

Chapter 10

Essequibo and the Limits of Plantations (1670/75–1803)

In accordance with the Grotian legal provisions and in supplementation to the examined Dutch colonial practices in Essequibo from 1616 until the English attack of 1665, this chapter is mapping out the Dutch colonial appropriation practices of the newly established Essequibo colony from 1670/1675 until the second Dutch surrender to the English in 1796/1814, in order to determine the spatial extent of Dutch occupation in Essequibo, Lower Mazaruni, and Lower Cuyuni. Therefore, the chapter first of all traces the WIC plantations laid out in the vicinity of the Essequibo junction since 1681, before examining the free plantations of Upper Essequibo since 1699 and determining the spatial extent of plantations in Lower Essequibo, following the transfer of the Dutch fort from Kijkoveral to Fort Zeelandia in the 1730s, which resulted in the abandonment of the Upper Essequibo plantations since 1773.

Fort Kijkoveral and the WIC Plantations at the Essequibo Junction (1670/75–c. 1764)

In the aftermath of the English attack of 1665,¹ Fort Kijkoveral in Lower Mazaruni was recaptured by Dutch Captain Matthijs Bergenaar² and “handed over” to the West India Company on 11 April 1670,³ before the Assembly of the WIC

¹ Dutch Essequibo was attacked by the English along with Nova Zeelandia in Pomeroon (Chapter 12) and Tobago (Chapter 9) after Cromwell had failed in his “Western Design against the Spanish Caribbean in 1654–1655” (Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 136) and his failed attempt “to seize Hispaniola as a base for a subsequent invasion of the Spanish-American mainland” (Pagden, “The Struggle for Legitimacy”, p. 35).

² WIC (Zeeland), “Proceedings”, 3 January 1686–9 January 1686, in: BRC, serial No. 104, pp. 189–192, at 192. The recapture took place in the context of the capture of the English colony in Suriname and Tobago relief by van Crujnsen (Chapter 9). Accordingly, an English source narrates that “the main fort was not taken until the coming of the Fleet from Zealand 1667”. Furthermore, it is reported that Bergenaar had “continued to occupy the aforesaid River” (Governor Byam, “Journal”, c. 1669, p. 167).

³ WIC (Zeeland), “Proceedings”, 3–9 January 1686, p. 192. This is confirmed by Eric van der Oest, who indicates that Essequibo was briefly governed by the States General “[a]fter the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664–1667)”, but in 1670 “returned to the local [Zeeland] chamber of the WIC” (E. W. van der Oest, “The Forgotten Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara”, in:

Nineteen approved WIC Zeeland's petition "to erect a new Colony on the whole Wild Coast" on 23 June 1670,⁴ on the condition to exclude Pomeroon, "since the disposal thereof does [. . .] belong to the Committee of Nova Zeelandia" and was "struck out" of the agreement.⁵ Hence, the renewed WIC Charter of the second WIC of 20 September 1674⁶ explicitly inserted "the places of Isekepe [Essequibo] and Bauwmerona [Pomeroon], situated on the continent of America",⁷ before Pomeroon was finally transferred to WIC Zeeland from the Walcheren cities Middelburg, Vlissingen, and Vere⁸ in April 1686.⁹ Meanwhile, by February 1675, the WIC in Zeeland had sent Hendrik Rol as commander for the newly established colony in the Essequibo,¹⁰ who was bound to the new WIC Charter, which in September 1674 had reaffirmed the orders of the Charter of 1621 in its provisions to conclude treaties and form alliances with Indigenous Peoples "within the limits" of Essequibo and Pomeroon, but also to establish "fortresses and strongholds" and appoint "governors, warriors, and officers of justice".¹¹ However, Hendrik Rol, based at Fort Kijkoveral, situated "about one long cannon shot" distant from the Essequibo and Mazaruni junction (see Figure 9),¹² had instead set in motion the process of establishing plantations in the vicinity of the Essequibo junction, which commenced with the foundation of WIC plantations in

J. Postma and V. Enthoven [eds.], *Riches from Atlantic Commerce. Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping 1585–1817*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 323–365, at 325).

4 WIC (Zeeland), "Proceedings", 2 June 1670–23 June 1670, in: BRC, serial No. 79, pp. 170–171, at 171. The validity of the contract of WIC Zeeland has been challenged several times since 1751 by the Amsterdam Chamber for Demerara.

5 WIC (Zeeland), "Proceedings", 3–9 January 1686, p. 192; Van der Oest, "Forgotten Colonies", p. 326.

6 Shareholders of WIC (Zeeland), "Memorial", 30 November 1751, in: BRC, serial No. 265, pp. 71–72.

7 Dutch States General, "Charter of the New West India Company", 20 September 1674, pp. 174–175.

8 WIC (Zeeland) and Walcheren Cities, "Provisional Contract", 16/24 December 1657, p. 125.

9 WIC (Amsterdam), "Resolution about the Population and Cultivation of Pomeroon and Appointment of Jacob de Jonge", 5 April 1586, in: BRC, serial No. 106, p. 193.

10 WIC (Zeeland), "Letter to commander Essequibo Hendrik Rol", 22 February 1675, in: BC, No. 41, p. 141. Hendrik Rol had arrived in Essequibo in May 1670 (WIC [Zeeland], "Proceedings", 26 August 1669–5 November 1674, in: BC, No. 40, pp. 138–141, at 138–139).

11 More precisely, the WIC Charter ordered again "within the limits set down above, [to conclude] contracts, leagues, and alliances with the Princes and natives of the countries lying within them" (Dutch States General, "Charter of the New West India Company", 20 September 1674, p. 175, Article 2). This went along with the order to "keep up establishments of good order, police, and justice, for other necessary services, and for the maintenance of the places" (*ibid.*).

12 Director General, "Letter to WIC", 2 May 1760, in: BRC, serial No. 348, pp. 184–185, at 185.

both Lower Mazaruni and Cuyuni, which were reserved for the West India Company. Therefore, in 1681, a cassava field was laid out “(o)n a certain island in the mouth of the Cuyuni”,¹³ which was followed by the plantations d’Hoop¹⁴ and Fortuijn¹⁵ in 1691 and New Middelburg¹⁶ and Poelwijk (1700)¹⁷ in Lower Mazaruni. Transferred in August 1704 “above the falls”,¹⁸ Poelwijk still presented the furthest WIC plantation on the west bank of Lower Mazaruni in 1748/1749,¹⁹ but was abandoned by the WIC before October 1754²⁰ in result of the transfer of the Dutch Fort from Kijkoveral to Zeelandia in the Essequibo mouth. By contrast, the first WIC plantation in the vicinity of the Essequibo junction (Westersonburgh) was established in 1706.²¹ Located on the Essequibo west bank and below the first fall in Lower Mazaruni, Westersonburgh’s “break up” was ordered in January 1708,²² resulting in the clearance for the WIC plantation Duynenburgh in May 1710 at the junction of the Mazaruni and Cuyuni,²³ which was situated “right opposite the fort and towards Cayuni”.²⁴

13 Commander Essequibo Abraham Beekman, “Letter to WIC”, 1681, in: BC, No. 51, pp. 151–153.

14 WIC, “Muster Rolls: Dutch Posts and Postholders in Essequibo”, in: BRC, pp. 149–187, at 150–151. Alternative spellings are Cajoene or Caione.

15 An alternative spelling is Fortuyn. The bread plantation was still in existence in 1700 (commander Essequibo, “Journal”, Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, p. 217) and was situated abreast of the island of Fort Kijkoveral on both banks of the Lower Mazaruni (Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135).

16 For the first time, the WIC plantation was recorded in January 1700 (commander Essequibo, “Journal”, Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, p. 217) and confirmed in May 1700 (WIC, “Muster Rolls”, pp. 150–151), but vanished until 1706 (Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135). In 1703, the distance of the WIC plantation to Fort Kijkoveral was indicated as “1 ½ [Dutch] miles” (WIC, “Muster Rolls”, p. 153).

17 Ibid., pp. 150–151.

18 Commander Essequibo Samuel Beekman, “Letter to WIC”, 10 August 1704, in: BC, No. 92, p. 208. Arguably, this fall was Torterreba (WIC, “Muster Rolls”, p. 187), although surveyor Abraham Maas had in 1706 indicated that Poelwijk is situated parallel to the first fall (Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135).

19 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Rios Essequibe et Demerary”, 22 June 1750, p. 139.

20 Director-General Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 12 October 1754, in: BRC, serial No. 298, pp. 96–100, at 96. This results from a statement of the Director General of the same date, who gave orders to “those of Agterkerke [Aechtekerke] [. . .] to retire, on the first signal of alarm, with all his slaves up to the place where Poelwijk used [sic!] to be” (ibid.).

