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"God's Folk": The evangelization of Amerindians in western Guiana and the Enthusiastic Movement of 1756

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Introduction

It can argued that "enthusiasm" has as its basis an act of faith, the following of an inner light and of vision (Knox 1950:154, 156, 452, 581). The term "movement", apart from its denotation of a common understanding, a liaison and impulse towards a particular set of objectives, is especially appropriate in the Guiana context, where there is a long history of travel, removal or migration of groups as an inevitable accompaniment to organized expressions of enthusiasm. In recent centuries at least, the indigenous settlement pattern has encompassed a scattering of small villages and family groupings, in a river valley or portion of a river valley, from which the local group frequently takes its name. Families and even entire settlements travel, sometimes for many days, to other river areas and even different regional groups and peoples, in order to exchange goods, convey news or to learn from the teaching of a renowned ritual leader. The same reaction occurs where Christian Churches have set up

Author's note and acknowledgements: This article is dedicated to the late Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada (alias "el Padre Indio", Emasensén Tuari), Capuchin missionary, writer, linguist and scholar, who devoted much of his life to working with, and for, the Pemon the the Gran Sabana. He gave his permission for this dedication several months before his death (9th. October 1996), but my work on it dates back a number of years and I already owed him a deep debt of gratitude for his helpful and encouraging comments on reading my early draft. In particular, he generously gave me the information which he had discovered in the "Archivo Provincial de Capuchinos de Cataluña" and which indicates the very important role which the Capuchin missionary, Atanasio de Olot, played in the earliest contacts between the Guayana Mission and the Guaica (identified as Akawaio, and sometimes Kamarakoto -Pemon), in the upper Cuyuni basin in the mid 18th century. In this work our joint studies, his centred on the Pemon of the Gran Sabana and mine on the adjacent Akawaio in the upper Mazaruni basin.

missions. Converts, impelled by their sentiments of enthusiasm for a new life, may voluntarily make journeys to carry their acquired knowledge and faith, whilst others may be hired or persuaded to do so as part of Mission policy for obtaining new adherents and bringing in communities from afar.

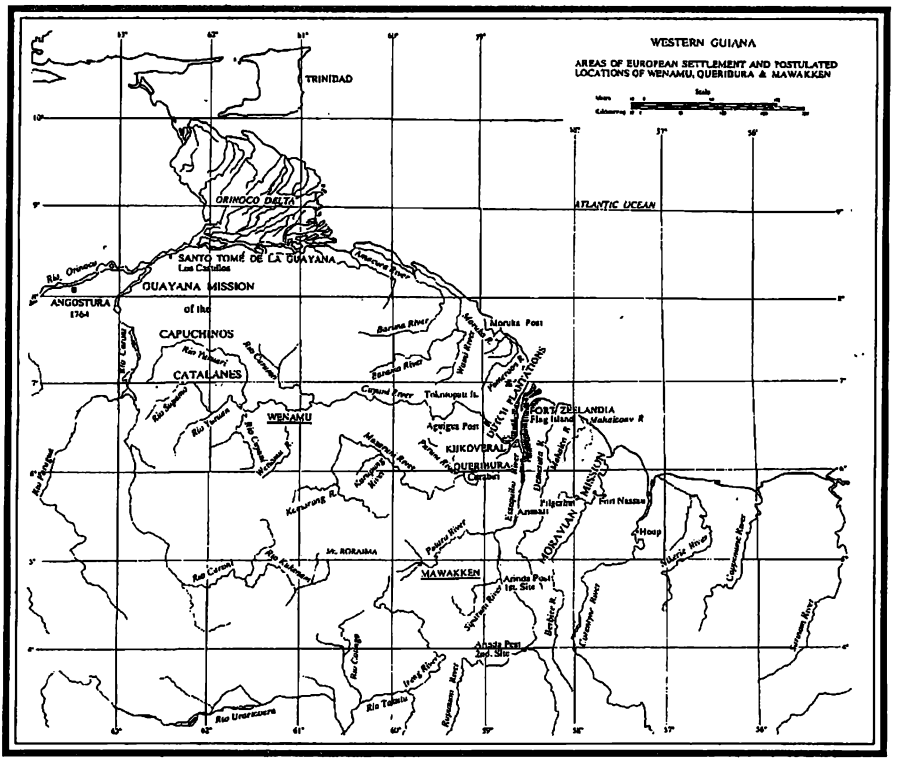
Kapon and Pemon, Carib-speaking peoples living in their traditional homelands in the Pakaraima Mountains, the Gran Sabana and adjacent lowlands encircling the Roraima Range, are today known for their possession of a unique religion which developed through a long process of adoption and adaptation of Christian knowledge and ritual, synthesized with indigenous concepts and practices. Providing an accommodation between the indigenous and the incoming, the mainstream of this syncretism is referred to as *Hallelujah* (*Areruya*, *Aleluia*, etc.), although the Pemon in Venezuela also possess four other rituals which are interrelated and of a similar kind. These are named *Chochiman* (from the English "Churchman"): *Krichin* (from "Christian"): *Chimitin* (from the English phrase "Church Meeting") and *San Miguel* (adopted from Spanish). They express the same concepts as *Hallelujah*, with but slight variation, and they are ritually distinguishable only through sets of sung and danced prayers which characterize each.

have allowed a better understanding of these two closely associated peoples and their history than would otherwise be possible.

When I originally researched the history of the indigenous peoples of Western Guiana I utilized, in particular, the numerous volumes of original documents printed to accompany the Arbitration on the Boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, (1896-1898). I also used highly esteemed works as, for example, Joseph Strickland: *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela from the Capuchin Archives in Rome* (1896), and Baltasar de Lodares: *Los Franciscanos Capuchinos en Venezuela* (1929-31). However, the publication in 1979 in the series of the Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caracas, of the collection of documents assembled by the Rev. Fr. Buenaventura de Carrocera in his 3 volume work: *Misión de los Capuchinos en Guayana*, enabled me to simplify my bibliography as well as to add invaluable data to my text. For the purposes of this present study, I have utilized this outstanding work freely and with gratitude. The English translations of quotations are my own.

I thank Dr. Neil Whitehead and his former students in Leiden University, for making available to me valuable information on the history of evangelization carried out by the Moravian Brethren in their 18th century Berbice Mission. The quotations demonstrating Moravian contacts with the easternmost Akawaio, and the translation of these, derive from him. I am also grateful to Dr. Whitehead for reading and commenting on my penultimate manuscript. Finally, I acknowledge with thanks the comments, suggestions and corrections made by Dr. Dieter Heinen on his reading the final manuscript. His encouragement to see it into print was especially appreciated.

Any defects, in what I have found to be a particularly intricate study, are my personal responsibility, as also are the conclusions I have reached as to the circumstance which gave rise to the enthusiastic movement of 1756. The history of some of the early Capuchin mission villages in the 18th century is still uncertain, and the literature gives contradictory dates. For this reason I have been careful to quote the sources I have used, so that those who research this period and topic in the future will better be able to use and perhaps improve on my work.



MAP 1
WESTERN GUIANA
AREAS OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT AND POSTULATED LOCATIONS OF WENAMU, QUERIBURA & MAEWAKKEN

The first, literary, reference to *Hallelujah* ritual so far encountered dates back to 25th December 1884 and involves a group of Taurepan (Pemon) living at the foot of Mt. Roraima [im Thurn 1885:266]. Oral tradition describes a Makushi (Pemon) origin in the Kanuku Mountain region, Guyana, dating back to the 1870s but probably having still earlier roots (Butt 1960; Butt Colson 1985:103-149; 1989:80-88). The origins of *Chochiman, Krichin* and *Chimitin* appear to be contemporary with *Hallelujah* activity in the last quarter of the 19th century, but *San Miguel* is a recent syncretism, having begun in 1971 on the Gran Sabana (Estado Bolívar, Venezuela), with the vision of an elderly Taurepan woman at Icabaru (Thomas 1976:3-52). All organized syncretic religion of the circum-Roraima peoples of today stems from the dream visions and

experiences of a series of prophets, the *ipu kenatoŋ*, the "wisdom possessors" (*i-*: his/her; *pu*: wisdom; *kena/k/*: possessor; *-toŋ*: group plural suffix). These inspired and talented men and women systematically incorporated new knowledge into the indigenous system, adapting both and thereby creating a new, distinctive set of concepts and rituals (Butt Colson 1989:80-88). This they claimed to do under the revelation and authoritative guidance of God and other personified, vital forces of the cosmos with whom they were in communication through intense contemplation, dreams and sung and spoken invocations and prayers. The longer historical perspective shows that the creative thinking of the religious thinkers and leaders developed under the influence of a lengthy process of intermittent mission contact and endeavour, and was inspired by an intensive search for a new truth and understanding of life and being, and for the material benefits which were expected to stem from these philosophical and spiritual ones. Thus present-day *Hallelujah* and its attendant cults are the culmination of a long history of enthusiasm -a search for the revelation of "the good in life".

