by the newly emerging Guarimna cattle farm (Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, No. 392, pp. 345–346; Francisco Antonio Moreno Escandon "Notes relating a map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé by Juan Aparicio to King of Spain", 1762, in: VEN, No. 393, pp. 347–348), which was again superseded by the new mission Divina Pastora in 1770, as this mission emerged, when Guarimna disappeared (De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402). Strictly speaking, this new "Divina Pastora" of 1770 presents a new establishment, since it was "filled" with Guayanos, instead of the Caribs of the former Divina Pastora (ibid.; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana", 1771, p. 175). In addition, the new Divina Pastora received the affix "de Yacuario" (De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402) and was also situated in another place (De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana", 1771, p. 175; Prefect of Capuchin missions Fray Mariano de Sebadel, "Account of the Distances between the Villages of this mission", 15 January 1776–9 March 1776, in: BB3, serial No. 31 [Spanish sources], pp. 305–306; Capuchin Prefect Mariano de Sebadel, "Account of the Distance between the Villages of Capuchin missions", Guayana, 15 January 1776–9 March 1776, in: BRC, serial No. 540, pp. 138–139).

46 Prefect of missions Fidel de Santo, "Account of Capuchin missions in Guayana", 26 February 1761, in: VEN, No. 390, pp. 338–339, at 339. Both missions disappeared from the accounts of 1761 (Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, p. 345) and 1762 (Escandon "Notes relating a map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé", 1762, pp. 347–348). They also disappeared from all later reports of 1770, 1788, 1799, and 1813 (De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324; De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171; N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356).

47 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175. The distances were indicated as "7 leagues" from Suay to San Antonio mission, "15 leagues" between Suay and the Caroni river, and the distance between the Caroni and Santo Tome (ibid.).

de Unata[48] were both destroyed by the Caribs in September 1735[49] in the context of the great Carib "rebellion" of Barima Carib Cacique Taricura.

Figure 7: The First Capuchin Missions of Guayana (c. 1733).

His age unknown, Taricura was the son of "war-chief" Yaguaria,[50] who "came up from the sea in years gone by, with more than sixty pirogues"[51] and had kept the whole Orinoco in suspense between 1733 and 1742, commencing with an impressive fleet of 19 pirogues and 20 canoes "full of warriors" from Barima, the Araguacas (Arawak), Cachipo (Gure) Caribs, Anapiri (Pao, Captain Marawana), Curumutopo (Cuyuni River), the Most Illustrious Bishop Labrid [sic!] called Cabayn, Araruana (brother-in-law of Taricura), Tauca (Caroni River), Puruey (Caura

48 San Miguel is probably mission Z, indicated in the Barcelona map of about 1779 (Capuchin Fray Carlos de Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana", c. 1779, in: BC, No. 74, p. 177).

49 De Santo, "Account of Capuchin missions in Guayana", 26 February 1761, p. 339. San Antonio re-emerged only in December 1761, filled with the captives of Suay, who had been transferred in result of the authority dispute between the Capuchins and Spanish governor of Santo Tome, while San Miguel de Unata was re-established in 1779. Although San Miguel de Unata emerged in the transfer order of the Governor of Guayana, based on Royal Order of 5 June 1762, along with the missions of Tipurma, Payarayma, and Piacoa, the map of the Prefect of Capuchin missions of January 1771 confirms only the transfer of Tipurma, Casarayma (probably Payarayma), and Piacoa in 1768 (De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana", 1771, p. 175), it was neither listed in the Memorandum of Capuchin missions of December 1761 (Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, p. 345), the maps of 1762 (Escandon "Notes relating a map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé", 1762, pp. 347–348), and 1771 (De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana", 1771, in: BC, No. 73, p. 175) or the Memorandum of Capuchin missions of 1770 (De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, pp. 398–402). Instead, San Miguel de Unata emerged only in 1799 (De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171) and 1813 (N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356) with the establishment date of 1779.

50 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 66, 115.

51 Neil Whitehead assumes that this took place during the "1680s" (ibid., p. 119).

River), Marichal (Tigre River, Captains Acabari of Marayuari) and another Carib Cacique from Barima (Araguacare), who were also joined by twenty canoes from his village in Barima, carrying "over 200 warriors".[52] The fleet then proceeded upstream the Orinoco and had mainly destroyed Jesuit missions, among them Santa Barbara de Curucay on the Aragua, which was used for "(m)ultiple entradas along the Orinoco",[53] and Santa Maria de Los Angeles,[54] where the Saliva Cacique Chabiruma and "many of his men" were killed,[55] but also attacked San Joseph de Otomacos, plundered Mapoyo, Otamac, and Salivas, where they were assertively "assisted by some Dutch".[56] Moreover, they in 1734 successfully convinced the Saliva-Carib Cacique Aritana and the Saliva Caciques Caro and Tabari in Santa Teresa to "desert the Mission",[57] who was examined by the Dutch in 1755 in Barima.

Nonetheless, the Spanish governor's undertakings to "punish" Taricura by fitting out an armed expedition carried out by Lieutenant Augustin de Arredonda, 112 Spaniards and Nepojo of the Capuchin missions in Trinidad on 28 July 1733 failed,[58] since the expedition returned "without having obtained the body they had expected",[59] whereas an attempt in 1734 to "wean the Orinoco Caribs from the influence of Taricura" by offering "3,800 knives, 4,000 axes, and 4,200 flasks of rum" also remained unsuccessful.[60] Instead, Taricura again attacked missions in 1735 by burning San Miguel, taking San Antonio de Caroni, and storming the recent mission of Mamo with "some thirty pirogues from the Caura and Barima, carrying over 400 warriors", leaving a missionary and a significant number of Waraos death.[61] In 1742, the Caribs in union with the English also destroyed the Capuchin missions Payarayma (Casacayma) and Tipura (Tupurma, Tiparua) and had created "a great tumult" and "much restlessness",[62] after Santo Tome de

52 Ibid., p. 66.
53 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300.
54 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 97.
55 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 119.
56 NATT, N. N., "Report", September 1733, publication No. 592.
57 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 119.
58 NATT; N. N., "Report", September 1733.
59 NATT, N. N., "Account", 20 July 1734.
60 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 114.
61 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 97; Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 114.
62 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, pp. 97–98; Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 124.

Usupamo was jointly attacked in 1740, leaving the only Spanish settlement burnt and "not immediately rebuilt".[63]

Thereupon, the Catalonian Capuchins between 1746 and 1753 extended their missions in the southeastern direction by establishing the missions[64] of Palmar (Guayanos/Caribs; Pariapo/Caribs, 1746), Miamo (Caribs, 1748), Puedpa (1749), Carapo (Caribs, 1751/52), Ayma (1753, Guaicas/Camaragotos),[65] Cunuri, Curumo, Matanambe, and Tupuquen (all before 1750).[66] While Ayma, located 30 leagues south-east of Cupapuy,[67] has demarcated the furthest Capuchin mission in the southern direction between 1753–1757, Tupuquen presented the furthest mission in the southeastern direction until 1750, since the Carib attacks, which reached their second peak during the 1750s, had significantly limited the spatial extent of Capuchin missions in both directions. Thus, Curumo, Cunuri,[68] Tupuquen[69] and, according to some accounts, also Matanambe and Miamo, were destroyed by 820

63 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 97; Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 123. Simultaneously, the English landed on the Paria peninsula, while the French were trading with Waraos, Parias, and Caribs in the Orinoco delta.