21 Before that, the number of WIC servants increased from 43 in 1691 to 68 in 1700 (WIC, “Muster Rolls”, pp. 150–151).

22 Commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 23 January 1708, in: BB3, serial No. 35, p. 72.

23 Alternative spellings are Duynenburg or Duinenburgh and also “Oud Duynenburgh” (after 1748/49).

24 Commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 13 May 1710, in: BB3, serial No. 38, p. 73.



Figure 9: Fort Kijkoveral and WIC Plantations in Lower Mazaruni in 1706.

From Duynenburgh, the WIC in March 1724 proceeded to the Lower Cuyuni by laying out coffee, cocoa, and indigo plantations,²⁵ situated “half-an-hour above that of your Lordships’ cassava plantation already laid out in Cajoeny”,²⁶ where the coffee cultivation was concentrated in August 1726, since “[t]he grounds in Cajoeny being better for this culture than any in the Colony”.²⁷ In September 1729, the coffee plantation was complemented by cocoa²⁸ and “12,000 coffee shrubs and 200 cocoa trees” planted between December 1730 and February 1731.²⁹ The plantation in December 1733 became the central place for the Company’s coffee and cocoa cultivation, “since we are not in a position to lay out new plantations for the further cultivation of the aforesaid two commodities [coffee and cocoa] with the

²⁵ In June 1724, a coffee plantation was already established “at the corner of Barritique” (Court of Policy, “Letter to WIC”, 15 June 1724, in: BB3, serial No. 50, pp. 77), whereas a land grant for Bartica was again accorded to William Louissie in April 1736 for “a clearing for cocoa and coffee lying between the point of Bartica and the point of Essequibo” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 190).

²⁶ Court of Policy, “Letter to WIC”, 23 March 1724, in: BRC, serial No. 48, p. 77.

²⁷ Court of Policy, “Letter to WIC”, 4 August 1726, in: BB3, serial No. 54, pp. 78–79, at 79. In September 1729, this coffee plantation was accompanied by another one, situated “upon the Island Batavia” (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 30 January 1730, in: BRC, serial No. 183, p. 10; commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 30 May 1730, in: BB3, serial No. 62, p. 82).

²⁸ Commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 30 January 1730, p. 10; commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 30 May 1730, p. 82.

²⁹ Court of Policy, “Minutes”, 1 April 1731, in: BB3, serial No. 64, p. 83.

number of slaves at our disposal here”³⁰ and was abandoned before May 1760.³¹ In addition, the WIC in Lower Cuyuni experimented with indigo. Considered since July 1707,³² the “first clearing” was made in February 1732,³³ before the plantation was abandoned until August 1764.³⁴

Around 1699, the WIC plantations were accompanied by free plantations, whereupon the Court of Policy increased the number of the councillors at the Court of Policy from four to eight in June 1700³⁵ and the WIC “master-planters”³⁶ Leendert van Genis (D’Hoop), Bernardus Hutman (Fortuijn), Anthony Dierksen Looman (Poelwijk),³⁷ and WIC sergeant Hendrik

30 Court of Policy, “Letter to WIC”, 5 December 1733, in: BB3, serial No. 70, p. 84.

31 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 2 May 1760, pp. 184–185. Priorly, the existence of the combined cocoa and coffee plantation was confirmed in May 1739 (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, Fort River Essequibo, 20 May 1739, in: BRC, serial No. 209, enclosure, pp. 28–30, at 29), March 1741 (Miner Thomas Hildebrandt, “Report of Mining Expedition to WIC Amsterdam”, 9 March 1741, in: BRC, serial No. 213, p. 31), July 1746 (commander Essequibo L. Storm van’s Gravesande, “Letter to WIC”, 20 July 1746, in: BRC, serial No. 232, p. 45), 1748/1749 (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, in: BC, No. 60, p. 137, plantation No. 89) and July 1759 (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 20 July 1759, in: BRC, serial No. 338, pp. 175–176, at 175).

32 Commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 2 July 1707, in: BB3, serial No. 34, p. 72.

33 Court of Policy, “Letter to WIC”, 4 February 1732, in: BB3, serial No. 66, p. 83.

34 Director General, “A Brief Treatise concerning the Honourable Company’s Trading-Places”, August 1764, in: BRC, serial No. 396, enclosure 1, pp. 107–112, at 111; L. Storm van’s Gravesande, “A Brief Treatise concerning the Honourable Company’s Trading-places”, August 1764, in: BB3, serial No. 171, enclosure 1, pp. 129–131, at 129. Accordingly, the Director General then disclosed that “the Spaniards spread themselves from year to year, and gradually come closer by means of their missions, the small parties sent out by them coming close to the place where the Honourable Company’s indigo plantation stood [sic!] and being certain to try and establish themselves if they are not stopped in time.” Confirmed in May 1741 (Miner Thomas Hildebrandt, “Account [23 April 1741–9 May 1741]”, Alt Cartado, 4 June 1741, in: BRC, serial No. 215, pp. 32–34, at 34), July 1743 (Miner Thomas Hildebrandt, “Journal”, 20 May 1743–19 July 1743, in: BRC, serial No. 222, pp. 39–40, at 39), July 1759 (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 20 July 1759, in: BRC, serial No. 338, pp. 175–176, at 175) and May 1760 (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 2 May 1760, pp. 184–185), the indigo plantation was not indicated in Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137.

35 Commander Essequibo, “Journal”, Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, p. 220. This happened through the “appoint[ment of] four new Councillors” (ibid.)

36 WIC, “Muster Rolls”, pp. 150–151.

37 Instead of signing the “Regulations of the Court of Policy” respectively “Proceedings of the Court of Policy” he had added the “mark x” (Court of Policy, “Regulations and Warnings”,

Bierman³⁸ were joined by the four free plantation owners Adriaen Hollander (Oosterbeek), Jan de Latombe (Nieuw Cortrick), Matthys Thierens (Hoff van Breda), and Christjaan Godlobb Uschner (Noordenbeek)³⁹ between July and November 1701.⁴⁰ At the same time, both the commander and secretary of the Essequibo colony lost their councillor positions.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the *ratio* between the councillors of the WIC and free planters remained in favour of the WIC, as the councillors of the free planters were selectively deputized, while all WIC plantations remained directly represented in the Court.

Plantations at the Essequibo Junction (1699–1771)

Although the WIC Zeeland Chamber in October 1685 had “in the strongest fashion” opposed to “have thrown open the Colony of Essequibo” for free trade,⁴² the WIC plantations were accompanied by free plantations in Essequibo since December 1699, namely Oosterbeek (Director Adriaen Hollander, later renamed St. Jan),⁴³ established on both banks of Upper Essequibo between the Essequibo junction and the first fall,⁴⁴ “Hoog en Droogh”,⁴⁵ situated above Oosterbeek

5 July 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 129, p. 222–224, at 224; Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 130, p. 225).

38 Court of Policy, “Regulations and Warnings”, 5 July 1701, p. 224; Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, p. 225; WIC, “Muster Rolls”, pp. 150–151.

39 The three latter accorded the documents of the Court of Policy by “token” (Dutch Original: Handteijken) (Court of Policy, “Regulations and Warnings”, 5 July 1701, p. 224; Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, p. 225), while the assignment of the names to the plantations was derived from Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 130, p. 225.

40 Court of Policy, “Regulations and Warnings”, 5 July 1701, p. 224; Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, p. 225.

41 Ibid. Accordingly, commander Samuel Beekman in November 1701 was exclusively listed as commander instead as commander and Councillor (Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 130, p. 225).

42 This was indicated as “eleven years after the erection of the new Company” (WIC Shareholders [Zeeland], “Memorial”, 30 November 1751, pp. 71–72).

43 Commander Essequibo, “Journal”, Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, pp. 217–218.

44 Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135.

45 Commander Essequibo, “Journal”, Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, p. 219. Alternative Spellings are Hoogendroog (Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135) and Haai en Droog (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 13 May 1710, p. 73). See also commander Essequibo, “Journal”, Fort Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, in: BRC, serial No. 127, p. 214–221, at 217. Accordingly, Pieter Tollenaer was indicated as “free planter” in the Journal entry of January 1700 and indicated as “Director”

(Director Pieter Tollenaer),⁴⁶ Vryheid (Abraham Cousyns),⁴⁷ Batavia (Jacobus Tournalje), Nieuw Cortrijk (Jan de Latombe)⁴⁸ and Noordenbeek (Christjaan Godlobb Uscher) in Upper Essequibo,⁴⁹ Heerenbeek (Messrs. Goedhart) and Eendragt (Johannes de Wilde) below the Essequibo junction, Westerbeek in Lower Mazaruni⁵⁰ and the spatially unspecified plantations of Andries Antheunissen, Hoff van Breda (Matthys Thierens), and Hoff van Rumpst (Pieter Tauli).⁵¹ Moreover, by 1706, Dutch free planters in Upper Essequibo had also

of the “plantation ‘Hoog en Droogh’” in February 1700 (*ibid.*, p. 219). The plantation was abandoned in February 1735 (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 189).