Literary sources indicate that a number of enthusiastic movements were taking place sporadically in the Roraima region and the adjacent lowlands from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. These movements and migrations with a spiritual motivation increased dramatically after 1863, the year in which there was a sudden influx of Kapon (Akawaio) and Pemon (Arekuna) from the highlands into the Anglican mission stations on the coast of British Guiana.[1] The missions had been founded many years previously for the coast-dwelling Amerindians and the rural Creole population.[2] During the 1860s and 1870s the Anglican Church founded several mission villages and built chapels further up the rivers, the most widely influential being those on the Demerara and Potaro rivers. These inland centres also attracted enthusiastic migrations, but shortage of missionary personnel, their frequent ill-health and supply and communication difficulties, led to the abandonment of many of them. Instead, they became periodic assembly places, where the indigenous people came from time for church services and performance of baptism, confirmation and marriage when notice of an impending visit by itinerant clergy was circulated. Accompanying these

[1]In the Guiana literature "Akawaio" and "Arekuna" are referred to as nations or tribes, but in fact these are nicknames for regional groups of peoples who denote themselves Kapoŋ and Pemoŋ respectively. In recent times at least, "Arekuna" has sometimes been used by neighbours to refer also to members of the Kamarakoto and Taurepan regional groups of Pemon of the Gran Sabana, Venezuela, but never to the Makushi (Pemoŋ) in Brazil and Guyana.

[2]The first Mission for Amerindians in British Guiana began in 1831 at Bartica, at the confluence of the Mazaruni with the Essequibo. Missions were then founded in the coastal area, on the Pomeroon (1835) and the Moruca (1845). A short-lived mission village was established at Pirara, in the North Rupununi Savanna, beginning in 1838 and attended primarily by the Makushi (Pemoŋ). It was abandoned in 1842, having precipitated a boundary dispute with Brazil.

efforts of formal evangelization on the part of the Christian Church in British Guiana, was a series of dramatic attempts made by the Amerindians themselves to found their own churches, and even schools, within their own communities. In buildings they constructed especially for this, they imitated the activities they had seen and experienced in the missions. These indigenous efforts at ritual self-help reached a crescendo of enthusiasm during the 1870s and 1880s, and it was during those years that *Hallelujah* and its associated cults began to take the forms which characterize them today.[3]

In this article I consider the beginning of this long process of enthusiasm, by examining a movement reported in 1756 and attempting to place it in the context of relevant events of its time and place.

The two reports of 1756

The report of 28th May 1756 (Plates 1-2) is the first millennial-type account which I have so far discovered in the historical literature relating to Western Guiana. The events described occurred in the colony of Essequibo, where the Dutch West India Company had been established since the early 17th century.[4] It was written by Jacob Steyner, the "Bylier" (Assistant Postholder) stationed at Post Arinda on the Essequibo River, and was addressed to the Director-General of the Colony of Essequibo Storm van 's Gravesande, whose headquarters was Fort Zeelandia on Flag Island (today's Fort Island), in the Essequibo estuary. At that period Arinda was a Post of the Dutch West India Company, having been established in 1734 (Harris & de Villiers 1911: I, 26, footnote 1). It was one of a series of Posts up the rivers, which were designed as a system of security and for trading. Arinda was created for the surveillance of the lower and middle reaches of the Essequibo valley and was, in 1756, situated at Tambicabo Island, four miles up stream from the mouth of the Siparuni River.[5] It had Akawaio (Kapon) settled in the vicinity.

An independent account of seemingly related events is contained in a letter, dated 7th July, sent by van s Gravesande to the West India Company in the Netherlands, in the same Despatch in which he also enclosed the Bylier's Report of 28th May. This account from a colonist, D. Couvreur, and the Bylier's Report, are here reproduced (Plates 1 & 2) as they were published in the Boundary Dispute Documents and appeared

[3]I intend to publish the 19th century enthusiastic movements in the near future.

[4]The Dutch first began to send colonists to Essequibo and to found permanent settlements there in 1613. Previously they had left factors at trading posts on the coast and along the rivers. The West India Company, begun in 1621, had the goal of colonization (see Goslinga 1971: chapters 3 & 4 for a comprehensive account of the process of Dutch establishment in the Caribbean and Guiana).

[5]This island and the site of the Post is described by R.H. Schomburgk in his *Report of an Expedition into the Interior of British Guayana, in 1835-6*, p. 234.

in the arbitration proceedings at the end of the 19th century.[6] Venezuela used them as evidence of the eastwards extension of their Capuchin Mission, from the grasslands of the upper Cuyuni into the forests of Essequibo at the three places mentioned: one in the Wenamu; a second in the Mazaruni at Queribura; the third in the Siparuni at Mawakken. The historian, Professor G.L. Burr, commented on them in the Venezuelan Case and made a series of deductions (*U.S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela & British Guiana.* Report & Accompanying Papers: 1, 394-402).

Burr considered that the Wenamu site might have been an incipient Capuchin mission begun at, or near, the confluence of the Wenamu with the Cuyuni River. He found Queribura more difficult to identify. It might, he thought, correspond to the "Carubung" River, a tributary of the middle Mazaruni just below the Pakaraima escarpment. Or, it might refer to the "Curabiri" falls, at the junction of the Puruni with the lower Mazaruni River. He noted that "Queribura" sounded more like "Curabiri" than the name "Carubung"-and indeed this is true even if we take into account the present transcription "Kurupung" (Curupung: Curubung). He also favoured the Puruni mouth site on account of the testimony of the colonist Couvreur, since this corresponded better with the 12-15 hours of travel up river from the latter's plantation. Mawakken up in Siparuni defied identification.

Burr argued that the Wenamu and the Mazaruni sites for building forts or strong places would have been strategic positions for the eastward extension of the Spanish missionaries in Guayana, being on a main route of communication from the tributary headwaters of the Cuyuni River in the grasslands of the Province of Guayana into the Essequibo forests lower down. The upper Siparuni site, he thought, might make it a link in a route from Guayana to the Rupununi savannas and so represent a Spanish deployment for occupying the rear of the Dutch colonies. The Bylier's emphasis on the construction of strongholds, described as "all of them gruesomely strong", he considered to denote more than a short-term defence constructed during the course of a missionary incursion, and he found it explicable in the context of a number of new developments taking place in the political, military and religious affairs of Spanish Guayana during the 1750s and the aim to secure the southern frontiers by establishing a line of forts across the highlands, linking the lower Orinoco with its headwaters.

The British Case repudiated the possibility of such a dramatic eastward advance by the Spanish in the upper Cuyuni. Michael McTurk,

[6] *U.S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana:* Report & Accompanying Papers: 2, N° 196, 368-371. The treaty providing for arbitration was signed February 1897. The results were incorporated in the Award of Paris, 1898.

PLATE 1
THE ARINDA BYLIER'S REPORT

EXTRACTS FROM DUTCH ARCHIVES.

J. Steyner, Bylier at the post Arinda, to the CommandeEssequibo, y 28, 1756.[1]
[London, Record Office, Essequibo papers, vol 470, doc. 9 (complete).]

No. 196 **Original**

Syn Exellentie UEdlen weet nog van de gerugten van die drie Christenen boven in de Savaan syn, nu hebben sy sig meester gemaakt van de helen Savaan: Syn Exellentie ik weet niet wat daaruyt sal geven, sy maken sig meester van allen Rivieren, Syn Exellentie ik geloof als dat Spaansch volk is, dat sy sig meester maken van alle plaatsen, sy komen over Kayouny, UEdlen moet weten als dat sy drie vasten plaatsen hebben, een in Wenamu een spruyt van Kayouny, de twede boven Masseroeny in Queribura, de derden boven Siperoeny op Mawakken, die plaatsen syn altemaal gruwsam sterk, den 3 May syn sy by de Caraibischen gekomen, en beginnen tuynen te kappen, den 17 May syn sy naar Demerary gegaan met 10 Corjaars om te wonen, Syn Exellentie, wat ik haer vrage waer sy vandaan komen, geven sy myn dit antwoord dat sy van den doden opgestaen syn, en sy seggen als datnog so veel komen sullen, het syn Caraibischen, en Ackewyen, en Arrewacken, en Warrouwen, allerhandenatien, de een geeft sig nyt voor de grootvader, de andre voor de vader en broeders van hare vrienden, alle die voor twintig jaren dood geweest syn, die syn allemaal weel opgestaen so sy seggen, ik mag haar seggen wat ik wil als om niet, Syn Exellentie den 27 May hebbe gehoord van een Ackewey van Demerary als dat die Ackeweyen die voorleden jaar quaad gedaen hebben maken sig wederom klaar om naer omlaag to gaan met slaven om die Christenen te bedriegen maer niet wetende, en wat de post aengaat is nog in rust so lang als Godt wil: Syn Exellentie ik weet niet wat dat is dat Mushack niet op de post komt, ik ben half bang voor dit volk: sy geven sig uyt voor Godts volk: en verblyve.