64 This is confirmed by all detailed lists of Capuchin missions between 1762 and c. 1813 (Escandon "Notes relating a map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé", 1762, pp. 347–348; De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324; De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171; N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356).

65 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175). Whereas the precise accounts of the Capuchin Prefect in 1770 and 1771 indicate the foundational year of Ayma as 1753 (ibid.), later accounts are quoting the year 1755 (De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171; N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356).

66 Since all of them were destroyed in 1750, they had been logically established before this date.

67 The distance refers to the indicated walking path from Cupapuy to Ayma via San Antonio and Puedpa (De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" [map legend], 1771, p. 175).

68 The only source, which gives the date of the Cunuri attack with 1751, is a Capuchin report of 1758 (Prefect of missions Fray Benito de la Garriga, "Report to commander in Guayana", 9 June 1758, in: VEN, No. 360, pp. 303–308, at 306).

69 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 97. See Acting commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 6 March 1751, in: BB3, serial No. 97, p. 95; Don José Iturriaga, "Instructions to Colonel Don Eugenio Alvarado", Cattle Farm in Guayana, 20 April 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 305, pp. 105–112, at 106. By contrast, Fray Benito de la Garriga, who was the "President at Tupuquen at the time [. . .] and taken prisoner by the Caribs [but was] released almost miraculously", stated in his account of June 1758 that four missions were destroyed. The Capuchin missionary even indicated that the "rebellion of all the Caribs in the year 1750" would have taken place "in our five missions of Miamo, Cunuri, Tupuquen, Curumo, and Mutanambo [Matanambe]" (De la Garriga, "Letter to King of Spain", Alta Gracia [Guayana], 6 July 1769, pp. 20–21). Mutanambo vanished completely from all maps and lists of the Capuchin missions.

previously captured Caribs in 1750,[70] after which Cunuri, Curumo,[71] and Matanambe remained permanently abandoned, while Tupuquen was re-established in 1767.[72] Again, the Caribs until August 1752 had attacked two other missions and "murdered everyone", which was followed by another attack on Curumo, Cunuri, Tupuquen, and El Palmar by Cacique Maracayan of the Curumo River in September 1752, where four missionaries and "many" of the Spanish militia had been killed and the missions burnt "to the ground."[73] In the same year (1752), the Caribs and Dutch again attacked Santo Tome, while the Caribs in alliance with the Panacays surprised yet another Capuchin mission until October 1754, which was situated "between them" and had thus "hinder[ed] their communication", while the Capuchin missionary had also "impressed [them] and taken away some". In result, the priest and ten to twelve Spaniards were killed and the buildings demolished" and the Caribs had also "sent knotted cords to all persons of their nation (as is their custom), for a general summons to both together to deliberate on what further remains for them to do".[74]

Moreover, the recently established Carib mission Murucuri on the Caroni (1754)[75] was abandoned by Cacique Patacon in December 1755[76] and attacked by Carib Cacique Maracayan of the upper Caura to release the Carib captives with whom he proceeded "towards the headwaters of the Paragua/Caroni" in 1759.[77] Meanwhile, Puedpa was abandoned by the Chiamas and Aruacas[78] before July 1755,[79] who were captured in Moruca until 1769, when two Capuchin friars "went after them, well escorted and provided with vessels and the

70 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 97.

71 Curumo is to be distinguished from the mission of Cumamo (established in 1767).

72 All three missions remained absent from Capuchin accounts in 1761, 1762, 1770/1777, 1788, 1799, and 1813.

73 Director General Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 4 August 1752, in: BRC, serial No. 269, pp. 75–76; Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300.

74 Director General Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 12 October 1754, in: BRC, serial No. 298, pp. 96–100, at 96; Prefect of missions Fray Benito de la Garriga, "Report to commander in Guayana", 9 June 1758, in: VEN, No. 360, pp. 303–308, at 307.

75 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, pp. 398–402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.

76 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 126.

77 Ibid., p. 127.

78 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.

79 Puedpa was the only mission consisting of Chiamas, which were "reclaimed" by the Dutch in 1755 (Director General Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 9 September 1755, in: BB3, serial No. 121, p. 105) and 1767 (ibid., serial No. 195, pp. 148–149, at 149), before some "escorted" Capuchin missionaries went to the neighbourhood of the Dutch Moruca post to violently remove them (chapter 12).

necessary stores, supplied by the Commander General Don Manuel Centurion", but escaped again until February 1770, although "some have been recovered".[80] However, 52 captives were listed in 1770/71,[81] after the composition changed to Guayacas and Guaranous (until 1769)[82] and Paraugotos and Guayacas (until 1771),[83] whose number increases until 1788 up to 278,[84] 409 in 1799,[85] and 412 in 1813.[86] At the same time, Cacique Taricura was still not captured in 1755,[87] whereupon the next missions were established in the southeastern direction,[88] such as the missions Guacipati/Guazipati (Caribs,[89] 1757), Avechica/Supama (Guaicas, 1757), and Cavallapi (Guaicas,[90] 1761). However, Tarepi[91] and Avechica, situated on the banks of the River Supama,[92] were immediately attacked in 1758 and again raided and destroyed by the Caribs in 1762,[93] when the furthest Capuchin mission in the southern direction in December 1753, located 40 leagues distant from Santo Tome,[94] was "ruined and lost to us through the persecution of the Caribs"[95] and until 1764 abandoned by the Guaicas.[96] Carried out by "(t)he Caribs from the mountains [who] killed the captain and his companion of the Guayca[s]", the attack resulted in the loss of the mission "on account of the above deaths",[97] whereas a later account disclosed that the attack was conducted by "certain Caribs from the settlement of Tupuquen, who had rebelled in the year 1750" and was

80 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, pp. 400–402.
81 Ibid., pp. 398–402.
82 De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324.
83 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.
84 De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324.
85 De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171.
86 N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356.
87 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 119.
88 Escandon "Notes relating a map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé", 1762, pp. 347–348; De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; de Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324; De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171; N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356.
89 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.
90 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.
91 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 97.
92 De la Garriga, "Report to commander in Guayana", 9 June 1758, pp. 303–304.
93 De la Garriga, "Letter to King of Spain", Alta Gracia (Guayana), 6 July 1769, p. 21.
94 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 21.
95 De la Garriga, "Letter to King of Spain", Alta Gracia (Guayana), 6 July 1769, p. 21.
96 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.
97 De la Garriga, "Report to commander in Guayana", 9 June 1758, pp. 303–304. The exact date of the Avechiva attack was not indicated, but took place before the report of June 1758 (ibid).