46 Pieter Tollenaer was consistently listed as Director of the plantation, except the listing of his brother Anthony in November 1701 (Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 130, p. 225).

47 Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, p. 224. For the first time, the plantation was recorded in May 1701 (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 14 May 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 128, pp. 221–222, at 221) and was situated on both banks of the Upper Essequibo junction (Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135). Until 1748/49, the plantation was transferred to the west bank of Lower Essequibo and the owner (“eigenaar”) changed to A. Spoors (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No76).

48 Nieuw Cortrijk was situated below the first fall on the east bank of Upper Essequibo (Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135) and still existed in that place in 1748/49 (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 23 [Cortrijk]). The date of the thematic Sketch-map is specified as 1748/49, since the official date is given with 1748, but the indicated “volcano” had been only “discovered [in the] year 1749” (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137), wherefore the date of 1749 appears more likely as the map’s year of origin. In addition, the accompanying letter of the map, written by the Essequibo commander on 8 September 1749, reads: “Your Honours will also find marked on it [the map] above in the Essequibo River in the Creek Siparouni an active volcano, which was discovered there by the present postholder of Arinda a year ago [1748]”, which, according to “the Indians”, had begun “to burn continually [and] cast out stones [. . .] about six years ago”, wherefore “almost all have retired from thereabout” (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 8 September 1749, in: BRC, serial No. 253, p. 63).

49 Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135 (derived location).

50 Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, in: BRC, serial No. 130, p. 225. The name of the Westerbeek director was omitted in November 1701 (*ibid.*) and in May 1710 indicated as “Heer Bate” (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 13 May 1710, p. 73). See also Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135.

51 Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Essequibo, 19 November 1701, p. 225; Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135. In 1748/49, a plantation with the name “Hof van Breda” emerged on the site of the former WIC plantation Westersonburgh (1706–1708) with Abraham van Cruijse as owner, when former Vrijheid owner Thierens was listed as owner of plantation No. 35 (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137). In the 1760s, both plantation owners re-emerged with plantations on Wacquename island.

established the plantations Hof van Holland,⁵² Waterung, Vriedenburg, and Rosendaal.⁵³ All of them were situated in the vicinity of the Essequibo junction (see Figure 10).⁵⁴

At least until 1771 limited to the great fall “grande manna val”, the number of free plantations in Essequibo increased between 1706 and 1748/49, but became significantly smaller in size.⁵⁵ Accordingly, the Court of Policy in September 1742 granted the grounds in Wacaipire to Jan Baptist Stok “to the length of 600 rods”⁵⁶ and accorded the petition of Christiaan Finet for the “ground adjoining his clearing down to the Creek Tipuri” in April 1739, along with petitions of God Wijlant for “bread-grounds from the Creek Woenipiere” in December 1739, Jan Jansen for grounds in the Creek Corieij extending “from the Creek Aijrware-Caboera to the Creek Emerawaboe” in January 1742, Engel Locke for an area extending from “Ar-oewaij as far as Coerécourocabora to the length of 600 rods” in April 1746 and Mooses Isakse de Vries in August 1741 for grounds “from the Abire Creek to the Marige Fall”.⁵⁷

More grounds were accorded by the Court of Policy in the 1750s, such as in October 1755 to the former Arinda postholder Jacob Fredrik Mushak,⁵⁸ Jan Stok for “the two islands over against the creek Arwaik” and two islands opposite “the old plantation Nieuw Kortrijk” in April 1756⁵⁹ and Philippus van der Wehe

52 Confirmed in 1710 (along with Westerbeek, Haaj ein Drooj and Cortrijk) with Abraham Buisson as director, (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 13 May 1710, p. 73), the plantation Hof van Holland still existed in 1748/49 on the west bank below the Essequibo junction (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 81 (Hof van Holland)).

53 Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135; Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 83 (Vriendenburg), plantation No. 18 (Rosendaal).

54 Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135.

55 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137; Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135.

56 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 192. In 1748/49, Jan Stok was also listed as owner of the plantation Cortrijk (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137) and became known for his ill-treatment of Indigenous Peoples (Chapter 11).

57 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 190–193. While Mooses de Vries died in December 1746 (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 7 December 1746, in: BRC, serial No. 234, pp. 46–48, at 48), the Court of Policy also accorded a leave for Oosterbeek Director Andries Pieterse “to lay out for a private coffee and cocoa place a piece of ground lying in the River Essequibo between the small Creeks Timitie Coere and Soericierse” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 190).

58 Mushak was postholder of Arinda from September 1749 to June 1755 (WIC, “Muster Rolls: Dutch Posts and Postholders in Essequibo”, pp. 149–187, at 152–161).

59 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 196. The plantation of Jan Stok on the eastern bank of Upper Essequibo was at least in existence until September 1753, since the

in September 1753 for grounds “next to the boundary of Jan Stok upwards”. Also in April 1756, the Court had approved the transfer of “more than 2,000 acres” of the grounds of the deceased E. G. Schulz to his former wife, who later on remarried David Scherver,⁶⁰ whereas the first transfer of plantations is recorded for December 1733, when the plantation *Vrijheid* was transferred to Anthony Thierens.⁶¹ The Court in the mid-1760s, approved several private sales of land, such as the conveyance of land by David Scherver to J. Pieterse in Upper Essequibo “for the sum of 400 guilders”⁶² and the huge sale of the plantation *Saint Jan* (formerly *Oosterbeek*) “for 120,000 guilders” by the governor of *Saint Eustatius* to Messrs. *Windhuysen* and *La Barre*, who “arrived here last week to take possession of the plantation”.⁶³ Thereupon, the widow of *Niels Andreas Schulz*, *Susanna Steencken*, in May 1771 successfully requested the consolidation of the plantations *Rosendaal* and *Three Sisters*.⁶⁴ At that time, the plantation of the widow E. G. Schulz, situated on both banks of the Upper Essequibo just below the “*grande mana val*”, presented the furthest Dutch plantation in Upper Essequibo.⁶⁵ Afterwards, a further spatial extension of plantations in Upper Essequibo appears unlikely, as the plantations in those parts were increasingly abandoned in favour of the Lower Essequibo since 1773.

Meanwhile, the free planters had since 1722/23 also commenced to cultivate plantations in Lower *Mazaruni* and *Cuyuni*, which was previously reserved for the Company. Starting with the land grant of *Johannes Keyts* for “300 rods” in the *Cuyuni* mouth in September 1723, the Court of Policy also accorded the petitions of sergeant *Anthonie de Miermond* in February 1734 for “a small piece of

grant to *Peter de Wehe* was accorded for the grounds extending “from the boundary of *Jan Stok* upwards, 600 rods” (Court of Policy, “*Digest of Land Grants*”, 1720–1771, p. 195).

60 Court of Policy, “*Digest of Land Grants*”, 1720–1771, pp. 195; 189; *Storm van’s Gravesande*, “*Plantations of Essequibo*”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 25.

61 Court of Policy, “*Digest of Land Grants*”, 1720–1771, p. 189; *Storm van’s Gravesande*, “*Plantations of Essequibo*”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 24.

62 Court of Policy, “*Digest of Land Grants*”, 1720–1771, p. 198. Most likely, *David Scherver* in 1748/49 was also the owner of plantation No. 31, situated on the west bank just above the Essequibo junction (*Storm van’s Gravesande*, “*Plantations of Essequibo*”, 1748/1749, p. 137).

63 *Director General Laurens Storm van’s Gravesande*, “*Letter to WIC*”, 1 June 1768, in: BB3, serial No. 205, pp. 154–155.

64 Born as *Susanna de Heere*, this woman was married to *Niels Schulz* until his death and in January 1769 married to *C.F.V.S.G. Stuncken* (*Steencken*) (Court of Policy, “*Digest of Land Grants*”, 1720–1771, pp. 201; 204). In 1748/49, two Schulz plantations were indicated. Since plantation No. 25, situated abreast of the “*vall*” belonged to E. G. Schulz, the plantation of *Niels Schulz* was most likely plantation No. 28 on the western bank of Upper Essequibo (*Storm van’s Gravesande*, “*Plantations of Essequibo*”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 28).