U.E. d.d.w. Dienaar
Jacob Steyner
Op do post Arinda den 28 May 1756

Translation

Your Excellency, you still remember the rumors of those three Christians who are above in the savanna, now they have made themselves masters of the entire savanna: Your Excellency, I do not know what will come of this, they make themselves masters of all rivers, Your Excellency, I believe that they are Spanish folk, that they make themselves masters of all places, they come by way of Cuyuni, You must know that they have three fast places, one in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni, the second up in Mazaruni in Queribura, the third up in Siparuni at Mawakken, those places are all of them gruesomely strong. On May 3 they came to the Caribs' and began to clear gardens; on May 17 they went with 10 corials to Demerara to dwell. Your Excellency, much though I ask them whence they come, they give me this answer, that they have arisen from the dead, and they say that as many more will come. They are Caribs, and Accoways, and Arawaks, and Warrows, all sorts of nations, one gives himself out as the grandfather, another as the father and brothers of their friends, all those who have been dead for twenty years have all arisen again, as they say, I may say to them what I please, all in vain. Your Excellency, on May 27 I heard from an Accoway from Demerara, that those Accoways who did harm last year, are again preparing to go down with slaves to cheat those Christians, but not knowing, and as for the post, it is still quiet, as long as God wills it. Your Excellency, I do not know what it means that Mushack does not come to the post, I am half frightened at these folk: they give themselves out to be God's folk: and remain

Your obedient servant,
Jacob Steyner.
At the post Arinda, May 28, 1756

[1]This important letter, by an illiterate man, has been translated as literally as possible.

PLATE 2

No. 196 **Original**

Den ingesetene D. Couvreur soo even afgekomen van boven Masseroeny waer hy wonachtig is, heeft my een verslag gedaen welk het rapport van den bylegger in Essequebo confirmeert, seggende dat verscheyde Indiaenen van boven naer hem syn geretireert, dat tusschen te [sic.] tweea drie dagreysen boven syn plantagie, hetwelk omtrent 12 of op syn alderuyterste 15 unren gaens bedraegt, eenige blanken woonen welke daer een groot huys hebben, en over de twee hondert Indiaenen by haer, welke sy veele dingen wys maeken en onder een volstrekte commando weeten te houden. Hy heeft my gepresenteert om in de maend van Angustus, als wanneer het water by de vallen wat gesakt is, met eenige andere ingesetenen en Criolen van de Comp. selfs te gaen en die blanke te lichten en hier te brengen, het welk my ten hoogste aengenaem is geweest, kennende hem voor een man capabel tot een stoute onderneming, waerom het selve hebbe geaccepteert, en sal die saek ter naeste vergadering van den raedt ter overweging voordragen.

Translation

The colonist D. Couvreur, who has just now come from up in Mazaruni where he lives, has given me information which confirms the report of the bylier in Essequibo, saying that various Indians from above have retreated to his place; that between two and three days' journey above his plantation, which is equal to about 12 or at most 15 hours of travel, there live some whites who have there a great house and more than two hundred Indians with them, whom they make believe a lot of things and are able to keep under absolute command. He has proposed to me that, in the month of August, when the water at the falls is somewhat lower, he shall go himself with some other colonists and creoles of the Company and kidnap those whites and bring them here. This was very acceptable to me, as I know him to be a man capable of a daring deed; wherefore I have accepted this and shall in the next session of the Court submit this matter for consideration.

vol. 2-24

Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, July 7, 1756.

[Extracted from: U.S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana: Report and Accompanying Papers: 2, N° 196, 368-371]

Special Magistrate and Superintendent of Crown Lands and Forests of Essequibo (1878-1910) had made extensive journeys along the rivers and could find no material trace of such settlements. Indians at the end of the 19th century had no tradition of any mission founded by Spaniards in the neighbourhood of the three rivers referred to in the Reports.

> "Of Spanish settlements in any of these localities there is not a trace. Mission stations never existed there. Not only would the establishment of a Mission have been impossible, having regard to the character of the locality,... but it can be shown by Spanish evidence that, down to the year 1770, the frontier Missions had not advanced beyond the upper part of the Yuruari" (*Arbitration with the U.S. of Venezuela.* The Case on behalf of H.M. Government:45-46).

The British Case concluded that there was not the slightest ground for believing the rumours reported by the Assistant Postholder!

So the problem was argued on either side and the contents of the Reports have remained a mystery. Yet there is, in my opinion, no need to doubt their authencity. They derive from two independent sources and, moreover, the Arinda Bylier saw and personally questioned the party of Indians which called at, or was in the close vicinity of his Post near the mouth of the Siparuni River. He was clearly alarmed at what they had told him. More is now known of the geography of the circum-Roraima region and its history, and apart from the extensive collection of documents published at the turn of the century in relation to the boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, much more has now been published which is relevant to the mid 18th century period. Notable amongst the latter are documents of the Guayana Mission of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, collected by the Rev. Fr. Buenaventura de Carrocera and published in the series of the Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caracas (see Acknowledgements). There is now moreover, an enormous literature on the nature of enthusiastic movements which arise from the contact situation between indigenous peoples and those who colonize their lands, so beginning a traumatic process of transformation of society and culture.[7] Whilst it is important not to extrapolate the past entirely from the present, the use of modern ethnographic knowledge, when cautiously combined with documentary research, is an invaluable aid to understanding past events in the history of peoples. In this article I take a fresh look at the two Reports of 1756 and at their wider context in the light of this new evidence, adopting as my basic methodology: "The re-marriage of anthropological data with historical questions, and of historical findings with anthropological issues..." (Gellner 1987:xii).

The Environmental and Numerical Aspects

The assembly of "more than two hundred Indians" in one place and at one time is, and was in the mid 18th century in this area of South America, an occasion to remark upon -as indeed Couvreur and his informants did. Such numbers normally denote a village with a large communal house used for reunions of the families of the neighbourhood, assembling to discuss matters of common concern and appropriate action. It may entail large-scale feasting, drinking, singing and dancing and the entertaining of trading parties and guests from allied villages. Christian mission villages in the Guianas have all been based on this

[7]In particular, the publication of Peter Worsley's pioneer book, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, 1957, led to the accumulation of an immense literature on a wide variety of millennial and messianic movements, cargo cults, cults of cosmic regeneration etc., and on the basic social and ideological reasons for them.

indigenous pattern, of a village acting as a political and ritual centre for the interrelated families of a neigbourhood. There are local environmental factors which help to explain this structure. To keep a population of more than 70-80 people together, living in one place permanently, is usually a physical impossibility. The cultivable soil of this tropical area rapidly becomes unproductive, the accessible region becomes hunted- and fished-out and materials used for technological purposes are denuded (Butt 1977). The forest environment of Guiana favours small populations which move periodically in order to rest and conserve the exploited areas. All the first mission stations set up in the interior of the Guianas discovered this situation very quickly and there was a high rate of failure because of it. Those stations which survived had, to some degree at least, to become ritual centres which entailed limited numbers in residence and the population at large living outside and travelling to the village for weekend church services and in order to enjoy any attendant facilities.

In contrast to this norm, the Capuchinos Catalanes in 18th century Guayana were able to establish mission villages in which several hundred of the indigenous population were permanently concentrated and yet were economically viable and even prosperous. They achieved this by developing ranching techniques for which the extensive grasslands of the upper Cuyuni River were especially suitable. They could not have built and maintained similar mission villages so far into the forested area of the Essequibo basin without setting up well-organized and secure supply systems bringing in food and goods from the grassland mission villages and cattle ranches.

There are also structural reasons why such large agglomerations tend to be short-lived, and these include the absence of governmental and administrative machinery and the general make-up of the local populations, which are divided into family units which readily ally with each other and, equally readily, fission and disperse as soon as there is disagreement (for example, see Rivière 1970:245-255). The Guiana peoples in the 18th century in this respect appear to have been little different from today; a fact which the Capuchin Mission records illustrate.

If indeed a "great house" had been constructed a relatively short distance up the Mazaruni from his plantation, as Couvreur understood, then it would have been made of local forest materials, with a wood frame, leaf thatch roof and, if not open-sided, with walls of wooden stakes or tree bark (mud-plastered walls, characteristic of savanna dwellings, were unlikely in a forest habitat). Other, more permanent materials, such as the bricks which were made in some of the Capuchin villages in Guayana, could not have been made or carried without the fact being immediately reported to the Dutch, by their Amerindian allies who were regularly traversing the rivers and trails. Also, the remains of any such endeavour in the forest would have been a landmark known to all. A communal house

of the traditional type would, on the other hand, arouse no enduring interest as such. It could have been built on one of the many islands in the river and have a stake surround. It might be ample enough to hold two hundred or more people, with their hammocks, on a temporary basis. Such a dwelling would decay rapidly to leave no trace. Given the environmental and social context and the lack of further references in Dutch, or Spanish, documents, the 200 strong assembly would have been of a temporary nature. If it existed on the Mazaruni River, we must assume that its ultimate strength would have lain in the numbers of armed Indians assembled under the command of "some whites" who had them in thrall.