"commanded by the Indian Cayarivare, who had been an Alcalde at Tupuquen and headed the ringleaders of said rebellion, who were staying at the time in the interior of the Cuyuny river, at the mouth of the river Corumo".[98] Nevertheless, the Carib attack on the Avechiva mission in June 1758 surprisingly served as justification for the Spanish attack on the Dutch post in Cuyuni in the same year 1758, while Avechica presented the furthest missions in the southern direction since 1757, as the Caribs had significantly limited the spatial extent of Capuchin missions in this southern direction by reducing the area to Ayma.

A significant change took place in 1761,[99] when the suggestion of Boundary Commissioner Joseph Solano[100] inflamed an authority dispute between the Spanish governor of Santo Tome and the Capuchin missions. In particular, Solano had suggested the transfer of Santo Tome to the Angostura of the Orinoco in August 1764 (based on a royal order of 5 June 1762),[101] which had also implied the subsequent transfer of the Capuchin headquarter Suay to the new site of Angostura to provide the Spanish settlement with provisions.[102] Vehemently opposed, the resistance of the Capuchins succeeded in hindering the transfer, but a "great-fire" in 1766 finally destroyed the majority of Suay's buildings,[103] after which the Capuchins were compelled to transfer the mission with its captured Guayanos, *not* to Angostura, but to the Caroni, where the Capuchins established La Immaculate Concepcion de Caroni[104] in 1761,[105] where the former mission San Antonio de Caroni was established, that is nine leagues west of Santo Tome and 20 leagues east of Angostura.[106]

From the new Capuchin headquarters in Caroni, the Catalans founded Upata in 1762, which was divided in 1765 into the Spanish town Upata, the mission San Antonio and the mission Carruaci (Caribs/Cachigarotos/Guayeas, 1763), while Governor Manuel Centurion established the two villages of Panapana and Maruanta near Angostura in 1769, depopulating the Capuchin missions of Tipurma, Pacoa,

98 De la Garriga, "Letter to King of Spain", Alta Gracia (Guayana), 6 July 1769, p. 21.

99 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 302.

100 Solano and Ituriaga remained in northeastern South America, while the majority of the Boundary Commission returned to Spain in 1761.

101 Centurion, "Despatch about the Capuchin missions", Guayana, 29 July 1771, p. 294.

102 Council of the Indies, "Report", 16 February 1776 and 26 April 1777, in: BRC, serial No. 549, Annex 5, pp. 148–160, at 155.

103 Centurion, "Despatch about the Capuchin missions", Guayana, 29 July 1771, pp. 90–91.

104 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.

105 Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, p. 345.

106 The 20 leagues are indicating the distance between Caroni and Angostura on the straight way. The route via Calvario, Santa Ana, Panapana, and Maruanta is 21 leagues long (De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" [map legend], 1771, p. 175).

and Casacayma, which were subsequently "demolished",[107] while their indigenous captives were transferred, against Capuchin resistance, to Panapana (Caribs) and Maruanta (Guaraunos),[108] located four and two leagues east of Angostura.[109] In addition, the two villages were filled with captives of the Calvario mission[110] and Guaraunos, whom the Spanish governor had personally "brought along with him to the Lower Orinoco".[111] By December 1783, however, the villages had "barely sufficient Indians" after their numbers had been "greatly diminishing" by flight "to the lands of the Lower Orinoco",[112] so Panapana and Maruanta were abandoned by 1788.[113]

Meanwhile, the Catalonian Capuchins had founded further missions in the southern and southeastern direction, namely Santa Maria (Guayanos/Panacacos, 1770),[114] Divina Pastora (Guayanos/Paragotos, 1770), and re-established Cumamo (1767, Caribs), Puedpa/Puedra (1769, Chiamas/Aruacas until 1755; Guayacas/Guaranos since 1769, Paraugotos/Guayacas since 1771),[115] and Tupuquen (Caribs, 1767),[116] situated at the junction of the Miamo and Yaruari about four leagues distant from Guacipati, which represented the furthest mission in this deep southeastern direction, after Cavallapi's permanent abandonment due to a "rebellion" in 1770 (see Figure 8).[117] Furthermore, the Capuchins founded Guri (Caribs, 1771) and San Pedro de Bocas, situated 32 leagues distant from

107 Ibid.

108 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.

109 Centurion, "Despatch about the Capuchin missions", Guayana, 29 July 1771, pp. 90–91.

110 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend "Note", 1771, p. 175). Nevertheless, both missions (Calvario and Santa Ana) still existed until 1813.

111 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.

112 Josef Phelipe de Inciarte, "Report to Intendant of the Army Don Francisco Saavedra on that Part of the Province of Guayana where the New City of Guayana is situated, the Lower Orinoco, and the Eastern Part of the Province", Carácas, 5 December 1783, in: BB3, serial No. 34, pp. 312–314, at 312.

113 Governor Centurion's practice was, for example, applied for the mission of San Joacquin in 1770, where the Indigenous Peoples had "commenced their transfer by order of the king our Lord at the beginning of [. . .] seventeen hundred and seventy" upon Centurion's offer of "a present to both tribes of a large amount of iron utensils, axes, machetes, and other articles" (De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 400).

114 De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324.

115 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.

116 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, pp. 398–402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.

117 Ibid. The map legend indicates the state of those missions as "demolished" (ibid.), subsequently they disappear in the Capuchin accounts of 1770, 1788, 1799 and 1813.

Angostura (Guayacas, 1770)[118] in the deep southwestern direction, along with the mission Garumopati, which was immediately destroyed.[119] Notable, none of the missions of the Catalonian Capuchins was situated in "the Sierra-Imataca area", which according to Neil Whitehead presented "a final bastion of Carib Independence".[120]

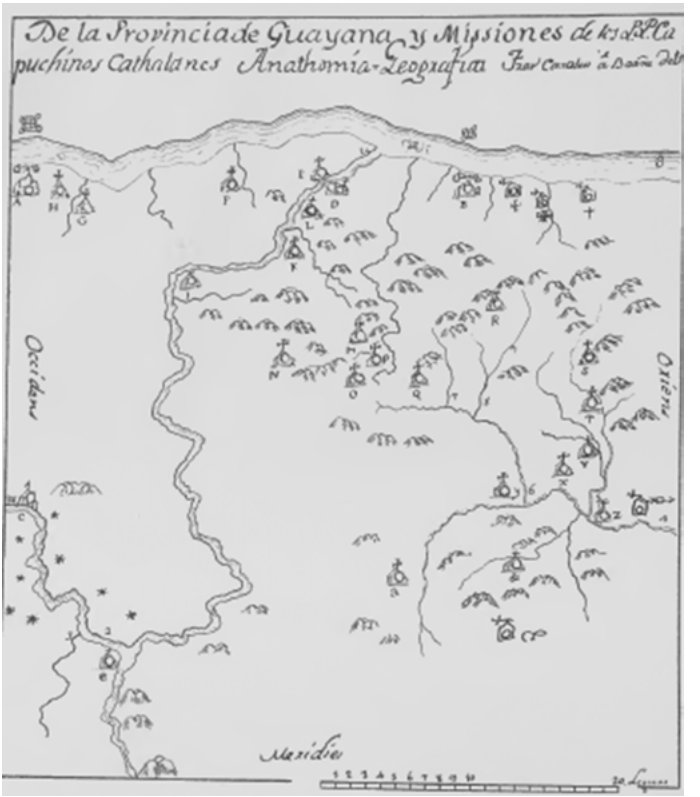

Figure 8: The Extent of the Capuchin Missions by Fray Carlos de Barcelona (1771).