65 *Storm van’s Gravesande*, “*Plantations of Essequibo*”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 25.

ground at the lower end of Creole Island to lay out a coffee garden” and for “a piece of land behind Creole Island” in April 1735, which was followed by the petition of councillor Mong in August 1738 for “the Island Arwasje”, along “with 300 rods along the bank opposite the island” and the timber leave for “the remainder of the Creole Island”, accompanied by the same for Director Johannes Backer in June 1735 “to fell some timber in the River Caione for buildings for his private place”. Limited to the Cuyuni mouth, more islands of the Cuyuni were granted in the 1740s, namely to Stephanus Gerardus van der Heijden in March 1743 for “half the islet that lies by the Creole Island” (along with land in Lower Mazaruni), Daniel Couvreur in January 1744 “for the little island lying by the great fall” and again to Stephanus van der Heijden for “the Island Arajoe” in January 1745. Christiaan Finet’s petition for “some grounds in Cajoene” was “deferred for further inquiry” in the same session. The Lower Cuyuni land grants continued in 1761, when Christian Crewitz received grounds at the Cuyuni mouth, extending “from the boundary of the land of S. G. van der Heyden to the edge of the former indigo plantation upwards of 200 rods”.⁶⁶ He was followed in August 1768 by Du Pasquier, who succeeded in his petition for “the enjoyment of [. . .] 1,000 acres of land”, which extended from the former WIC “indigo plantation lying in Cajoene”. In addition, the free planters also encroached into Lower Mazaruni since July 1722,⁶⁷ based on the Court’s resolution “to clear a piece of bread-ground at Point Bartica”,⁶⁸ whereupon land grants were accorded by the Court of Policy between 1723 and 1736.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the peak of free plantations in Lower Mazaruni emerged since August 1739, most likely caused by the transfer of the Dutch Fort to the Essequibo mouth in the early 1730s and

66 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 189–197. In October 1761, the Crewitz plantation most likely presented the furthest Dutch plantation in the Cuyuni, as the Court of Justice had ordered “everyone travelling or going up that river to provide himself with a proper pass, which must be shown to C. Crewitz, at whose residence they are to make a halt”. Moreover, Christian Crewith (Crewith) was instructed “to investigate what kinds of articles are brought down from the Cayoeny, and especially by slaves” (Court of Justice, “Minutes”, 5 October 1761, in: BB3, serial No. 147, p. 118).

67 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 200; 187. An alternative spelling is Masseroenij.

68 Situated at the junction of Essequibo with the Mazaruni (*ibid.*). At the same time, the upper parts of all three rivers were reported as inadequate for laying out sugar plantations, since “they are full of rocks, falls, and islands, and much danger is to be feared for large sugar canoes” (Engineer E. D. Maurain-Saineterre, “Report to WIC”, 19 March 1722, in: BRC, serial No. 165, pp. 252–253, at, 252), while a land grant for Bartica point was again accorded in April 1736 to William Louissie for “a clearing for cocoa and coffee lying between the point of Bartica and the point of Essequibo” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 190).

69 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 189–190.

the successive establishment of new WIC plantations in the vicinity of Fort Zeelandia, when the old WIC plantations (Poelwijk, Duynenburgh, and Fortuijn) were transferred to free planters and councillors. Accordingly, the Court of Policy in August and October 1739 granted to present Justice Councillor and previous Captain Abraham van der Cruijzen⁷⁰ “the two islands, Patepateijma and Waij-koenipat”, along with grounds extending from both Suijker Creek to Sihari-coury,⁷¹ Cattonij to Assakaeroeka⁷² and Simiery, whereas “a portion” thereof was conveyed to Stephanus Gerardus van der Heijden in April 1761,⁷³ who in March 1743 likewise acquired grounds extending from “the old station at Cartabo to the boundary of T. Bate”⁷⁴ on Schapen Island,⁷⁵ “half the islet that lies by the Creole Island [in Cuyuni]”,⁷⁶ as well as the former WIC plantation Old Duynenburgh and parts of Fortuijn,⁷⁷ situated on the west bank of Lower

70 It is the same Abraham van der Cruijnse, who captured Torarica (in present-day Suriname) in February 1666 and relieved Tobago from the English.

71 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 191.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 196. In April 1759, those grounds were conveyed by van Cruijse to Abraham Cousijn (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the widow of the said Abraham Cousijn also received “the grounds [extending from] the Creek Coerecoerecabara [Upper Essequibo] to the Creek Simiseroe” in October 1768, while the neighbouring “1,000 acres of land from the fallen-in ground on the upper bank of Essequibo at the west side and right at the mouth of Cajiene, the fallen-in ground of Abm. Cousijn” were granted to A.S. de Touche in July 1769 (*ibid.*, p. 201).

73 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 197; Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 192. In January 1746, the neighbouring land at Cartabo was granted to “the Surgeon, Jan Pieter Bollé”, who had requested “the abandoned clearing of Cartabo”, which was “conceded with the proviso that the Honorable Company retains the right to build there as many houses as may be necessary” (*ibid.*, p. 193). At the same time, Jean Pierre Bollé in Upper Essequibo received “the islands which lie over against his purchased land, provided that not more than 500 acres are comprised” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 192–193).

75 This is arguably the island, indicated as plantation No. 109 with Stephanus van der Heijden listed as “eigenaar” in the legend of the Storm van’s Gravesande map of 1748/1749, which is, however, not indicated in the map itself (Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137). Furthermore, plantation number 109 may also be the island in Cuyuni, granted to him in January 1745.

76 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 192.

77 Maas, “Essequibo Plantations”, 1706, p. 135, plantation Fortuijn; Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 43 (van der Heijden).

Mazaruni before 1748/49⁷⁸ (see Figure 11).⁷⁹ Until March 1770, van der Heijden had thus acquired almost all the land of the former WIC plantations and adjacent islands, since the former councillor also received “the grounds of the widow van der Webe” in Masseroeny,⁸⁰ comprising “600 rods of land”, including the “clearing of the plantation Poelwyk”, which was accorded to Philippus van der Wehe in September 1759,⁸¹ after the abandonment of the plantation by the WIC before October 1754. Previously, in March 1768, the Court of Policy had also granted van der Heijden the allowance “to keep some cattle on the Island of Fort Kijkoveral” on condition “that the island continue to remain the possession of Company”, where he was accompanied in July 1769 by A.S. de Touche, who acquired “1,000 acres of land fro the fallen-in ground on the upper bank of Essequibo [. . .] at the west side and right at the mouth of Cajoene, the fallen-in ground of Abm. Cousijn”, after C. J. Hekke in October 1766 had received the land of Jan Hérault in Masseroeny and Mr. Du Pasquier received “a certain piece of land in possession in August 1768”, that is “1,000 acres of land from the indigo plantation lying in Cajoene”, which was “granted and conceded” during an “Extraordinary gathering” on 15 August 1768. Moreover, Christian Crewitz in October 1761 had acquired “200 rods” in Cajoene, which extended “from the boundary of the land of S. G. van der Heyden to the edge of the former indigo plantation upwards”, whereas E. Palmer in January 1769 acquired “500 acres of land from the Neger Kop downwards in Masseroeny”, and Pieter Kerks in July 1770 “1,000 acres of the fallen-in grounds of Daniel Couvreur in Masseroenij, to begin where he pleases”.⁸²

78 Storm van's Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 110 (map legend), whereas Eric Willem van der Oest gives the number of Essequibo plantations with 30 (1735), 70 (1766), 95 (1769), and 140 (1780) (Van der Oest, “Forgotten Colonies”, pp. 329; 335), without reflecting the spatial extent of those plantations.

79 Storm van's Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 90 (Old Duynenburgh) and 43 (former WIC plantation Fortuijn) (map legend), the latter as being situated above Dronkeman's Island and below Finet, Piepersberg and Poelwijk (*ibid.*). The private ownership of Duynenburgh was confirmed in July 1759, since the Director General again confirmed that “the estates of Old Duynenburgh” are “now allotted to private holders” (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 20 July 1759, in: BRC, serial No. 338, p. 175).

80 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 201–202. An alternative spelling is van der Wehe.

81 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 196.

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 199–203.



Figure 11: Plantations at the Essequibo junction in 1748/49 by Laurens Storm van's Gravesande.

Moreover, free planter Engelbert Piepersberg until 1748/49⁸³ had acquired the grounds of the plantations Rust en Vreden and Altona, situated on both banks of Lower Mazaruni.⁸⁴ The former was conveyed to Philippus van der Wehe in September 1759,⁸⁵ including “the lower side of the grounds of Caria (in Masseroenij) as far as the fall Tortoraba”,⁸⁶ while Christiaan Finet and Daniel Couvreur, after having requested “the same lands” in January 1745,⁸⁷ were in

⁸³ Since Engelbert Piepersberg received only two plantations in Lower Mazaruni before January 1750 (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 187–194) and plantation No. 92, situated on the western bank of Lower Mazaruni above Old Duynenburgh, is clearly named as “Altona”, plantation No. 45 with “eigenaar” Piepersberg is most likely the plantation “Rust en Vreden”, whose name is unidentifiable in the Sketch-map (Storm van's Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137).

⁸⁴ Storm van's Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 92 (Engelbert Piepersberg, Altona).

⁸⁵ Situated below Poelwijk on the eastern bank of Lower Mazaruni, indicated as plantation number 45 (Storm van's Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137).

⁸⁶ Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 196.