The Locations

As already noted, there has been difficulty in identifying the locations of the "...three fast places, one in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni, the second up in Mazaruni in Queribura, the third up in Siparuni at Mawakken ...". No named site is specified for the Wenamu. This river is a right bank tributary of the Cuyuni, rising in the Northern Pakaraima Mountains and running northwards. It was subsequently made the line of frontier between British Guiana and Venezuela in the Award of Paris, 1899. The *Wenamu-gok*, the "Wenamu River people", are today Akawaio (Kapon) intermixed with Arekuna (Pemon), the Wenamu valley being an indigenous frontier zone of long-standing.[8] Any colonial endeavour there would have involved the Akawaio and perhaps also the Caribs; the latter were living North of the Cuyuni and regularly using the river as a main travel route.

Queribura on the Mazaruni River is more puzzling. It is unlikely to be a transcription of Kurupung, a Mazaruni tributary below the eastern Pakaraima escarpment. If Couvreur's reported information on distances is correct then it could certainly have been, as Professor Burr considered, a reference to the Curabiri falls, situated at the confluence of the Puruni River with the Mazaruni,[9] some 12 to 15 hours of travel from Couvreur's plantation. We know that this was, like nearly all Dutch plantations,

[8]Genealogies show that there was intermarriage between Akawaio (Kapoŋ) and Arekuna (Pemoŋ) before the arrival of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. At first working on the Gran Sabana (effectively from 1927), amongst Taurepan, Kamarakoto and Arekuna, the Mission was ejected and subsequently established its headquarters on the Kamarang River, near the border with Venezuela, in 1931. From there, efforts were made to attract members from all the Pemoŋ regional groups of the Gran Sabana to the Mission, with the result that a great deal of intermarriage took place, as also between Pemoŋ and Akawaio further down the Kamarang River and on the Wenamu.

[9]Modern maps use the spelling Kurubiri. There are other falls with the same name on other rivers in Guyana.

situated below the first falls, since Couvreur proposed to go up river to "kidnap those whites" and to do so "in the month of August, when the water at the falls is somewhat lower". It would have been more difficult and dangerous to do so in June or July, because these are the wettest months of the year, when there is a great and rapid flow of water over rocks in the river bed. By mid to late August the rains cease, whilst the beginning of September heralds the long dry season in this part of Guiana (Beebe 1925:7-15).

Mawakken up in Siparuni has so far remained unidentified. There is however, a River Maikwak which flows into the Kopinang River, the latter being a tributary of the upper Potaro River. From Arinda Post, near the mouth of the Siparuni, it could be approached by going up that river to the headwaters, instead of travelling down the Essequibo and turning up the Potaro with its numerous rapids and the climb entailed by circumventing the great fall of Kaieteur. *Maikwak*, or *maiwak*, is the muscovy duck. There are phonetic variations between Amerindian local dialects and the word for muscovy duck demonstrates one such variation. Akawaio firmly pronounce the /k/ as in *maikwak*, whereas Pemon groups pronounce it as *maiwak* (Armellada & Gutiérrez Salazar 1981:116-117). A European could easily hear *mawak*. The suffix *-kenη* denotes a river mouth. *Maiwak-keη* (or *Mawak-keη*) therefore translates as "the mouth of the Muscovy Duck River", referring to its confluence with the Kopinang.

The Potaro, Siparuni and Ireng Rivers rise in the Pakaraima Mountains, South and East of Mount Roraima. They are the main valleys in which dwell the southern group of Kapon, who are today referred to as Patamona and so distinguished from the northern group, the Akawaio. The designation Patamona is a nickname which emerges in the early 19th century (Butt Colson 1983-84:91-92).[10] The Dutch in 18th century Essequibo referred to this group as "Arenakotte" and located it as dwelling "... up in Caroni, a branch of Orinoco, there being also other Arenacottes, who dwell in Siparuni below the post and trade among the whites."[11] They described them as "a sort of Akuway nation named Arenakottes" and also as "a sort of bastard nation of the Acuway Indians" (Butt Colson 1971:26-28). "Arenakotte" appears to be a Dutch transcription for *Eirema-kok* or *Eirema-koto*, indicating that group of Kapon who live in the Ireng (Eireη) valley, southeast of the head of the Kukenan (Caroni) River. The suffix *-kok* (*-gok*: *-koto*: *-goto*) in the Kapon and Pemon languages usually denotes a group of people of a river area.

[10]The first reference to Patamona appears to be in Hilhouse in the form of "Paramuni" and "Paramuna" (Hilhouse 1825:37, 46).

[11]*U.S Commission on Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana:* Report & Accompanying Papers: 2, N°. 307 , 550. This observation was made in 1778, when Post Arinda had been transferred from near Siparuni mouth to a site just above the confluence of the Rupununi River with the Essequibo.

If our deductions are correct as to the locations of the "three fast places", then Amerindian peoples involved there were local groups of Kapon, possibly some Pemon, and the Karinya (Caribs). Thus, in the mid 18th century the middle and lower Cuyuni River valley was under the control of Caribs allied with the Dutch in Essequibo. The forested region North of the river, in the Imataca Mountains, the Botanamo (Curumo) River valley and the headwaters of the Barima and Barama, were all Carib-inhabited. The Wenamu valley was settled by Akawaio, with probably some Arekuna admixture. The Mazaruni River, in its upper and middle reaches, was also settled by Akawaio, but the lower reaches were Carib, notably in the islands and probably around the mouth of the Puruni. There were periodic outbreaks of hostility between these Caribs and the Akawaio further up. The Maikwak River in the Siparuni-Potaro basins was one of the areas settled by South Kapon, the antecedents of today's Patamona, perhaps in alliance with the Akawaio, North Kapon, with respect to the particular group living around Arinda Post.

The Journey

Although Couvreur reported whites with more than 200 Indians above his place (that is, above Mazaruni Falls and perhaps at Curabiri), the Bylier recorded that the party he spoke with had come by way of Cuyuni -a route which was dominated by Caribs. The party had, it would seem, passed the incipient Dutch Post on the Cuyuni without arousing suspicion. This Post was first mentioned in 1755 (Harris & de Villiers 1911: I, 71), and Caribs were encouraged to settle round it to help defend the river passage. It was initially sited on the island of Tokoropati. Then it was removed a short distance down river to Aguigua, where there was more land for cultivation. Shortly after, in 1758, it was destroyed in a Spanish raid down river from Guayana (see below). Whether the Post was manned in April 1756, when the visiting party travelled down river, we do not know, but perhaps the fact that they were Amerindians, and included Caribs, led to a troublefree passage and no special note taken. The Bylier stated that: "On May 3 they came to the Caribs' and began to clear gardens; on May 17 they went with 10 corials to Demerara to dwell." He believed that they were "Spanish folk". A party from Guayana would have started out on such a journey no later than mid April. If they intended to visit settlements en route, then they might have begun in March. April is a good time to travel, being a period of occasional light rain which heralds the wetter, misty conditions of May followed by the regular and heavy downpours of June to mid August. The Cuyuni River would have risen slightly from rainstorms at its sources in the mountains and boats could come down river rapidly without much danger in shooting the rapids. The clearing of forest and burning of the debris in order to make gardens was

just about feasible at the beginning of May, depending on the onset of heavy rain in any particular year.

We do not know where "the Caribs'" was. If we deduct time for cutting gardens with their Caribs hosts during the two week period between 3rd May and 17th, when the party had talked to the Bylier and set off for the Demerara, then insufficient time is left for the long river journey from a Carib settlement situated up the Cuyuni. The settlement was most likely on the Essequibo River therefore, especially since it was known to the Bylier. The major Carib settlement area on the Essequibo in this period was "Arassari", situated on the Arissari River and hills of that name and only a few days' travel from Arinda.[12] An alternative might have been the existence of an outlying Carib settlement nearer the Post. However, in the 1750s Arinda was attended by "Akawoi" Indians. In 1750 the Director-General of Essequibo described them as "the natives our friends close by the Post Arinda" and he met them when he made a journey up river (Harris & de Villiers 1911: I, 250-251). He mentioned them again in 1752 as "the Akawoi tribe living below the Post" who promised to capture some runaway Negro slaves (Harris & de Villiers 1911: I, 287). More than one indigenous group might settle in the vicinity of a Post, which had the function of keeping up communication and friendship with all the inland peoples. Amerindians found it advantageous to live near Posts because of trading opportunities (in natural products and slaves) and the occasional employment offered. Although the Akawaio appear to have dominated Arinda whilst it was sited near the Siparuni River (being a river valley of the Kapon), the Caribs had an interest further up the Essequibo because of their East-West trade route, extending from Surinam, the Corentyne, across the upper Berbice to the Essequibo, up the Rupununi and thence southwest and northwest into the Amazon and Orinoco basins respectively. However, it was in the 1760s, when the Cuyuni valley was rendered unsafe through raids down the river from Spanish Guayana, that there was a dramatic increase in Caribs up the Essequibo and which soon led to serious hostilities with the Akawaio (Harris & de Villiers 1911: II, 487, 557). When Arinda was finally moved from the Siparuni area to above the Rupununi confluence (in 1767), it then became attended by Caribs in place of the Akawaio and "Arenakotte" (Patamona) who had previously been the dominant group.