Hence, the Spanish governor again stoked the authority dispute with the Catalonian Capuchins in July 1771, since Centurion and Solano aimed to use "the

118 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, pp. 398–402; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.
119 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.
120 Ibid., p. 129.

River Caroni as a barrier for the Capuchin missions",[121] which was intended to serve as "a rampart for the whole province"[122] and included "governing the four villages of the Caroni, with the authority of Military Commandant [. . .] in civil and military matters".[123] In particular, the Spanish governor had complained about the "absolute independence", in which the Capuchin's would have lived "up to now", since "no other Royal official than a simple governor of the Fort [who] leave them free to dispose, at their pleasure, of both the spiritual and temporal" and "no official had the courage to oppose them", wherefore the Capuchins "consider themselves masters not only of all the villages which they instruct [but also of those] founded in the last century, even these they do not wish to see taken over". Instead, Governor Centurion argued that "the territory of the Catalonian Capuchin missions is essentially a part of this province" and falls "within the limits of [his] authority", while refusing the Capuchin authority, since it would be

> repugnant [. . .] that ecclesiastics, who, by their institution and religious seclusion, know less of politics than of anything else, and because of their ministry consider themselves almost free in their actions from any responsibility towards the king, should be absolute in the temporal government of these villages.[124]

Thereafter, the Capuchins emphatically refused the placement of "a military officer as Commandant and Territorial Judge" in the four Caroni missions San Antonio, Murucuri, Calvario, and Caruachi and in 1771 they intensified their opposition to hand over the missions "to the Ordinary" unless they "are allowed to manage and freely apply to their own use the produce of the plantations and the Indian communities without the knowledge of the Government, nor giving any account to anybody of these properties" in "an ecclesiastical administration",[125] wherefore Centurion "cannot place a corregidor (as they call the military officer) over them, to govern them in civil matters, as this office belongs to the missionaries".[126] In this context, the Capuchins argued that the Indigenous Peoples of the mission would not be vassals of the Spanish Crown, since they had "not yet presented[the]

121 The Spanish original reads "y abrigar el Río Caroni como barrera de las Misiones de Capuchinos" (ibid.).

122 Governor Manuel Centurion, "Report on the New Settlements of Orinoco and Guayana", Guayana, 20 July 1771, in: BRC, serial No. 499, pp. 87–90, at 88–89.

123 Centurion, "Despatch about the Capuchin missions", Guayana, 29 July 1771, p. 294.

124 Centurion, "Report on the New Settlements of Orinoco and Guayana", Guayana, 20 July 1771, pp. 88–89.

125 Centurion, "Despatch about the Capuchin missions", Guayana, 29 July 1771, p. 295.

126 Centurion, "Report on the New Settlements of Orinoco and Guayana", Guayana, 20 July 1771, p. 88.

villages for the Indians to be taxed", despite the order of 1686 that the Indigenous Peoples of the mission should "remain subject to the missionaries for the space of ten years, and should afterwards be under the Royal Crown, and that, in recognition of vassalage, a small tax be placed on them, not exceeding 12 reals yearly".[127]

In result, the Catalonian Capuchins gained the support of both the Council of the Indies and the Condaturia, resulting in the Royal Order of 1782 in favour of the Capuchins, as Thomas Ortiz de Landazuré of the Contaduria in July 1774 stated that "the said Religious acted well in retaining the said villages, and that the governor went too far in imputing to them excesses which they did not commit", wherefore the governor needed to be "restrain[ed]" and "the objectionable methods which he has employed" to be "correct[ed]". Moreover, the Viceroy of Santa Fé was ordered by Royal Cedula "to ascertain whether the said villages are in a condition to admit of Magistrates and Parish Priests [sic!] without causing the flight of the Indians thereby",[128] and if "the villages of this province could be taken over". This was done by Captain-General Luis de Unzaga in 1778, who concluded "that the method of governing the Indians under [the] charge [of the Capuchins] should not be changed from that employed by the Royal Audienca of Santa Fé in previous years". In result, "no change was made [and] no steps being taken" until 1782, which was reaffirmed by king Charles IV of Spain in a Royal Cedula of 18 November 1782, who "order[ed] that in this province the missionaries alone should govern the Indians".[129]

Hence, the Catalonian Capuchins continued to establish missions in the deep southern direction, namely Santa Rosa de Cura (1782, Guayacas), Anjel Custodio de Aicana (1785, Guayanos),[130] and Tumeremo/Cantario (1788, Guayanos)[131] and re-established Avechica as well as San Juan Bautista de Avechiva in 1783, which remained in existence until 1817 (1783, Guayacas),[132] whereas Tumeremo represented the last mission established by the Capuchins in February 1788,[133] situated

127 Council of the Indies, "Minutes", Madrid, 26 April 1686, p. 195.

128 Secretariat of Contaduria, "Note", 1776, in: BB3, serial No. 30, Annex 4 (Spanish Sources), pp. 298–299, at 299.

129 Prefect of Capuchin missions Fray Hermenegildo de Vich, "Report to Governor of Guayana Don Luis Antonio Gil", Caroni, 16 April 1791, in: BRC, serial No. 642, pp. 123–126, at 124–125.

130 De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324.

131 Antonio Ventura de Taranco (Council of the Indies), "Letter to the Reverend Father of the Catalonian Capuchin missions respecting the new mission of Tumeremo", Madrid, 4 June 1791, in: BRC, serial No. 643, pp. 126–127, at 126; De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324.

132 Ibid.

133 Marmion, "Letter to Knight of Malta", Guayana, 7 July 1788, pp. 56–57.

five leagues north-east of Tupuquen and four of Anjel Custodio.[134] Therefore, Tumeremo presented the furthest mission in this direction in 1788, but was until April 1791 destabilized by "frequent [. . .] flight or rising among the Indians, to whom it is open and easy to return to their lands". The same was reported for Tupuquen in November 1790,[135] from where the Upper Pomeroon Carib Chief Paripa was released by his son in September 1794, and Anjel Custodio, which was established in 1785, but vanished permanently from the official Capuchin accounts in 1788, 1799, and 1813.[136]

Meanwhile, the Spanish authority conflict continued between the new governor Miguel Marmion and the Capuchins in August 1788, since the governor acknowledged that the missions are "governed under there economic system [. . .] up to the present time", but continued to challenge the decision of the Spanish king to "concede the economic government of the Indians" and raising the complaint about the Royal Order, which would cause "many inconvenience and delay". Marmion also remarked that "justice remains unadministered in criminal cases" since "[the military commandant] without jurisdiction in the villages they instruct, they oppose him".[137] Again in September 1789, Governor Marmion asserted that the Capuchins would have "acted in opposition to the requirements of the king's service, by founding settlements and cattle farms in places exposed to raids by the Dutch of Essequibo, especially the new Mission of Tumeremo (established in 1788), without the previous knowledge of the Government".[138]

Nevertheless, in August 1791 the Catalonian Capuchins had still refused to "handing over the Indian villages to the Ordinary" by indicating that, in contrast to "Carácas and elsewhere", where missions "had been established in the midst of Spaniards" to "subdue" the Indigenous Peoples, the Lower Orinoco

134 Prefect of Catalonian missions Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio, "Representation of Prefect of missions concerning the Establishment of a New Village", Caroni, 8 February 1788, in: BRC, serial No. 637, enclosure 2, pp. 86–87, at 86. Furthermore, the location is specified as "north of Cura at the Yuruary" (Capuchin Fray Thomas de Mataro, "Letter to Governor Miguel Marmion concerning the Founding of the new Village of Tumeremo", Cupapuy, 6 July 1787, in: BRC, serial No. 637, enclosure 1, pp. 84–86), while "[Tumeremo] looks to the north [and Anjel] to the south" (Taranco, "Letter to the Reverend Father", Madrid, 4 June 1791, p. 126).