⁸⁷ Court of Policy, “Minutes”, 3 January 1745, in: BB3, serial No. 74, p. 85. Thereafter, the requests were “put off until they have come to an understanding” (ibid.), while both had previously also petitioned for land in Upper Essequibo and Cuyuni. While Christiaan Finet in April 1739 received “a small piece of ground adjoining his Clearing down to the Creek Tipuri

1748/49 listed as plantation “eigenaars” on the east bank of Lower Mazaruni, just above Dronkeman’s Island,⁸⁸ extending “on the mainland from the water-side of Pieter de Bakker to the first fall” along with the Island of Coebol (Finet),⁸⁹ which Finet received in January 1746, while Couvreur acquired the plantation grounds just opposite on the western bank.⁹⁰ Both were abandoned until July 1770, when Pieter Kerks’s petition was accorded for “1,000 acres [sic!] of the fallen-in grounds of Daniel Couvreur in Masseroenij to begin where he pleases”,⁹¹ while Christiaan Finet had already conveyed his plantation to Cornelis Laurens Boelpap in January 1754⁹² and the Island of Coebol to Peter Marchial in July 1753,⁹³ who had received the grounds extending from the “Sawari Creek [. . .] upwards, 1,000 rods of land” in July 1747 and an island “above the plantation of Oud Poelwijck” in July 1748,⁹⁴ which presented the furthest plantation in Lower Mazaruni. In addition, Marchial in 1748/49 was listed as “eigenaar” of the furthest plantation on the western bank of Lower Mazaruni, situated opposite of the WIC plantation Poelwijk,⁹⁵ before he was expelled from there by “large numbers” of Acowaio, after his acquittal by the Court of Justice in January 1756,⁹⁶ which was predated by an earlier Acowaio attack on the Marchial plantation

[Upper Essequibo], it is granted” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 190). Furthermore, Daniel Couvreur in January 1744 “asked for the little island lying by the great fall in Cajoene it is granted” (*ibid.*, p. 192). By contrast, Finet’s request for land in Cuyuni in March 1743 achieved a divergent result: “C. Finet having asked for some grounds in Cajoene, it is deferred for further inquiry” (*ibid.*, p. 194).

88 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 44 (Finet).

89 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 193.

90 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 44 (Finet); plantation No. 93 (Couvreur).

91 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 203. Couvreur’s plantation remained for certain until October 1754, since the grant of Frans Appelhans of October 1754 accorded to the petitioner “the so-called Gebrandus Island, and on the mainland but above the land of Daniel Couvreur, 500 rods” (*ibid.*, p. 195).

92 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 195. The amount of the price is omitted.

93 Apparently the same as the Island of Koeijboe.

94 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 194. An alternative spelling is Pieter Marchal.

95 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 95.

96 A. Christianse, “Examination of Carib Chief Arraytana”, Aymara-Aykocroe, 17 December 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 314, enclosure, pp.126–127, at 126. Marchial “entered the service of Mr. Secretary Spoors on his Honour’s plantation” (*ibid.*) and in March 1770 succeeded with a petition for “a piece of land in the Creek Suppename”, which was situated in Lower Essequibo, furthermore indicated as being situated at the “beginning from the land of Mr. William Croydon on the east

in August 1755, where “two of his people” were killed and five wounded “most of whom have since died”.⁹⁷ The attack was conducted in response to his incitement of Caribs to kill several Acowaio and also included “those [plantations in Lower Mazaruni] whose owners, according to common report, are accused of having grossly ill-treated that nation”,⁹⁸ after they had “remained quiet, and done nothing” between August 1755 and the main hearing of the Court case against Marchial in January 1756.⁹⁹ In August 1755, the Acawaio had been also reported to be “very strong in the interior, and some of whose villages both in Essequibo and in [Lower] Massaruni and Demerary are situated next to our plantations”.¹⁰⁰ In response, the Dutch commander in Essequibo had placed a garrison at the former Fort Kijkoveral in July 1756¹⁰¹ and opposed the demands of the Lower Mazaruni planters and councillors “to send out an invitation to the Carib Indians to take the field against the Acuways”,¹⁰² whereupon several planters abandoned their plantations in Lower Mazaruni throughout the 1750s, such as Christiaan Finet (1754), Abraham van der Cruisen (1759) and Engelbert Piepersberg (1759), while Jan Hérault, who in September 1759 had received the grounds of the “abandoned place and land at Carlekkoe”, conveyed his grounds to C. J. Hekke in October 1766,¹⁰³ after the Dutch Cuyuni post was attacked by the Spaniards in August 1758. With the exception of former councillor Stephanus van der Heijden,

side as far as the Creek Asakaboere, which before this belonged to the widow J. Boter” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 202).

97 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 27 August 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 309, pp. 120–121. At the same time, Marchial and “[m]ost of the planters living in Massaruni [had] retired to an island with their slaves and their most valuable goods, [and] none of them dared to stay at night on their plantations” (ibid.).

98 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 27 August 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 309, pp. 120–121.

99 Christianse, “Carib Chief Arraytana”, Aymara-Aykocroe, 17 December 1755, p. 126.

100 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 27 August 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 309, pp. 120–121.

101 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 7 July 1756, in: BRC, serial No. 317, p. 129.

102 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 27 August 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 309, pp. 120–121. However, this was rejected since “there are many difficulties connected with this”. Accordingly, the Director General, thus, reasons that “if the Caribs come (which they will certainly do at the first invitation), they will come several hundred strong and begin by asking for bread and other provisions, of which we have none.” Furthermore, Laurens Storm van’s Gravesande stated that “[w]e must also consider whether we can take the responsibility before Almighty God of causing so much bloodshed as would certainly be occasioned here, the more so since I presume and really believe that actual cause has been given to the Acuways” (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 27 August 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 309, pp. 120–121).

103 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 195–196; 199.

who extended his plantations in Lower Mazaruni until March 1770,¹⁰⁴ after having failed to acquire permanent grounds on Wacquename Island in April 1757¹⁰⁵ and in the Creek Oene on the western bank of Lower Essequibo in 1766,¹⁰⁶ the initial Lower Mazaruni planters, most notably Abraham van der Cruijsen and Engelbert Piepersberg, had left the Lower Mazaruni and proceeded to Lower Essequibo (Araunama),¹⁰⁷ where the Dutch Fort Zeelandia was established on Flag Island since about August 1739.¹⁰⁸ Thus, van der Cruijsen in October 1746 had received “the grounds in the Creek Capoeij”,¹⁰⁹ extending “from the mouth on either side as far as the Creek Tapacoona to begin in the river from the Creek Paritipoecoe to the Creek Priceroe along the sea-shore”,¹¹⁰ after his petition for “a piece of land on Varken Island” was rejected in January 1744, as Varken Island was “entirely kept for the Company”. In January 1750, he also bought both land of Paulus de Berg on Wacquename Island for “800 fl.” and “the New Island lying outside Wacquename”, which was confirmed in July 1763¹¹¹ and in October 1771 transferred to his heirs “Jan

104 At the same time, only a few more land grants were accorded, such as to the later Cuyuni postholder assistant Gerrit Dierkse van Leeuwen, who in July 1757 received a grant of “not more [. . .] than 500 acres” “for the Island Noriwaka, up in Masseroenij” (ibid., p. 196).

105 Ibid., p. 196. Thus, van der Heijden received “the land and grounds between the boundaries of the plantation De Vriendschap in April 1757 and those of Mr. Salomon Persik”, situated on Wacquenam Island (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 196), but had to transfer them again in April 1761 to Engelbert Piepersberg (ibid., p. 197), as those grounds were granted to him under the condition that “between the boundaries might be found ungranted [land]”, but was “registered here a *memoria*” (ibid., p. 197).

106 Ibid., p. 199. Similar, Stephanus van der Heijden in 1766 had petitioned for grounds at the size of “1,000 acres or 400 rods from the Creek Oene to reckon downwards” (ibid., p. 199), situated “on the west shore of Essequibo” (ibid., p. 203) in the neighbourhood of Pomerioon (ibid., p. 204), after the first plantations were laid out in Oene since 1744 (ibid., pp. 193–205). Those grounds in Oene were granted to him “provisionally” (ibid., p. 199) and not renewed, despite several petitions since 1767 (ibid., p. 200) and in December 1769, instead, accorded to J. Fanning, councillor J. C. Richter and Stephanus van der Heiden’s son Abraham (ibid., p. 202).

107 This is the Arawak name of Lower Essequibo (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 2 May 1760, p. 185).

108 Commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, Essequibo, 20 May 1739, in: BRC, serial No. 209, enclosure, pp. 28–30, at 28; Court of Justice, “Minutes”, 1/2 August 1748, in: BB3, serial No. 82, p. 89; Court of Justice, “Minutes”, 4 January 1751, in: BB3, serial No. 96, p. 94.

109 This presents a confluence of Essequibo, close to its mouth (ibid., p. 199).

110 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 194; Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 48.