Wherever "the Caribs'" might have been situated, the fact that the party stayed and cut gardens there was a significant act. Environmental

[12]Nicholas Horstman, for November 1739, recorded a 20 day travel period for a journey up the Essequibo from Cuyuni mouth to the Siparuni confluence. It took him 13 days to reach "Arassari", a Carib settlement area on the Essequibo, and another 7 days to the Siparuni (Harris & de Villiers 1911: I, 171-173). November and April - May are periods in which the river waters begin to rise. An Amerindian expedition, usually with much less baggage, would traverse the distance more quickly if it set out to do so.

resources, including good garden soil, are very carefully guarded and controlled by the occupying group, whose members do not tolerate an invasion of their rights of usufruct without specific agreement. Cutting a garden in a host settlement therefore has certain connotations. The Caribs amongst the visitors might have had strong kinship and trading ties with their hosts and could offer reciprocal arrangements for a return visit, including hospitality, goods for exchange and special knowledge. The making of a garden is often a good indication of an intention to return later in order to spend time with the host community and harvest the crops. By having gardens, or a share in gardens through assisting hosts to cut theirs, the visitors maintain a claim to future hospitality but will also be able to make their own contribution. In this context we note the Bylier reporting his informants as saying that "as many more will come" -which suggests that they could have been making provision for the future. There could be a simpler explanation: namely that the visitors, having used up their basic supplies whilst travelling, needed food (cassava bread) and they purchased it with their labour from a friendly community in which they had some relations.

The journey to the Demerara, undertaken on 17th May, is interesting. The upper reaches of the river was Akawaio territory. Indeed, what is probably the first literary reference to the Akawaio was to this particular group, made in 1596 by Laurence Keymis when he listed the "Wacawaios" in their town of Maburessa as dwelling on the "Lemerare" River (Keymis 1904:494). Dutch documents of the 18th century repeatedly refer to Akawaio inhabiting the Demerara, and the Director-General of Essequibo mentioned "the Acuways of Demerara" in the same Despatch of 7th July 1756 in which he forwarded both the Bylier's Report and that which he had received from Couvreur (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 349). Although the Bylier stated that the party "went with 10 corials to Demerara to dwell", it is unlikely to have been a river journey solely. That would have entailed a return all the way back down the Essequibo to the estuary, and then a paddle along some twenty miles of muddy sea-coast before the party could turn into the Demerara and journey up it on a course which parallels that of the Essequibo. Instead, the customary Amerindian procedure was to disembark at the beginning of one of the several trails which lead through the forest, from the banks of the Essequibo directly eastwards to a variety of points on the Demerara above and below Great Fall. These routes through the forest, from one river basin to the other, could be traversed in a few hours, varying from a morning to a whole day's walk. For example, there was a path to the Demarara beginning a short distance down river from Siparuni mouth. It was described by Richard Schomburgk in 1841: "We passed the mouth of the little stream Akaiwanna whence a well trodden path leads to the Demerara, which is said to be reached in six hours from here" (Richard Schomburgk 1922:I, 257). There

was another such path up river from Arinda Post. Akawaio and Caribs were well aware of these paths. For the former, they were the principal means of communication linking the regional groups of the Kapoŋ, which included Akawaio on the upper Berbice and upper Demerara, the Akawaio and Arenakotte (Patamona), occupying the Siparuni, Potaro and Ireng River valleys, the Mazaruni River valley beyond and ultimately those of the upper Cuyuni basin. These paths also served as access routes to the coastlands for the Rupununi Savanna peoples.

Ten corials represent quite a large party of travellers. A corial is a dugout canoe, varying in size according to the tree from which it is made. Unlike the woodskin, bark canoe, (which is a portable craft used on small streams in headwater areas), a corial is designed to accommodate a larger group of people and their equipment. In the 1950s and 1960s ownership of a dugout by an Akawaio tended to underline his status as a head of family, an important man, or leader of his community. Into it he packed his immediate relatives and followers and their supplies when undertaking long journeys. In early colonial days such boats were used for expeditions and war parties. Caribs and Arawaks invariably used them on the sea and on the lower reaches of major rivers. They were, and remain, a vital part of Warao transport and fishing equipment in the Orinoco Delta. Even if we assume that the Bylier was referring to small corials, with a minimum of five people in each, then at least fifty people would have set out for the Demerara. It could have been more. However, it is also likely that some of the population living around the Post added themselves to the party, for it is very much in keeping with Amerindian custom for hosts to join guests in order to visit a third group. This is a way too, of ensuring that a visiting party from a distance always contains close relatives of those they go to see - so ensuring a peaceful and hospitable reception. In this instance, local Akawaio would have attached themselves as guides and presenters to Akawaio living in the upper Demerara whom they would certainly have known well through regular contact and close kinship ties.

Kinship and the religious implications

The travellers whom the Bylier met and questioned, whose strange assertions left him "half frightened" and wishing that his Postholder would return,[13] had clearly been under strong Christian influence: "...they give themselves out to be God's folk" is the ultimate statement in his Report. Persistent questioning as to where they had come from had

[13]The Arinda Postholder at that time was an ex-miner called Moshack (referred to as Mushack by the Bylier). He had been appointed in 1749 (Harris & de Villiers 1911: I, 227) and in 1756, being about to marry a widow, had asked to be retired. This is mentioned in the Despatch of 7th July 1756 and probably explains why he was absent at the time of the arrival of "God's folk" at the Post.

yielded only the reply "that they have arisen from the dead, and they say that as many more will come." They also asserted that "...all those who have been dead for twenty years have all risen again..."

The composition of the travelling party reported by the Bylier is noteworthy: "They are Caribs, and Accoways, and Arawaks, and Warrows, all sorts of nations, one gives himself out as the grandfather, another as the father and brothers of their friends..." From this we learn that the visitors represented at least four different peoples, Carib, Akawaio, Arawak and Warao, each distinguished by their own distinct language and culture (with Akawaio and Carib belonging to the same linguistic family). The Bylier had in fact, identified the four kinds of Indians recognized by the Dutch as dwelling in Essequibo, Berbice and Demerara. This unusually cosmopolitan association of members from disparate groups which were often hostile to each other, appears even stranger when we note the kind of kinship terms which they used to express their interrelationships.

Whilst conforming to the customary generational differences between males, they were employing primary kin terms only. This is contrary to general practice amongst these Amerindians when they are strangers to each other, even when belonging to the same ethnic grouping. Even more so is it contrary to custom if such terms are used between strangers who are of different ethnic affiliation. Thus, two unrelated men of approximately the same genealogical generation use the reciprocal term for cross cousin/brother-in-law, whereas the term for expressing a fraternal relationship is restricted to real brothers (including male parallel cousins whom they regard as brothers), and also to those more distant cousins whom they trace as parallel cousins.[14] When there is a departure from this norm and a manipulation of terms takes place, it is done in a particular social context in order to evoke the specific mode of behaviour implicit in the terms chosen. For example, when a man calls another by the cross cousin term, which is also the term for brother-in-law, it is implicit that they may marry each other's sisters since the latter are symmetrically placed in the female cross cousin/wife category. Non-Amerindian Venezuelans who have sometimes tried to use the male cross cousin term with view to having a liaison with a sister of a Pemon acquaintance, have been firmly placed in the non-affinal category by the use of the address term "hermano", Spanish for "brother", and thereby the speaker's "hermana", "sister", is automatically classified as unmarriageable! At an inter-generational level it is customary for a younger man to call a stranger male of the preceding generation by the term which is used to denote mother's brother/father's sister's husband/father-in-law. The father and son terms are customarily reserved for the parent-child relationship, although it

[14]For example, amongst Kapon and Pemon, Father's Father's Brother's Sons's Son and Mother's Mother's Sister's Daughter's Son are both classified as Ego's "Brother".

also includes that of the father's brother with his brother's son and other distant relatives who are similarly classified and who are opposed to the mother's brother-sister's son and wife's father-daughter's husband positions.[15]

As in the Pemon example above, changes in the use of customary kinship terminology and extensions of it, mostly occur when there has been a considerable impact of the colonial or national society on an indigenous people - and even then tend to be limited to specific contexts. That this occurred also in the mid 18th century is indicated by the recorded fact that the principal leaders of the Caribs allied to the Dutch called the Governor-General of Essequibo, Storm van 's Gravesande "...by no other name than that of 'mate' or 'brother'." (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 599). Among the Kapon and Pemon a fraternal idiom and employment of primary kinship terms are used in the context of Christian Church services. This has also been the case for a long time with regard to the songs and prayers in the syncretic religion of *Hallelujah* and its associated cults. In these, Christ is described as God's eldest son (*Papa mumu*) which translates as "Grandfather's eldest son", *Papa*, or *Baba*, being the address term for grandfather and signifying an elderly male of ritual status. The elder brother term for Christ, *u-wi*, is universally used in *Hallelujah*, being employed by both men and women. This indicates a departure from everyday kin terminology since women use a different term for elder brother.[16]

It may also be remarked that, amongst Guiana Amerindians in general, the affinal relationship is a difficult, ambiguous one, with a strong element of potential hostility between stranger groups. It cannot therefore be used appropriately in a religious setting, one in which friendship, amity, and peace are stressed and there is a wish to emulate the close family model. For Caribs and Carib speakers like the Akawaio, it was even less likely to have been acceptable in the 18th century in circumstances in which mutual trust and collaboration were at a premium. The term *poito* is used by a man to describe and address one who is sister's son and who is actually or potentially a son-in-law. Amongst Kapon and Pemon groups it takes the form of *u-poito-ri*; *u-*: my; *poito* (*boido*, *poido*): assistant, helper, servant; *-ri*: possessive suffix. However, *poito* was in general use in the 18th century amongst all the Amerindians in western Guiana and the colonists alike as being the accepted term denoting a slave. It was accorded those taken in raids and traded to the colonists, notably by Caribs but also by Akawaio and Arawak. The indigenous connotation derives from the fact that, in return for a wife and

[15]For example, amongst Kapoη and Pemoη, Father's Father's Sister's Son and Mother's Mother's Sister's Son are both classified as male Ego's Mother's Brother and is a possible Father-in-law. Thereby, Ego is Sister's Son and potential Son-in-law.