135 De Vich, "Report to Governor of Guayana Don Luis Antonio Gil", Caroni, 16 April 1791, p. 125.

136 De Vich, "Table of the missions", 31 August 1788, p. 324; De Sebadel, "Table of the Capuchin missions", 1799, p. 171; N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356.

137 Marmion, "Letter to Knight of Malta", Guayana, 7 July 1788, p. 52.

138 De Taranco, "Letter to the Reverend Father of the Catalonian Capuchin missions respecting the new mission of Tumeremo", Madrid, p. 126.

and "the province of Guayana would lack those Spanish villages". Moreover, the Capuchin missionaries emphasized that due to Angostura's significant distance from the missions "the gate is open for unimpeded flight, such as takes place every day", while "there are still many tribes of Indians to subdue, and few villages in the district reclaimed".[139] Finally, in 1813 the Special Commissioner Don José Olazarra suggested a reform, as "all the missions of the province exceed the legal limit of years, being all in the class of new reductions, [and] those of the Catalonian Capuchin's occupy the most important and fertile part of the province".[140] However, this attempt was silenced by the "scandalous affair of the death of the Capuchins of the Caroni" during the War of Independence in 1817, whereupon the Catalonian missions were abandoned.[141]

In short, the Catalonian Capuchins had established several missions in the area between the Lower Orinoco and Caroni junction between 1724–1788 without interference from any Spanish governor, using the violent removal practice. While the headquarter changed from Suay on the banks of the Orinoco (1724) to San Antonio on the Caroni (1761), the missions extended furthest to San Pedro in the southwestern direction (1770), situated 32 leagues from Angostura, but were prior spatially reduced to Cupapuy, situated 20 leagues south of Suay. In contrast, the more south-easterly mission Puedpa (1749) presented one of most unstable missions, since Puedpa (16 leagues distant from San Antonio) was at least three times abandoned due to flight (1755–1769; 1769; 1771), which reduced the spatial extent of the missions during those periods again back to Cupapuy. In addition, the furthest mission in the southeastern direction was Avechiva/Supama (1757). Due to Carib attacks, it existed impermanently between 1758 and 1764 and was finally abandoned until 1783, when Ayma (1753/55) presented the furthest Capuchin missions in this direction, situated 30 leagues south of Cupapuy. Finally, the missions in the deep southern direction extended furthest to Tumeremo (1788) and Tupuquen (re-established in 1767, after its abandonment due to several attacks between 1750–1752). Tumeremo was situated at the Mamo and Yaruari junction, five leagues south-east of Tupuquen, after the spatial extent was until 1767 limited to Carapo (1751/52) and Guacipati (1757), situated seven leagues north-east of Ayma. In general, the most stable Capuchin missions were Alta Gracia (1734–1813/17), and Cupapuy (1733–1813/17), situated 4,5 leagues south of Alta

139 De Vich, "Report to Governor of Guayana Don Luis Antonio Gil", Caroni, 16 April 1791, p. 123.

140 Special Commissioner Don José Olazarra, "Report", 25 February 1813, in: BRC, serial No. 715, Annex, pp. 205–211, at 208.

141 Administrator of the Department of the missions of the Caroni Venerable José Félix Blanco, "Declaration in the last Days of his Life", in: BRC, serial No. 891, pp. 207–208.

Gracia and 20 leagues south of Suay, respectively 19 leagues from the Capuchin headquarter San Antonio on the Caroni, which was located another 20 leagues distant from Angostura.

The Spatial Extensions of the Secret Boundary Expedition (1761–1770)

Prior, Santo Tome remained the sole permanent Spanish settlement of the Spaniards in Lower Orinoco (until 1764),[142] after several attacks by Caribs in union with English in 1740/42 and Dutch in 1752. Strengthened by "twenty-five families" from the Canaries in 1718[143] and "thirty" in 1725,[144] Santo Tome was annexed to Cumaná by Royal Order of 30 June 1731,[145] but remained in "miserable condition",[146] unfortified[147] and exposed to "continual anxieties and injuries"[148] until its transfer 30 Spanish leagues upstream[149] to "a place called La Angostura" in August 1764.[150]

142 This is confirmed for the years 1720, 1734, 1761, and 1763 (Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, pp. 4–5; 11; 42–43; Governor of Cumaná Don Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 15 December 1763, in: VEN, No. 394, pp. 348–357, at 353).

143 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 109–110.

144 Ibid. In total, eighty families were to be transported from the Canaries in 1725, the other fifty families were supposed to be sent to Maturin, where a Spanish fort was established in 1722.

145 Prior to the annexation of Santo Tome by Cumaná, the settlement was annexed by the kingdom of New Granada by Royal Cedula of 6 June 1662 (Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, pp. 4–5).

146 Ibid., p. 11.

147 Despite the persistent order to fortify Santo Tome by a fort on the island of Faxardo in 1726, 1733, 1753, 1761/62 (ibid., pp. 12–18), the establishment of the fort was still not carried out in 1777 (Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300). Thus, the forts San Francisco and Padrastro (eight leagues below Faxardo and "half a league below the mouth of the Caroni") remained the only fortifications of Santo Tome.

148 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 12.

149 The distance from Santo Tome via the Caroni missions to Angostura by land is derived from the map legends of an anonymous map (official date 1735, most likely of 1733) (Anonymous, "Sketch Map of the Capuchin missions in the Province of Guayana", about 1735, in: BC, No.72, p. 173) and 1771 (De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" [map legend], 1771, p. 175). Another account estimates the distance between Santo Tome and Angostura as 34 leagues during the rainy and 20 leagues during the dry season (Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 43), while Iturriaga determined the location of Angostura as "25 leagues above the Caroni" (Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300).