111 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 189–194.

and Abraham van der Cruijse[n] and G. H. Zwitser”,¹¹² who “conveyed each one of them over to the other, and again over to each a third part of the land belonging to the said plantation Zelandia”.¹¹³ Similar, Engelbert Piepersberg in April 1761 on Wacquename acquired the grounds of Stephanus van der Heijden and in July 1762 bought from Salomon Persik “one-half of his third part of the Island Wacquename, and that on the west side [. . .] for a sum of 2,500 guilders”,¹¹⁴ after in April 1759 having received from Jan Cruijse “his land in It [t]eribicie, stretching from the haven Oboedij to the Creek Cariaka”.¹¹⁵

Fort Zeelandia and Lower Essequibo (1730–1803)

From January 1708¹¹⁶ until February 1730, the Dutch Fort was moved from Kijkoveral to the Creek Bonnesique in the Essequibo mouth for security reasons, before finally being relocated to nearby Flag Island¹¹⁷ until August 1739, where the first session of the Court of Policy was held “at the New Fort”.¹¹⁸ Situated “about 8 to

112 Ibid., p. 205. This entry also states that “the late Abraham van der Cruijse being now associated in the plantation Zeelandia, situated on the Island Wacquename”, while already in October 1769 “Anthony Thierens conveyed to H. D. Doedens from the grounds of the heirs of van der Cruijse on the east side of the Island Wacquename, 300 rods facade, and half the depth of the island, beginning from the upper boundary downwards at 9½ fl. per acre” (ibid., pp. 200–201).

113 Ibid., p. 205.

114 Ibid., p. 197. In May 1766, the other parts of Salomon Persik’s land were granted to J. Barkeij and J.C. Eichter, since the Court of Policy resolved “that [. . .] the grounds had been so long neglected by Mr. Persik, to whom they belonged, they should be granted” (ibid., p. 199), while Engelbert Piepersberg died around April 1766 (Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 13 December 1765, in: BRC, serial No. 411, pp. 130–131).

115 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 196. In December 1740, the said Jan Cruijnse Versteek had “asked leave to cut a clearing for bread in Itterbicie” (ibid., p. 191).

116 Commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, 23 January 1708, p. 72.

117 Alternative spellings are Flaggen Island or Vlaggen Eyland.

118 This was confirmed in December 1739, when the commander indicated the dispatch as being written “at the new Fort, River Essequibo” (commander Essequibo, “Letter to WIC”, Essequibo, 20 May 1739, in: BRC, serial No. 209, enclosure, pp. 28–30, at 29). Furthermore, the fort is confirmed as the meeting place of the Court of Justice in August 1748 (Court of Justice, “Minutes”, 1/2 August 1748, p. 89) and January 1751 (Court of Justice, “Minutes”, 4 January 1751, p. 94).

10 miles” below the Essequibo junction¹¹⁹ and “distant only one tide from the mouth”,¹²⁰ Fort Zeelandia on Flag Island was accompanied by free plantations which were granted between February 1740 and July 1755¹²¹ to, among others, S. C. van Berckeyck, Paulus Vermeere, Bernard Jacob Storm van’s Gravesande, “the Spanish shoemaker Rodriques”¹²² and Laurens Storm van’s Gravesande; the latter was promoted to director general after the dispute between WIC Zeeland and Amsterdam in 1750/51¹²³ and subsequently moved from Papen¹²⁴ to Flag Island¹²⁵ to govern the Essequibo colony until 1772, together with his Secretary and “a certain number of councillors”.¹²⁶ Hence, the last land grant for Flag Island was accorded to Laurens Lodewyk van Berckeyck in April 1757 “for 15 rods of land for a house and hereditament”, although the Court of Policy in July 1748 had “resolved here at the Fort Zeelandia, to accord no more grounds to any one as hereditament”.¹²⁷

Thereupon, Fort Zeelandia was accompanied by three new WIC plantations, namely De Pelgrim, Aegterkerke,¹²⁸ and New Duynenburgh.¹²⁹ Established until July 1730 in the Creek Bonnesique,¹³⁰ the “grounds” of plantation De

119 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 2 May 1760, p. 185.

120 Secretary in Essequibo A. A. Brown, “Letter to WIC”, 6 June 1777, in: BC, No. 302, pp. 540–541; E. Alvarado, “Report on the Essequibo”, Mission del Hato de la Divina Pastora, 30 April 1755, p. 116. This report also contains a description of the military fortification (*ibid.*).

121 Each of the grant accorded an area size between 15 and 50 rods. In this context, Eric van der Oest assumes that the establishment of “many new plantations on fertile soil closer to the estuary in the late 1730s” was caused by “soil exhaustion” and the fort transfer to Vlagge Island (Van der Oest, “Forgotten Colonies”, p. 328).

122 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 191–195.

123 WIC (Zeeland), “Letter to commander Essequibo”, 22 June 1750, in: BRC, serial No. 258, pp. 66–68. In April 1752, Laurens Storm van’s Gravesande before April 1752 became Director General (WIC [Zeeland], “Letter to Director General”, Middelburg, 10 April 1752, in: BRC, serial No. 267, pp. 73–74, at 73).

124 Accordingly, Storm van’s Gravesande, at that time Secretary, in August 1738 was permitted “to take possession of the Papen Island, over against the little Vlaggen Island” (Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 190).

125 In April 1752, land was also granted to “Bernard Jacob Storm van’s Gravesande”, situated “above Government [House] 15 rods square on which to set his dwelling” (*ibid.*, p. 194).

126 E. Alvarado, “Report on the River Essequibo”, Mission del Hato de la Divina Pastora, 30 April 1755, pp. 117–118.

127 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 194–201.

128 Alternative spellings are Aegtekerke and Aechtekerke.

129 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 105 (Aegtekerke) and 106 (New Duynenburgh). However, their location on the map is unidentifiable.

130 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 198; Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 10.

Pilgrim in April 1763 were “in a very disadvantageous condition” and “cannot continue to exist much longer, and absolutely must be parted with”.¹³¹ Instead, (new) Duynenburgh was established until 1748/49 in the vicinity of the Dutch Fort on Flag Island (see Figure 12), but vanished from the historical records after January 1762,¹³² wherefore it was arguably the plantation, which “the Councillors of Civil and Criminal Justice” had in August 1769 “*cum annexis*, order, & c. No. 90” resolved to sell “on Vlaggen Eijland [. . .] by auction with all its slaves and effects”.¹³³ Finally, the WIC plantation Aegtekerke, also established before 1748/49¹³⁴ and known for its brutal treatment of African slaves in 1754, 1767 (along with Soestdijk), and 1769,¹³⁵ was at least established until June 1783, when the Aegtekerke slaves had again “fled into the forest”, as “it was no longer endurable for them to keep everything in proper order”.¹³⁶ However, the precise location of this WIC plantation remained unidentifiable.¹³⁷ In addition, neighbouring Varken Island was also considered as “belong[ing] wholly to the Honourable Company”, wherefore the petitions of Abraham van der Cruisen (January 1744) and Johann Pieter Schuler (October 1744) were declined.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, an exception was made for Jacobus van Rooden in April 1763, since “no more grounds are at the Company’s disposition and disposal, except the aforementioned Varken Island” and “the Heer van Rooden is one of the oldest settlers and possessor of a capital plantation”. Prior, the petition of former councillor Cornelis Boter for “the lowest part of Varken Island”, who in September 1759 was likewise considered as “one of the oldest settlers of this Colony”, was resolved to be refereed “to their Honours, with a promise to recommend the same to their most favourably”.¹³⁹

¹³¹ Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 198.

¹³² WIC (Zeeland), “Letter to Director General”, 11 January 1762, in: BRC, serial No. 364, p. 211.

¹³³ Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 205.

¹³⁴ Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 105 (Aegtekerke) and 106 (New Duynenburgh).

¹³⁵ Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 19 February 1754, in: BB3, serial No. 108, p. 98; WIC (Zeeland), “Letter to Director General”, September 1767, in: BB3, serial No. 194, pp. 146–148; Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 12 May 1769, in: BB3, serial No. 220, pp. 165–167).

¹³⁶ Dutch Administrator of Essequibo, “Letter”, 15 June 1783, in: BRC, serial No. 591, pp. 11–12, at 11.

¹³⁷ Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 105 (Aegtekerke).

¹³⁸ Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 192–193.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 197–198. Consequently, van Rooden received “the outside 400 rods facade, and to the depth of half the island” (*ibid.*).