[16]*u-wi*, /u-/ (my): *wi*, *rui* or *lui*, is the male term for Elder Brother. Females use *pi*, *bi*, or *pipi*, *bibi*, the duplication of syllables implying greater seniority and respect.

rights over children, a man works for, and with, her family in uxorilocal residence. Notably, he works for his wife's father who is also a mother's brother or a father's sister's husband to him, whether by close physiological relationship or by classification.

Ethnographic evidence thus assists us better to appreciate the Bylier's account of the mode of terminology which his visitors were employing between themselves, and which struck him as remarkable since they were representatives of several indigenous peoples whom he knew to be of distinct cultural identity and territory. They related to each other by using a terminology denoting the closest of blood kin (in the nuclear family), which clearly they could not have been. Moreover, if they had become related through inter-marriage, then terms with an affinal content would have been employed and translated as such - or more likely, not remarked on by the Arinda Bylier. If neither kin nor affines to each other, then a terminology with an affinal content should have been used (terms indicating cross cousins, maternal uncle and nephew, father-in-law and son-in-law). As it was, the choice of terms reported suggests a context in which peace and collaboration were uppermost and potential hostility or ambiguity removed. We might guess that, in accord with being "God's folk", they had become "brothers in the Lord" (and fathers and grandfathers to each other according to principles of generation differences and seniority). These aspects of the Report therefore indicate the strong influence of unusual factors consonant with those frequently found in association with mission activity, or arising from it.

The events of 1756 obviously did not occur in a vacuum, so that we can expect to attain a better understanding by placing them in the broader political and religious circumstances of the period during which they took place. The strong religious element which emerges in the statements of the travellers suggests that we should look at the state of Christian teaching amongst the Amerindians of Western Guiana at that time. Where, we might ask, could the Indians concerned have acquired a degree of Christian knowledge that was sufficient for them to become enthused by it?

Religious teaching in the Dutch territories of Essequibo, Berbice & Demerara[17]

Historians state that religious instruction, even for the Dutch colonists themselves, was minimal in their Guiana territories before and

[17]A history of early evangelization in Guiana would also include a study of the Jesuit Kourou Mission in 18th century French Guiana in which mission villages were established with Caribs, on both the Kourou and the Sinnamarie rivers. Here, I am concerned only with Missions which can be shown to have had connections, or possible connections, with the events of 1756. Davis (1893:142-152) reviews the conduct of religious affairs under the Dutch in their Essequibo, Berbice and Demerara colonies. See also Netscher (1888:61-62). Bridges (n.d.:45-46) briefly refers to abortive Roman Catholic attempts to work in Surinam and Demerara previous to 1826.

throughout the 18th century. There was considerable difficulty in obtaining and retaining suitable Ministers in the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran Churches. The Negro and Amerindian slaves were not taught at all unless they happened to be associated with the house-hold of an unusually pious owner, whilst the free Amerindians, including those residing near and visiting Dutch plantations, would not have seen Christian Church practices of significance to them. Travellers in the hinterland were few, mostly traders, officials and some Creoles in the service of the West India Company. It is unlikely that they imparted any significant degree of religious knowledge. It was moreover, deliberate Dutch policy to keep both the Negro slaves and the Amerindians in ignorance of the Christian faith. With respect to the Negroes, the Dutch colonists feared that such teaching would encourage a consciousness of oppression and create dissatisfaction, so promoting slave rebellions. In the case of the indigenous inhabitants they feared that such teaching would upset the friendly relations which were being carefully fostered with these groups as "independent nations".

There was however, one important exception to the absence of missionary endeavour during the Dutch period.[18] This was the work of the Moravian Brethren in the colonies of Surinam and Berbice, regarded with great suspicion by the authorities in case it should cause problems amongst those they proselytized. Although the Moravians carried out most of their evangelic work amongst the black slaves, it is of interest to us that they were also active amongst Amerindians, notably Caribs and Arawaks. They are particularly remarkable for their studies of the Arawak language, and it has been said that: "Probably the largest and most significant contribution to the study and documentation of the Arawak language was made by the Moravian Brethren (Herrnhuters) from Germany." (Benjamin 1991:18).

The Moravians arrived in Surinam in 1735, where they worked principally in the upper Cottica and the Saramacca River areas. By 1742-43 they had established some substantial contacts with the Caribs and by 1745 were increasingly recording information on Indian culture and had made progress with language learning. The mission of Saron, on the Saramacca River, was established with Caribs in 1756. It lasted until 1779, eventually having a mixed population of Caribs and Arawaks, but was closed down because of Maroon and Carib hostilities. Meanwhile, they were also expanding their activities westwards, to the Corentyne and Berbice rivers (Brett 1868:50-51). In 1738 two missionaries, Ludwig

[18]Whitehead notes that the Labadists preceded the Moravians in Surinam (Private Communication). They were the followers of Jean de Labadie, founder of an apostolic sect with a small following in the United Provinces. They arrived in Surinam in 1684 and settled over 40 miles up the Surinam River, where they established a plantation. They failed to convert the Indians and were subjected to continuous attack until they left (Goslinga 1985:275).

Christoph Dehne and Johann Güttner, were sent to the Berbice River at the request of one of the Dutch planters in order to convert their slaves to Christianity. Soon they began taking an active interest in the Amerindians, predominantly Arawak in that region, and were visiting settlements up river, beyond the plantations. Then, in November of 1740, these two missionaries founded Pilgerhut, fifteen miles up the Wiruni River, a tributary of the Berbice. Other missionaries were sent, Brother Gräbenstein arriving in 1741, and Johann Zander in 1745 who transferred from Surinam to Berbice. Zander was accompanied on his journey by mission Caribs under the leadership of their headman "Jacobus". Arriving on the Corentyne, Zander, encountered a combined Carib and Arawak fleet, setting out to make a joint expedition to the Orinoco (Spanish Guayana) against those whom they described as "Spanish Indians".

An excellent account of Moravian work on the Arawak language is to be found in Joel Benjamin's publication: *The Arawak Language in Guyana and Adjacent Territories* (1991: 18-40). Begun by Gräbenstein, knowledge of Arawak was developed by Zander working at Pilgerhut between 1745 and 1753. With the help of a young mestizo, Jantje, who had learnt some German, Zander translated parts of the New Testament into Arawak and this was used in teaching. There is reference to a "Life of Christ" and the beginning of the translation of Chapter 6 of the Gospel of St. John, in Arawak (Benjamin 1991:22). In 1748 Theophilus Schumann arrived at Pilgerhut and during the following ten years made a systematic study of Arawak. From 1752 he worked on a German-Arawak dictionary and grammar and he translated parts of the Bible (the story of the birth of Christ, the Revelation, Passion and the Resurrection, the first sermons of the Apostles), and he also translated numerous hymns. He became very proficient in the language, speaking it fluently and preaching in it. His translations were used for teaching the Arawak congregation and for instructing Arawaks who learnt to read. Schumann died at Pilgerhut in 1760, shortly after his return from a visit to Europe. Apart from a full account and discussion of Shumann's outstanding work on the Arawak language, Benjamin notes that in his later translation work Schumann had received valuable assistance from the Arawak Jephta, who had been a shaman ("*piaiman*") before his conversion in 1747 (see Benjamin 1991:22-29).