150 The transfer of Santo Tome was already considered by Carlos de Sucre at the beginning of the 1720s "as a matter of great importance for the Royal Service", but only resumed by

The transfer was made at the suggestion of Joseph Solano, Commissioner of the Secret Boundary Expedition constituted by the frontier treaty between Spain and Portugal on 13 January 1750.[151]

Officially intended to demarcate the boundaries between Spain and Portugal in northeastern South America, the Spanish Boundary Expedition was present on the Orinoco from April 1754[152] to 1761[153] and instead secretly ordered to expel the Dutch (and French) from the coastal mainland and "unite" the boundaries of the Spaniards and Portuguese.[154] Masterminded by Don José de Carvajal y Lancaster in May 1753, the joint Boundary Expedition was in particular instructed to "pushing forward settlements [. . .] towards the territory which the Dutch occupy"[155] by "hem[ing] [them] in"[156] and hindering them "from penetrating [. . .] into the heart of the dominions of the two Crowns".[157] Therefore, those Spanish settlement were to be established "somewhat higher up" in the shape of "a semicircle in the interior above and beyond the[ir] territory"[158] to "force [the Dutch and French] into a strip of territory,[159] or horseshoe, of small account, by no means fertile, and very unhealthy" and deprive them of subsistence. In addition, the Spaniards intended to use the African slaves to expel the Dutch (and French), since "with some help [of] their negroes [. . .] there is much probability that both, the one and the other may abandon the country and leave

Boundary Commissioner Don Joseph Solano in December 1761 (Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 1) and eventuated by Royal Cedula of 27 May 1762, ordering the transfer of Santo Tome to the "Angostura", that is the narrow part of the Orinoco (Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 15 December 1763, p. 348), which was carried out in August 1764 (ibid.).

151 The Spanish name of the treaty is "El Tratado Hispano-Portugues de Limites de 1750". The treaty was succeeded by the Treaty of El Pardo of 12 February 1761 in subsequence of the Guarani War of 1756.

152 N. N., "Minutes of a Letter upon the Subject of the Boundary between Spain and Portugal in America", Madrid, 19 June 1757, in: BRC, serial No. 322, pp. 132–134, at 132. While the Spaniards had left Spain "at the beginning of 1754" and arrived in Cumaná on 9 April 1754 (ibid.), the appointed Portuguese Boundary Commission for the Amazon had commenced their work already in 1751.

153 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 302.

154 Don José de Carvajal y Lancaster, "Letter to Count de Perelada", 28 May 1753, in: BRC, serial No. 276, pp. 79–81, at 80.

155 Secret Boundary Commission, "Plan to Expel the Dutch on the Continent by one of the Two Crowns", 1753, in: BRC, serial No. 273, p. 77.

156 Lancaster, "Letter to Count de Perelada", 28 May 1753, p. 80.

157 Don José Carvajal y Lancaster "Minuta to the Portuguese Secretary of State", Lisbon, 3 June 1753, in: BRC, serial No. 279, enclosure, p, 82.

158 Secret Boundary Commissioner, "Plan to Expel the Dutch", 1753, p. 77.

159 The Spanish original reads "terreno" (ibid.).

us quite alone".[160] Finally, the Caribs were intended to be reduced "by degrees", since "the Caribs of the Orinoco will not abandon their territories".[161]

Hence, the Secret Boundary Expedition in December 1761 first of all prompted the transfer of Santo Tome to the "Angostura of Orinoco",[162] situated about 25 leagues higher up from the Orinoco and Caroni junction and 83 leagues distant from the Atlantic Ocean,[163] which was eventuated by the Spanish king on 27 May 1762[164] and carried out by Joachim Moreno de Mendoza until 15 August 1764.[165] Mendoza became Acting Commandant[166] and was succeeded by Manuel Centurion in 1766,[167] who was placed "under the orders and direction" of former Boundary Commissioner "Don Josef Solano, governor of Carácas", who remained in this office until 1771.[168] At the same time, Angostura was annexed to the Viceroy of Santa Fé in 1764 "to place the government of this Prov-

160 Lancaster, "Letter to Conde de Perelada", Aranjuez, 28 May 1753, p. 81.

161 Secret Boundary Commissioner José de Iturriaga, "Letter to Don José Carvajal y Lancaster", Cadiz, 5 December 1753, in: BRC, serial No. 288. The Spanish original reads: "el Pais de los Carives" (ibid.).

162 De Inciarte, "Report to Intendant of the Army Don Francisco Saavedra", Carácas, 5 December 1783, pp. 312–313. In particular, this was suggested by Boundary Commissioner Joseph Solano (ibid.).

163 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300.

164 Diguja, "Report ", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, p. 348.

165 Ibid., p. 1. In November 1770, Angostura had "163 houses" ("Consulta of the Spanish king (December 1770)" (King Charles III, "Consulta", 21 May 1772, in: BB3, serial No. 30, Annex 1 (Spanish sources), pp. 296–297, at 296) and "500 poor" residents, who had been "recently removed there, and lodged in some straw huts" (De Inciarte, "Report to Intendant of the Army Don Francisco Saavedra", Carácas, 5 December 1783, pp. 312–313).

166 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 301.

167 On 5 May 1768, Governor Manuel Centurion was also ordered to take over the "general command of the Orinoco settlements". This office was previously held by Don Joseph Iturriaga (ibid., pp. 301–302), who in early 1767 had retired "in ill-health to the Island of Margarita" (ibid., p. 301).

168 Ibid. In result, the relevance of Santo Tome declined significantly, as in November 1773 the "old city of Guayana" was described as "sickly place", located "nine leagues below the mouth of the Caroni, and eight above the place where the Orinoco is divided into several branches" (Commander Guayana, "Letter to Secretary of State", 11 November 1773, in: VEN, No. 424, pp. 410–413, at 411), while it was also indicated that"[f]rom Caroni to the mouth of the Orinoco [at] a distance of fifty-eight leagues" the river would be "without any population on either side of the river" (ibid.). By decision of the Council of Angostura, Santo Tome was in January 1820 finally "reduced to an arsenal" (Congress of Angostura, "Decree", 28 January 1820, in: BRC, serial No. 741, p. 16).

ince on a new footing (up till then it was subject to that of Cumaná)",[169] after Santo Tome was annexed to Santa Fé between 1662 and 1731.[170]

Meanwhile, the two Boundary Commissioners Joseph Itturiaga and Joseph Solano had established the two Spanish settlements Real de Uyapo and Real Corona in Upper Orinoco until April 1760,[171] situated "35 leagues from that of Guayana" (Real Corona) and "60 leagues higher up on the Creek of Uyapo", near the Orinoco (Uyapo).[172] Both remained in desolate condition until December 1763,[173] while Ciudad Real grew to "458" residents in February 1776, including 127 Caribs, who were situated "12 leagues on the east bank of the Cuchivero".[174] In addition, the Spanish town San Fernando was attempted to be established until December 1763 on the Upper Orinoco banks above of the Vichada,[175] but failed, since "most of the settlers perished".[176] The settlement of La Esmeralda in Upper Orinoco then received royal approbation on 5 October 1768,[177] followed by the royal approbations for Borbon and Carolina on 14 November 1772,[178] after Joseph Itturriaga had ordered Francisco Villasana to establish Carolina "on the northern bank of the River Aroy, thirty leagues southwest of that capital"[179] and Josef de Espinosa to found Borbon in September 1762.[180]