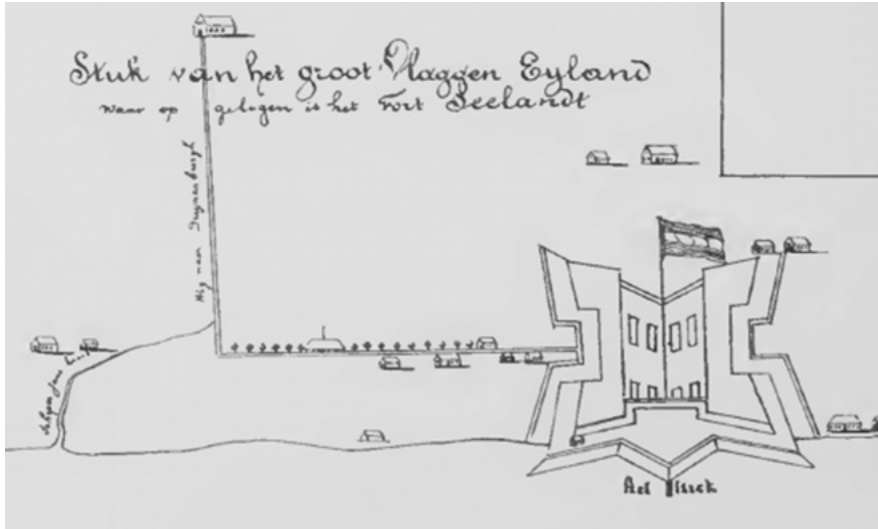


Figure 12: Fort Zeelandia and “Weeg naar Duynenburgh” (Flag Island) in 1748/49.

In contrast, land was freely granted for sugar plantations on Wacquename and Leguaan island since 1741/1744, such as the land grant of Simon Cornelis van Berckijck, who conveyed his land comprising “two-thirds of the island” in November 1749 to “Cornelis Boter and Co. by public auction”, and Paulus de Berg, who in January 1750 conveyed his grounds “for 800 fl. to Abraham van der Cruisje[n]”, the latter likewise receiving “the New Island lying outside Wacquename” (see Figure 13).¹⁴⁰ The conveyance of land continued on Wacquename until August 1770 and was, among others, undertaken by William Croydon and Anthony Thierens in October 1767.¹⁴¹ Similarly, land grants were accorded on Leguaan Island since January 1744, such as to Niels Andreas Schulz in January 1745 for “1,000 rods”, situated “at the upper end on Leguaan Island at the side of Wacquename” and Johann Pieter Schuler, who in October 1745 acquired “the grounds still unassigned on Leguaan Island”,¹⁴² which was most likely until 1748 [1749] transferred to A. van Doorn, since the Sketch-map of the director general for Leguaan Island indicated the Schulz plantation on the west side and the van Doorn

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 193–194.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 195–198.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 192–193.

plantation on the opposite side of the island.¹⁴³ Hence, a conveyance process among councillors proceeded during the 1760s and continued until 1770, for example by councillor Jacob van Roden in October 1766, Anthony Thierens in March 1768,¹⁴⁴ Jacobus Barkey in January 1769, the councillors G. H. Trotz and A. van Doom in August 1769, and councillor H. W. Kaaks in February 1770, who conveyed “the grounds [between] Councillor Kaaks and [. . .] Burgher Captain Anthony Thierens” to the guardians of Elizabeth van der Cruisen, while the petition of C. Booter “for the island lying below the point of Leguaan Island” was rejected as it “belongs to the plantation Zelandia”, and was “associated” to “the late Abraham van der Cruijse[n]” in 1771.¹⁴⁵

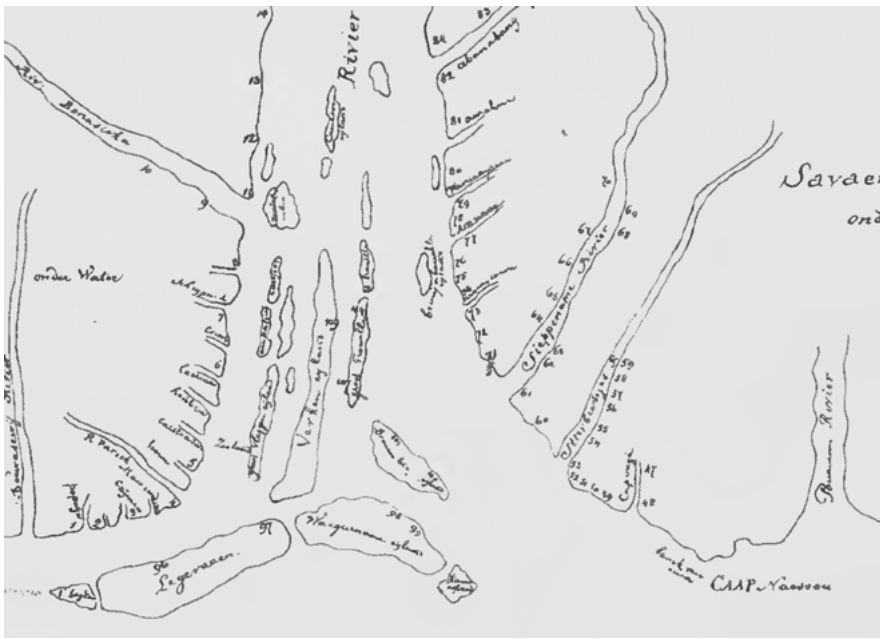


Figure 13: Plantations in the Essequibo mouth by Laurens Storm van's Gravesande in 1748/49.

¹⁴³ Storm van's Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137, plantation No. 97 (Schulz) and 96 (A. van Doom).

¹⁴⁴ Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, p. 199. And, again in October 1767, 460 rods for “2,600 fl.” (ibid., p. 200). The two exceptions were the Lutheran congregation and Captain A. Thierens, requesting the prolongation of their grounds in 1768 (ibid., p. 200).

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 201–205.

Moreover, the Court of Policy since 1727 accorded land grants in Supenaam,¹⁴⁶ which was predated by an order to Carel de Bruijn in 1721 “to fell timber”, which had eased the former WIC prohibition of September 1719.¹⁴⁷ Land grants for Supenaam were continuously accorded until 1763, while in March 1770 the request of Jan Anthony was refused. Likewise, land for “bread-gardens” was granted in the Creek Itterbicie between August 1730 and October 1768, such as Michiel Zeliackx (Manarie), Pieter van Wittinge (Harouwa), Jan Christiaan (Allekieuw Balli), Jan Ravensberg (Moetoera), Jan Crynse[n] Versteeg and Cornelis Boter and Matthijs Buisson. Finally, the Court of Policy from the mid-1740s until March 1768 also accorded plantation grounds in the Creeks Oene (1744, Andries Heijse) and Capoeij (1745, Gillies Danielsen and Jacques Salignacq), for example to Abraham van Crujsen¹⁴⁸ and Stephanus and Abraham van der Heijden, Sebastiaan Christiaansen and Paulus Cordes. Although an increased conveyance took place on the whole west bank of Lower Essequibo between 1769 and November 1771,¹⁴⁹ the Creek Capoeij presents an exception, since new land grants were still accorded until July 1771, such as the land grants for Moruca postholder Diedrik Neelis (March 1770) and C. van Heemstede Vlieland and (July 1771).¹⁵⁰

Instead, the sugar plantations in Demerara increased between 1767 and 1768 by 34 to “about fifty” with “over a thousand slaves more”,¹⁵¹ after the first pioneering petition for Demerara was granted in November 1725 to Jan Christiaense for “cut[ing] in Dominie’s Creek a clearing for a bread-garden and buildings”, who was until 1748/49 followed by Essequibo planters, such as Christiaan Finet, C. Persik, J. Bakker and Jacob van Roden and again in 1762 acquired the grounds

146 Ibid., pp. 187–202. In particular, the Court of Policy in July 1727 has “giving leave to all settlers to fell timber on the Creek Itterbicie, to be bartered with the English for flour and other necessities” (ibid., p. 187).

147 Ibid., pp. 187–189. An alternative spelling is Suppename. In 1719, the WIC prohibited to fell timber “in the Colony of Essequibo, or the rivers of Bouweron or Demerary, on pain of a fine” and timber confiscation (ibid.).

148 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 188–200; Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137.

149 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 198–205. At the same time, some new land was still acquired, such as in July 1770: “Antoine France” for “500 acres of land next the grounds of the postholder, Diedrik Neelis, on the west sea-side of Essequibo, near the Creek Capoeij” accorded “provided the same be worked and measured as soon as possible” (ibid., p. 203).

150 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 202–205.