From 1748 Pilgerhut was an important centre of Moravian work amongst the Arawak, many of whom occupied the village and lived in its neighbourhood. Duff (1866:8) stated that the Mission had 376 converts by about 1756 (the year of the Arinda Bylier's Report), and Netscher (1888:86) claimed that by 1757 there were 300 Indians living in or around Pilgerhut. Brett (1868:51) noted that a few Arawaks from Spanish territory had been brought in by their friends in Berbice. The mission centre endured from 1740 to 1763. Epidemics killed three of the missionaries during 1759-60, and also many of the Indians. By 1762 only 23 converts remained in

Pilgerhut, the remainder having scattered. The following year, 1763, the village was totally destroyed when the remaining Brothers and their converts had to flee it during the course of the Berbice Slave Revolt. The mission station of Ephraim, founded in 1757 on the right, Surinam bank of the Corentyne (about 15 miles North of Orealla), was also abandoned, in 1764, for the same reasons. After the suppression of the Slave Revolt, a station called Hoop (Hope) was built, in 1765, on the Surinam side of the Corentyne, approximately opposite today's village of Orealla. This became the principal Arawak mission. It suffered a series of small-pox epidemics, but was revived by an active and talented missionary Johann Fischer, who arrived there in 1789, began to learn Arawak and opened a school for children. He left Hoop in 1798. The mission building was destroyed by fire in 1806 and was closed down in 1808. There was an attempt to revive it, on the left, Guyanese bank, in 1812, but it was finally abandoned by 1816 and the missionaries went to work amongst the plantation Negroes on the Coast. They retained the intention of working with neighbouring Amerindians there, but this project ended in 1821 and with it came the end of the Moravian Mission amongst the Amerindians of Berbice.[19]

Although the Moravians in Berbice concentrated their work on the Coast Arawaks (the *Lokono* by autodenomination), and language studies and translations centre on them, in the selection of documents from the Pilgerhut diary published by Staehelin[20] there is mention of other groups. For information on these references, and for their translation, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Neil Whitehead and his students in the Netherlands (see Acknowledgements).

The references to evangelization carried out amongst the "Acwayen" (Akawaio) are notable. The first mention appears when Brother Ludwig Dehne wrote in 1743:[21]

> "About the people they call *Warauen* I can not inform you because I do not understand their language. It is the same with the Acwayen who have another language and they live upstream here and are healthy and strong people but I have not been around them a lot."

Then we learn that the "Acquaien" were visited by the missionaries several times in 1748 and 1749. There is a particularly interesting reference to a

[19]In 1866 another Corentyne mission village was founded by W.T. Venness at Orealla. It was Anglican, but he called it "New Hope" in memory of the old "Hoop" which had been situated on the East, Surinam bank.

[20]F Staehelin was a former President of the Surinam Mission. Most of the material in his six-volume work relates to the black slave population amongst whom the Moravians carried out the main part of their work.

[21]Staehelin 1913-1919:II, i, 51. "Warauen" is a reference to Warao Indians who were living principally in the Mahaica and Mahaicony River area West of the Berbice, as well as in other coastal areas in the Dutch colonies. Warao (Guaraúnos) also occupied the Orinoco Delta in great numbers.

visit by Brother Grăbenstein in October-November 1748, who had gone further and encountered "...ten camps in a row, each one hour away from the other. The people there are looking forward to meeting us and they listened to him. "(Staehelin 1913-1919:II, i, 66-67). The visits must have continued, for in 1751 it was reported that among the 195 baptised Amerindians in the Pilgerhut community there was an unspecified number of Akawaio and we also learn that:

> "The Aquais live in the upper zone of the Berbice, Demerary and Isequeb; they have their own language and have very little or no contact with other tribes. Our *Ruchama* is of that tribe." (Staehelin 1913-1919:II, ii, 175)

An entry in the Pilgerhut diary for the following year, 1755 (Staehelin 1913-1919:II, ii, 103), related that the Akawaio did not like the "Arawakkan" families living near them, "and would much rather beat them to death". Nevertheless, the Moravian visits continued and the diary entry for January of 1753 recorded that:

> "Brother Cornelius returned home from one of his six weekly journeys to the West, in order to buy some hunting gear from the *Acquaien*. He has been at a distance of 9 travel days and went here and there to tell them about the Holy One." (Staehelin 1913-1919:II, ii, 106)

Then in July of 1755, there is a mention of the hostilities which broke out at that time between the Akawaio and some of the Dutch planters, and which were still worrying the Governor-General of Essequibo at the time of the arrival of the party of "God's Folk" at Arinda in 1756. The diary related how:

> "...a couple of Kalepina,[22] sent by some white people, attacked the *Acquais* at the upper Essequibo, who resisted, and slaughtered and took with them forty persons as slaves. The *Acquais* descended after that and have taken revenge by a great defeat of the white and black people." (Staehelin 1913 1919:II. iii, 155)

The Pilgerhut diary is an important source of knowledge on the first sustained contact between Christian missionaries and the easternmost groups of Akawaio, those of the upper Berbice and, it would seem, those of the upper Demerara. The Arawak evangelist Jeptha, referred to Ruchama as the Akawaio evangelist working amongst his own people, preaching and teaching amongst them. The political geography of the Arawaks was extensive in that Jeptha was able to give the Moravians an account of the region and its peoples, extending from the mid Orinoco (referring to the Otomaco and Sáliva amongst others), through the Guianas to the mouth of the Amazon. We know that Carib knowledge was probably even more

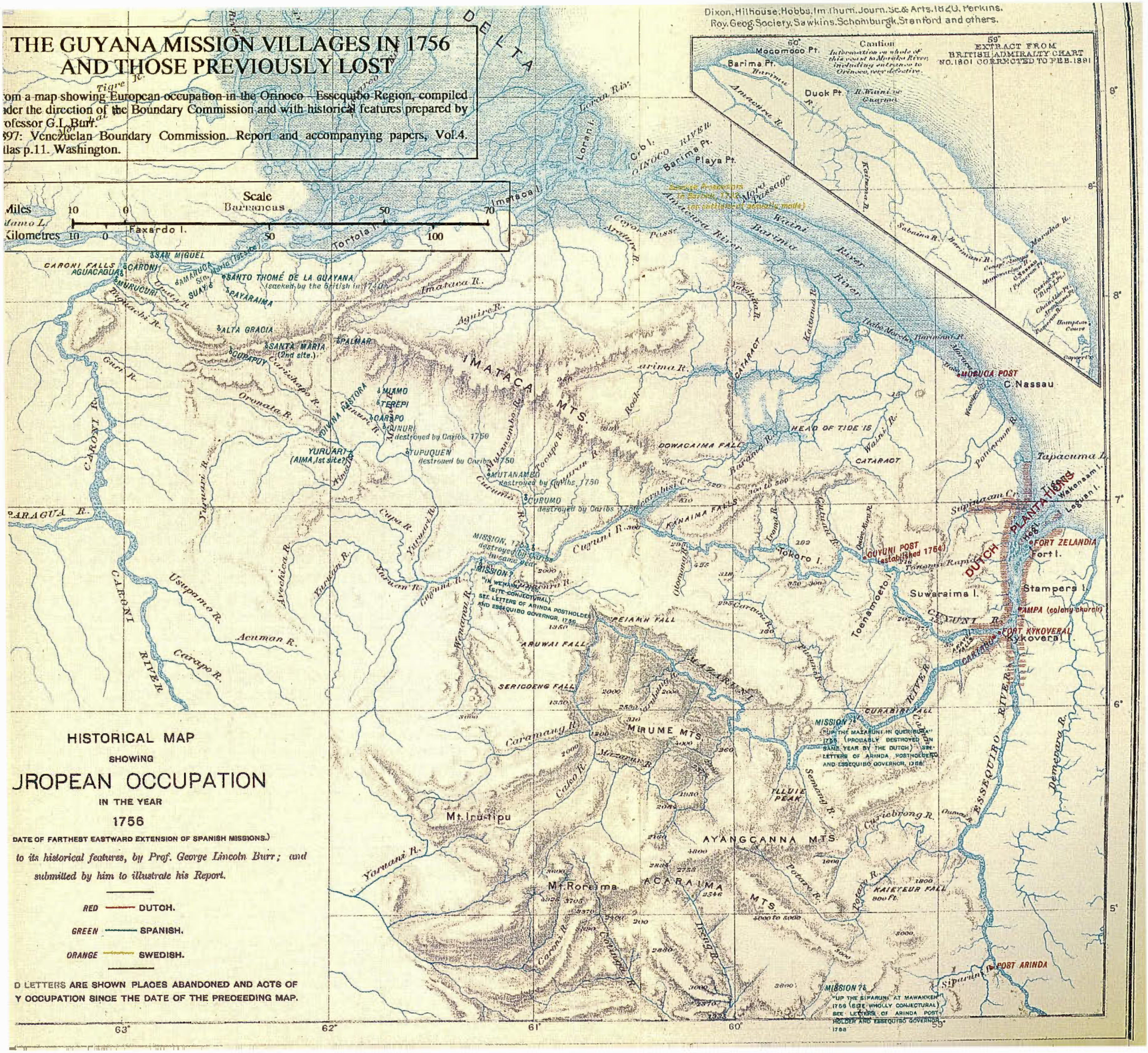
[22]The two Kalepina, according to Dutch official documents, were Carib slave traders (see Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 346-347).

and April 1687, whereby independence from the Cumaná Mission was attained. Within this new institutional framework the first Catalan Capuchins arrived again in Guayana, in 1687, taking over the two villages of Belén and Mariguaca, giving the latter the name of Montecalvario. In 1687 they founded the village of Platanal and in 1692 that of Parapara. However, by 1700, through sickness and death of mission personnel during a succession of attempts at successful establishment, the mission villages failed and the Guayana Mission was yet again abandoned (see Carrocera: I, xxvi & 3-21; Carrocera 1981:172-174; González Oropeza 1993:77, for details of an obscure period in Guayanese mission history). A further brief attempt at evangelization occurred in 1718, but it was not until 1724, with the arrival of six Capuchin missionaries, that the Guayana Mission began to be successfully established.