Instead, when the Secret Boundary Expedition arrived in Cumaná in April 1754,[181] the third Boundary Commissioner Eugenio Alvarado had gone straight to the Lower Orinoco, which had been formally designated to the Catalonian Capuchins since 1734. In contrast to Solano and Itturiaga, the main order for Commissioner Alvarado was to carry out a "Carib Conference" in order to offer the Carib Chiefs "good terms" and "in his Royal name whatever presents might

169 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 301.
170 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, pp. 4–5.
171 Secret Boundary Commissioner Don José de Itturiaga, "Report to Ricardo Wall", Cabruta, 18 April 1760, in: BRC, serial No. 347, pp. 183–184.
172 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 302.
173 Diguja, "Report to King of Spain", 18 December 1761, p. 343.
174 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 302.
175 Prior, Itturiaga "with a team of surveyors, engineers and troops" had met "his Portuguese opposite" Mendonça Furtado in 1759 in Barcelos (Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, p. 27).
176 Diguja, "Report", Cumaná, 15 December 1763, pp. 93–94.
177 Spanish king Charles III, "Consulta", 21 May 1772, in: BB3, serial No. 30, Annex 1 (Spanish sources), pp. 296–297, at 296; Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 303.
178 Ibid., pp. 302–303.
179 Spanish king Charles III, "Consulta", 21 May 1772, p. 296.
180 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300.
181 N. N., "Minutes of a Letter upon the Subject of the Boundary between Spain and Portugal in America", Madrid, 19 June 1757, in: BRC, serial No. 322, pp. 132–134, at 132.

appear to you adequate"[182] to end both the "devastation" of the missions by the Carib[s][183] and the "constant injuries they inflict on us". In particular, he focused on summoning a Conference with

> a renowned Carib Chief living in these islands [of the Caroni River] at the head of a considerable force [. . .] and likewise with the head Chief of the sources of the Creek Aquire, where a large number of Caribs are living, and with other Chiefs of the same nation occupying the sources of the River Caroni.[184]

Hence, the "Conference" took place between July 1754 and April 1755 with the two Caciques Patacon and Oraparene,[185] but failed in achieving the intended results. Accordingly, the negotiations had commenced with "Chief Patacon (who formerly lived in the Islands of Caroni, and is now settled with the greater part of his people in the mission of Morucuri founded by Father Joseph de Guardia)",[186] whom Alvarado assertively "treat[ed] [. . .] well so as to make more sure of him", but considered it unnecessary "to treat of pacification", since this Carib Chief "was already reduced to civilized life", but who had after a negotiated cooling-off period of "one month" nonetheless withdrawn from his offer "to bring [. . .] Thumucu and other Chiefs, and to gather a number of Indians forthwith for settlement in the Mission of Aguacagua" in exchange for "presents made to him and to all his followers". Consequently, Alvarado resumed negotiations with Chief Oraparene, since "there is not merely one celebrated Chief of the Islands of Caroni, but several" and "the sources of the River Caroni" had not even been ascertained.[187] However, the "king of the Parava [Paragua]",[188] situated "more west of

182 King Ferdinand VI, "Royal Instructions to the Commissioners of the Secret Boundary Expedition", 6 November 1753, in: BRC, serial No. 287, p. 89.

183 The Spaniards in this context assumed that those attacks were "influenced and directed by the Dutch" (King Ferdinand VI, "Royal Instructions to the Commissioners of the Secret Boundary Expedition", 6 November 1753, in: BRC, serial No. 287, p. 89), which does not resonate with the Dutch accounts (chapters 10–12).

184 De Iturriaga, "Instructions to Alvarado", Cattle Farm in Guayana, 20 April 1755, p. 110.

185 Ibid., p. 105.

186 Murucuri was established in 1754 on the banks of the Caroni.

187 De Iturriaga, "Instructions to Alvarado", Cattle Farm in Guayana, 20 April 1755, p. 110.

188 Ibid. Accordingly, it is stated that "Parava in the Carib language, means sea", which is given to the place because of its location "at the concourse of so many streams". Furthermore, Alvarado declares that the sources of the Caroni are believed to be located "in the lake of the Parava" by the "Western Caribs", which "they call the sea, and which they reckon to be more than 30 leagues in extent, and inhabited by countless savage tribes on the southern slope. Others in the same direction place these sources nearer, but too far off to be ascertained", while Alvarado considers the former as "more probable". In addition, the Boundary Commission indicates that "the Caroni is a small river, and that very near its sources a considerable

the Islands of Caroni on a great cañon, which is together up than the Island of Patacon", emphatically refused any means of reduction and pacification. Thus, the Cacique Oraparene

> openly replied that he did not want to give up his kingship and go into a state of misery in the Mission, where he could not have authority, "guarichas" [i.e., wives], freedom to capture "poitos", or to trade with his friends the Dutch and thus "remain[ed] obstinately attached to that sort of existence".[189]

In similar manner, Joseph Itturiaga had soon afterwards also failed in persuading the famous Carib Cacique Taricura from Barima,[190] whom he had encountered "up in Caroni" in September 1755, to settle in the Murucuri mission along with his "friend" Patacon. Beforehand, Commissioner Alvarado had indicated already in 1754. that "it is morally impossible to enter into negotiations of peace with the innumerable Chiefs of the sources of the Acquire", who "are so many and of equal reputation and strength" and concluded that it would be

> very difficult to bring the various Chiefs of that district to negotiations for peace, and still more to reach any of them, for an armed expedition could not be made for that purpose only, and therefore I have suspended the matter.[191]

Nevertheless, Joseph Itturiaga in April 1760 proceeded against the Caribs of Caura and Aro (Avoi) by fitting out two expeditions,[192] after the Spanish Boundary Commissioner had failed in convincing the Carib Chiefs of "leaving their dwellings

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one, called the Carap, falls into it; the latter rises in the woods of the southern slope, and this stream has made the Caroni famous for its current", which would have been based on "account[s] from various Indians who have recently come from the woods. The first was given to me by some Guaicas Barinagotos, through their missionary on the Yuruario, Father Thomas de San Pedro [probably the mission Ayma, see Section above], and the second by some Caribs, through their missionary in Aguacagua, on the eastern banks of the Caroni" (ibid, p. 112). The latter mission emerges in no other account of Capuchin missions and was therefore most probably abandoned soon after its establishment.