151 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 9 February 1769, in: BRC, serial No. 451, enclosure, p. 2.

of Jan Latouche in Dominie's Creek for 1,000 guilders.¹⁵² Prior, the WIC had since September 1691¹⁵³ maintained a post or dye-store in Demerara, which was situated "[f]rom the Fort [Kijkoveral] by sea, 30 [Dutch] mijls",¹⁵⁴ which was transferred to Cuyuni in March 1745,¹⁵⁵ before in April 1755 the "the jurisdiction of Demerara"¹⁵⁶ was given "in the hands of a governor, whom the Prince of Orange has made subordinate to the governor of Essequibo", which was clothed "by the son of M. Graveson [Jonathan Gravesande]". Instead, the post in Mahaicony,¹⁵⁷ which was situated "(f)rom the fort [Kijkoveral] by sea, 40 [Dutch] mijls" and had complemented the Demerara post since May 1700¹⁵⁸ to carry out trade in boats with the Warouws, by whom "the district is mostly inhabited",¹⁵⁹ was since September 1763 just maintained "to keep possession of the country"¹⁶⁰ and in 1764 extended to both "Mahayka and Maykouny

152 Court of Policy, "Digest of Land Grants", 1720–1771, pp. 199, 187–194; Storm van's Gravesande, "Plantations of Essequibo", 1748/1749, p. 137 (map legend for Demerara).

153 Therefore, the Dutch presence in Demerara was in 1707 limited as "the Company's dye-store in Dimmerarij (say Maeijcounij)" respectively "the company's dye-store in Dimemrarij" (WIC, "Muster Rolls", p. 155). For the Demerara post, Adriaen Provo was the first "master, with one soldier" (commander Essequibo Samuel Beekman, "Master Roll of the Company's Servants in Essequibo", 6 September 1691, in: BC, No. 74, pp. 192–193, at 193) who was succeeded by Amos van Groenewegen before 1699 (WIC, "Muster Rolls", p. 150; commander Essequibo, "Journal", Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, p. 215). The main purpose of the post was to trade with Indigenous Peoples in orange dye (commander Essequibo, "Journal", Fort Kijkoveral, 1699–1701, p. 215). The post was continuously listed until November 1745 with Niklas Collart as postholder (WIC, "Muster Rolls", pp. 150–161), when it became "unnecessary", due to "the opening of the river" (commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 19 March 1745, in: BB3, serial No. 76, p. 86) and vanished completely after November 1748 (WIC, "Muster Rolls", pp. 160–161).

154 WIC, "Muster Rolls", pp. 152; 187.

155 Commander Essequibo, "Letter to WIC", 19 March 1745, in: BB3, serial No. 76, p. 86) In March 1745, Ignatius Courthial in Cuyuni petitioned to "cut a road through the wood in the River Cayoeny" to bring mules overland. For the collection of "recognition money", a post in Cuyuni was considered necessary (*ibid.*).

156 Spanish original reads "Jurisdiccion de themeraria" (E. Alvarado, "Report on the Course of the River Essequibo and its Tributaries", Mission del Hato de la Divina Pastora, 30 April 1755, in: BRC, serial No. 307, pp. 116–118, at 116).

157 Alternative spellings are Maijconij, Mahaicony, Maijcoene, Waijcoene, Maijcoenj, Mai-coene and Majcone.

158 WIC, "Muster Rolls", pp. 152–168; Storm van's Gravesande, "Trading Places", August 1764, p. 129.

159 An alternative spelling is "Naatje-Garouna". Furthermore, the Director General stated that "[i]f there was no post here [in Demerara] the Indians would soon be driven away by the tyranny and harsh treatment of the settlers" (Storm van's Gravesande, "Trading Places", August 1764, p. 129).

160 Director General, "Letter to WIC", 27 September 1763, in: BB3, serial No. 164, p. 126.

[which] lies about eight hours up the creek which is situated between Berbices and Demerary, about seven hours eastward above Demerary”,¹⁶¹ before the post in Mahaicony was completely abandoned after October 1775¹⁶² and land grants in Maheyka remained rejected in May 1771 “until the sea-coast on the east side of Demerara was populated”.¹⁶³

According to Eric van der Oest, the increase of plantations in Demerara continued until 1780, rising from 121 (1766) to 206 (1769) and 240 (1780),¹⁶⁴ whereas the Sketch-map of Essequibo’s commander, Storm van’s Gravesande, had listed 18 Demerara and 110 Essequibo plantations in 1748/49,¹⁶⁵ wherefore the numbers of Eric van der Oest are arguably referring to both Essequibo and Demerara. By contrast, plantations in the river Pomeroon [Bouweron] were prohibited, since the Court of Policy kept rejecting petitions of colonists, such as in June 1754, when an allowance to cutting timber was granted to Jan Swartz and Edward Ling for Waini (Weijne) “but in nowise in Bouweron”,¹⁶⁶ as well as in October 1768, January 1769, July 1770¹⁶⁷ and May 1771,¹⁶⁸ while Pomeroon was still “not throw[n] open” in June 1777,¹⁶⁹ although the Court of Policy in July 1760 had conceded to a certain P. A. Schoneman “the preferential claim to a certain creek in the mouth of the aforesaid river [Bouweron]” for the “case of the opening of the River Bouweron” and in May 1771 accorded land grants in the neighbourhood [sic!] of Pomeroon (“beyond Oene by Bouweron”).¹⁷⁰

Meanwhile, the director general in December 1773 had indicated for the Essequibo that “there are no longer any grants of lands to be made”¹⁷¹ and in June 1777 reported the virtual abandonment of plantations above Fort Zeelandia, as “most of

161 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 15 June 1764, in: BB3, serial No. 170, p. 128.

162 WIC, “Muster Rolls”, pp. 152–168. The post again appeared in January 1775 (*ibid.*, p. 169), but vanished again in October 1775 permanently (*ibid.*, pp. 170–175).

163 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 21 June 1771, in: BRC, serial No. 498, p. 87.

164 Van der Oest, “Forgotten Colonies”, p. 329, Tab. 12.1.

165 Storm van’s Gravesande, “Plantations of Essequibo”, 1748/1749, p. 137 (map legend).

166 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 192–195.

167 *Ibid.*, pp. 200–201.

168 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 21 June 1771, serial No. 498, p. 87, BRC Vol. 4, London. Thus, at the court’s session of May 1771 “about sixty petitions [were again] presented for grants of land [,] (n)o decision could be come to concerning the majority of these, because the Court did not know how far it was possible to accede to them; they have, however, been placed in the hands of one of the surveyors, who is to report to the Court, whereupon some decision will be arrived at” (*ibid.*).

169 Secretary in Essequibo A. A. Brown, “Letter to WIC”, 6 June 1777, in: BC, No. 302, pp. 540–541.

170 Court of Policy, “Digest of Land Grants”, 1720–1771, pp. 197; 204.

171 Director General, “Letter to WIC”, 23 December 1773, in: BB3, serial No. 255, p. 183.

the old planters, as soon as the lower lands were brought under cultivation, transferred their plantations which lay above this fort or Flag Island, brought off all their slaves, mills, cattle, etc., and practically abandoned the old plantations; but, in order nevertheless to retain their right, as they fancy, to those upper lands, they sent thither all their old and decrepit slaves, who can be of no use on the new plantations”.¹⁷² Again, the director general *ad interim* of the Court of Policy held in “the Capital Stabroek in Demerara” in February 1792 reported that it would be impossible to ascertain “how and to whom all the abandoned upper lands by expiration of time (having been left uncultivated) are supposed to belong to”,¹⁷³ which was confirmed in June 1803, since “there are to be found in the upper rivers of this Colony, and likewise in the various creeks, a great number of abandoned plantations and uncultivated land”,¹⁷⁴ before the Dutch handed over the Essequibo colony to the English by the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 13 August 1814.¹⁷⁵

Against this background, the following chapters 11 and 12 trace the Dutch colonial appropriation practices with regard to the inland and sea-coast posts and examine the limits of Dutch jurisdiction, interference, and alliances with Indigenous Peoples.

172 Secretary Essequibo A. A. Brown, “Letter to WIC”, 6 June 1777, pp. 540–541. In consequence, there was “not one sugar, coffee or cotton plantation” situated “above Fort Island”, with the exception of the plantation “of the ex-Councillor S. G. van der Heyden, situated a great tide above this island, at the mouths of the two rivers Mazaruni and Cuyuni [Old Duyneburgh]” (*ibid.*). The same was valid for the “creeks of Bounasieke, Arriwary, Supinaam, and Itteribisie, each of which has only one sugar plantation at its mouth” (*ibid.*).

173 Court of Policy, “Proceedings”, Stabroek, Rio Demerary, 27 February 1792, in: BRC, serial No. 648, pp. 132–133. At the same time, the interim Director General indicated that there are “ungranted lands behind the plantations which are running inland and above the rivers and creeks”, which “cannot be given unless being first surveyed on account of their vast extent”, while “the limit boundary is not fixed with the Crown of Spain” (*ibid.*).

174 Council of the American Colonies and Possessions of the Batavian Republic, “Proposed Charter for the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara”, 22 June 1803, in: BRC, serial No. 681, pp. 182–183.

175 Great Britain and the Netherlands, “Convention relative to the Dutch Colonies, Trade with the East and West Indies”, London, 13 August 1814, in: BRC, serial No. 723, pp. 228–230.