189 Ibid, pp. 110–112.

190 Taricura was the Carib Cacique, who had led the series of attacks upon Capuchin missions during the 1730s.

191 De Iturriaga, "Instructions to Alvarado", Cattle Farm in Guayana, 20 April 1755, pp. 110–112.

192 De Itturiaga, "Report to Ricardo Wall", Cabruta, 18 April 1760, pp. 183–184. Iturriaga had justified the armed expedition against the Caribs by quoting that the Caribs would have "made war upon other nations, took slaves and sent them to Essequibo, depopulating in this way the dominions of the king, whilst peopling the territories [terrenos] which the Dutch enjoy, and increasing their possessions", while "(t)he Caribs in the settlements [missions] made repeated journeys to the dwellings in the woods, obtaining permission from their missionary fathers on the pretext of bringing to the settlement some of their relatives [. . .]. Some remained there and others returned to their settlements" (ibid.).

on the hills [. . .] and come to settle in the Missions" in exchange for presents, since the Caribs had "far from giving ear to my persuasions, have gone higher up beyond the falls of the Rivers Paragua, Aroi, and Caura", and assertively also threatened to "take vengeance on the Spaniards who had subjected them to the Missions, and [they] were not wanting some who declared themselves king of the Caribs and king of the Orinoco" after the departure of the Boundary Commission (1761).[193] In particular, Itturiaga had equipped each of the two expeditions with twelve Spaniards and twelve Caribs,[194] who would have, most notably "without firing a gun or striking a blow", seized "all those [Caribs] of Caura and all those of the Aroi [. . .] with the exception of those who were on expeditions for capturing slaves from other nations", while "as many as eighty took flight" on the road to Pilar, "some from Caura had likewise gone to the neighbourhood of Essequibo, and the rest were moved to follow them".[195] Nevertheless, Itturiaga used the expeditions afterwards to claim that he had "tamed the pride of the said Indians and subdued and handed over many of them to the Missionaries [. . .] in order to more effectually restrain the advance of the conquests of that nation [sic!]," and to assert that

> he brought under Your Majesty's dominion and [. . .] our holy Religion, the tribes of Indians ruling in that country, who not only had up to that time, with extraordinary valour and constancy, prevented the entry of the Spaniards on the Upper Orinoco, but also destroyed, in cruel and continual war, the other natives.[196]

Neil Whitehead is following the narrative of the Spaniard Itturiaga by suggesting that "the conquest of the Caribs of the Caura and Aro had been significantly proceeded during two expeditions of the Spanish Boundary Commission in 1760" and would have had been then "complete[d] in 1771 through forces sent in 1769/70 along the Orinoco" for making "the final entradas [. . .] against the Caribs of Quiriquiripa", which the anthropologist determines as "the last independent groups on the Aro-Caura Rivers".[197] In contrast, the Council of the Indies still stated in 1776/77 that

193 De Itturiaga, "Report to Ricardo Wall", Cabruta, 18 April 1760, p. 183.
194 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 127.
195 De Itturiaga, "Report to Ricardo Wall", Cabruta, 18 April 1760, pp. 183–184.
196 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 301.
197 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, pp. 127–128; Whitehead, *Conquest of the Caribs*, pp. 215–216; 218.

> except the 30 leagues which the Catalonian Capuchin missionaries had penetrated in their district [. . .] there remained many hundreds of square leagues for us to settle and occupy, with great profit to the State and to Religion; but that to our misfortune it was all not only unknown to the Spaniards, but abandoned to foreign settlers, who became acquainted with the Caribs through the trade in slaves from the savage tribes which live in the centre of that extensive country, and by this reasons considerably increased their settlement on the sea coast and on the River Amazon, leaving us the land deserted and impossible for us to occupy in future.[198]

The Spanish Council then reasoned that "there neither were nor are in that Province Indians, who can be subdued and converted by words or preaching only" and suggested to apply "force and presents were necessary to bring them from the forests and keep them in civilized and Christian society". Crucially, the Council of the Indies clearly distinguished between the practices of "conquest" and "pacification". Whereas Neil Whitehead suggests that the Capuchin missionaries would have presented "agent[s] of conquest in this region",[199] the Capuchin removal expeditions were nevertheless authorized by the Capuchin Prefect and, despite the provision of soldiers by the governor, the missionaries acted on their own without financial support by the Spanish crown, while the "pacification" practices were not equated with the practice of a (lawful) Spanish "conquest", as this had required the authorization of the Spanish king.

Meanwhile, in 1769, the Spanish governor Manuel Centurion had ordered the establishment of two Spanish settlements in the direction towards the Paragua,[200] whose Caribs would have had "proceeded to the River Parime [Uraricoera]" about April 1760.[201] In 1769, the Spaniards built Fort Hipoqui[202] on their way from Angostura to the Paragua by "allowance" of Centurion.[203] Located 20 leagues south of Angostura,[204] Hipoqui received royal approbation as a "constituted Spanish village" in 1770.[205] Furthermore, Barceloneta was established "on the northern bank of the River Paragua, near the Island of Ypoqué [Hipoqui]", situated from Angostura a "three and a-half days' march". Settled with "twelve

198 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, pp. 301–302.
199 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 19.
200 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.
201 Whitehead, *Lords of the Tiger Spirit*, p. 128.
202 Prefect of Capuchin missions Fray Carlos de Barcelona, "Memorandum as to Condition of Capuchin missions in Guayana", 12 September 1770, in: VEN, No. 417, p. 402.
203 Ibid.
204 De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175.
205 De Barcelona, "Memorandum", 12 September 1770, p. 402.

Spanish families (with a few Indians)" and mainly financed by the Royal Treasury with "some expenses to the Reverend community", the Royal Crown had recognized Barceloneta as Capuchin settlement in May 1772,[206] which was occupied until 1788 with 254 captured "Barinagotos".[207] In April 1791, however, the Capuchins renounced their claim as part of the authority dispute with the Spanish governor,[208] and Barceloneta became the Spanish town "Barceloneta de Españoles" by 1813, with 494 Spaniards.[209]

In August 1791, the Catalonian Capuchins again refused to deliver all other missions,[210] whereas the Jesuits had "handed over" their missions to Governor Centurion already in July 1772,[211] after the Society of Jesus was generally ex-pulsed.[212] More precisely, the Jesuits had officially "evacuated" their missions in Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro in September 1771,[213] but had commenced to leave the area already since February 1768, when the Dutch director-general in Essequibo had reported that four Jesuits would have "right up in Massaruni [. . .] have crossed the river and have made their way direct to the Amazon" in order "to get to Paraguay", which had become necessary "after the arrest of their comrades in Guayana".[214] In contrast, the Catalonian Capuchins remained in the area until the Caroni missions were destroyed in the War of Independence about 1817, just after the Dutch had handed over their colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice to the English in 1814, whose lawful appropriation is investigated in the following chapters 8–12.

206 King Charles III, "Consulta", 21 May 1772, in: BB3, serial No. 30, Annex 1 (Spanish sources), pp. 296–297, at 296.

207 De Vich, "Table of the missions of the Reverend Father Capuchin of Catalonia of the Province of Guayana sent to Father Fray Joseph Cervera", 31 August 1788, p. 324.

208 De Vich, "Report to Governor of Guayana Don Luis Antonio Gil", Caroni, 16 April 1791, p. 123.

209 N. N., "Table of Capuchin missions of Guayana in the Lower Orinoco", after 1813, p. 356; De Barcelona, "Capuchin missions of Guayana" (map legend), 1771, p. 175. The settlement is also known as Villa de San Isidore de la Barceloneta.

210 De Vich, "Report to Governor of Guayana Don Luis Antonio Gil", Caroni, 16 April 1791, p. 123.

211 Council of the Indies, "Report", Madrid, 1776, p. 300.

212 Ibid., p. 301.

213 Council of the Indies, "Report", 16 February 1776 and 26 April 1777, p. 152.

214 Director General Essequibo, "Letter to West India Company", 9 February 1768, in: BRC, serial No. 438, pp. 161–162.