Although suffering epidemics, uprisings and desertions and, in particular, attacks by Caribs, the 18th century missionaries succeeded in founding numerous Amerindian villages, having 27 foundations with a total population of 19,154 in their care in 1816. They had also founded two townships of Spaniards, Upata (1762) and Barceloneta, today La Paragua (1770), with 2,092 inhabitants.[24] Then, in May 1817, their Mission and they themselves were destroyed by Republican forces during the course of the Venezuelan War of Independence (see Carrocera 1979: III, N° 324, 318-323). The area they settled during their 93 years of mission endeavour was lower Guayana, comprising the territory South of the Orinoco between Angostura and the Delta. It encompassed three distinct environments, the river flood plain and Delta, the forested Imataca Mountains which extend parallel to the river before turning south-eastwards into the Essequibo basin, and the interior grasslands of the upper Cuyuni basin with narrow bands of gallery forest along its watercourses. Missions were not established in the Pakaraima Mountains or on the Gran Sabana, nor in the forests leading into the Essequibo basin to the East. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, the Capuchins controlled over 2,000 sq. miles (5.178 km^2) of territory, with the focus of settled Amerindian population in the Yuruari savanna missions of the upper Cuyuni basin.

The Capuchin Mission aimed to gather the indigenous population into nucleated villages, with church and school, in order to christianize and educate them in the Spanish way of life, language and culture. Visiting the Mission in 1761, the Governor of Guayana, José Diguja Villagómez, affirmed that not all the villages had the same teaching, but that the oldest ones were very well instructed in Christian doctrine and understood Spanish quite well, and that many of them played musical instruments skilfully (Carrocera 1981:188-197). He was no doubt referring to the older Pariagoto/Guayana foundations. Villages were formed to

[24]"State of the Mission of Guayana" given by the last Prefect, P. Fulgencio de Barcelona, 13th October 1816, Carrocera 1979: III, N° 323, 314-317.


THE GUYANA MISSION VILLAGES IN 1756
AND THOSE PREVIOUSLY LOST
rom a map showing European occupation in the Orinoco - Essequibo Region, compiled
nder the direction of the Boundary Commission and with historical features prepared by
rofessor G.L.Burr.
897: Venezuelan Boundary Commission. Report and accompanying papers, Vol.4.
tlas p.11. Washington.
Dixon, Hilhouse, Hobbs, Im Thurn. Journ. Sc.& Arts. 1820, Perkins.
Roy. Geog. Society. Sawkins. Schomburgk, Stanford and others.
EXTRACT FROM
BRITISH ADMIRALTY CHART
NO. 1801 CORRECTED TO FEB. 1891
Caution
Scale
Miles
Kilometres
DELTA
ORINOCO RIVER
Barima Pt.
Playa Pt.
Amacura River
Barima River
Waini River
Mocomoco Pt.
Duck Pt.
IMATACA MTS.
CARONI FALLS
AGUACAGUA
CARONI
SAN MIGUEL
SANTO THOMÉ DE LA GUAYANA
(sacked by the British in 1740)
PAYARAIMA
ALTA GRACIA
SANTA MARIA (2nd site.)
PALMAR
CUPAPUY
MIAMO
TEREPI
CARAPO
CUNURI destroyed by Caribs. 1750
STUPUQUEN destroyed by Caribs 1750
MUTANAMBO destroyed by Caribs 1750
CURUMO destroyed by Caribs 1750
YURUARI (AIMA, 1st site?)
DIVINA PASTORA
MORUCA POST
C. Nassau
HEAD OF TIDE
CATARACT
DOWACAIMA FALL
KANAIMA FALLS
CUYUNI POST (established 1754)
Tokoro I.
DUTCH PLANTATIONS
FORT ZELANDIA
Fort I.
Stampers I.
Suwaraima I.
KAMPA (colony church)
FORT KYKOVERAL
Kykoveral I.
Tapacuma L.
Wakenaam I.
Leguan I.
CARONI RIVER
PARAGUA R.
MISSION? (SITE CONJECTURAL)
SEE LETTERS OF ARINDA POSTHOLDER AND ESSEQUIBO GOVERNOR, 1758
ARUWAI FALL
SERIOENG FALL
MAZARUNI
MERUME MTS.
MISSION ? "UP THE MAZARUNI IN QUERIBURA" 1755 (PROBABLY DESTROYED IN SAME YEAR BY THE DUTCH) SEE LETTERS OF ARINDA, POSTHOLDER AND ESSEQUIBO GOVERNOR, 1756
CURABIRI FALL
ILLUIE PEAK
AYANGCANNA MTS.
Mt. Irutipu
Mt. Roraima
ACARAIMA MTS.
KAIETEUR FALL 800 ft.
ESSEQUIBO RIVER
POST ARINDA
MISSION ? "UP THE SIPARUNI AT MAWAKKEN" 1759 (SITE WHOLLY CONJECTURAL) SEE LETTERS OF ARINDA POSTHOLDER AND ESSEQUIBO GOVERNOR 1759
HISTORICAL MAP
SHOWING
UROPEAN OCCUPATION
IN THE YEAR
1756
DATE OF FARTHEST EASTWARD EXTENSION OF SPANISH MISSIONS.)
to its historical features, by Prof. George Lincoln Burr; and
submitted by him to illustrate his Report.
RED — DUTCH.
GREEN — SPANISH.
ORANGE — SWEDISH.
D LETTERS ARE SHOWN PLACES ABANDONED AND ACTS OF
Y OCCUPATION SINCE THE DATE OF THE PRECEDING MAP.
63°
62°
61°
60°
59°

combat the dispersed settlement pattern of Indians who were accustomed to live in small, closely-knit kin groups, each under its own leader and often at enmity with others, and each with a mobile life-style which inhibited administrative control over them.[25] The most important asset for achieving Mission goals was the establishment of an exceedingly productive and prosperous cattle industry, which provided an adequate supply of beef to the Mission inhabitants and a means of transport through the breeding of horses, mules and donkeys. These herds allowed for related industries, such as leather-working and soap-making and the products were exchanged and traded for necessary goods which could not be obtained locally. Other crafts, such as stone-working, brick-making, wood and metal-working, were also sustained on this herding base. Combined with herding was cultivation around the villages, the Indians owning their own gardens and produce whilst also working communally on plantations for general Mission purposes. The latter entailed the production of tobacco, sugar (for rum) and cotton for cloth-making, all of which were traded. The Mission villages supplied products from agriculture and herding to Santo Tomé and the garrison at Los Castillos and later to the Spanish townships of Upata and Barceloneta. Goods and livestock were also traded to the Dutch in Essequibo. Although the Mission maintained a central ranch, mission villages with suitable pastures came to have their own local herds. Numbering some hundreds of inhabitants, the Capuchin villages were able to persist on a permanent basis because of this resource. The need for a cattle economy was a reason why villages were not founded in areas of continuous forest, for the herds needed extensive grasslands. Mission villages located in the forest would have required food importations difficult to maintain over distance and under threat of Carib hostility (Excellent accounts of the material culture and economy of the Guayana Mission and of its organization are given in Robinson 1967 & 1975. See also Carrocera 1981:187-188, 197-213.)

Plans for the establishment of a mission village were usually made several years previous to foundation. It was a lengthy process, there being the choice of a favourable site for permanent residence, materials to be assembled for building, provision fields cut and planted and the entire proceedings organized. The basic requirement was a suitable, sufficient and enthusiastic core population to sustain the mission for both secular and religious purposes. The missionaries learnt by experience that each village required not only one of themselves to preside over it but also a guard of two or more soldiers in order to keep order and prevent desertions and uprisings. Some of the villages, vulnerable to outside attack, had a small stronghold ("casa fuerte") or fort, with a few canons. For example,

[25]An account of the modern indigenous settlement patterns of two peoples in Guiana and the factors underlying them is given in Butt 1977. See González del Campo 1984:180-184 for a useful background account of the Mission system in general.

Cupapuy with its 537 Pariagoto inhabitants, had a "fuerte" with two cannons in 1743.[26]

The methods used to attract and persuade the Amerindians into the new foundations are described in the Report of Eugenio de Alvarado, April 1755, who was resident in the Mission that year (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 119, 343-344). Having prepared a store of dried meat, cassava bread and means for subsistence, one or two Padres set out to visit Amerindian settlements in a chosen locality. They took with them some Indians of the same nation to be visited, who could act as interpreters and vouch for the good treatment meted out to the Mission inhabitants. One or two soldiers from the Guayana garrison were usually taken as armed escort. Gifts were carried, notably cloth and metal tools, with beads for the women. Several such visits were made and return visits arranged, so that the proposed mission site could be inspected and prospective settlers could see for themselves the availability of tools, the possibilities for education, medicine and the many benefits of cattle ranching. If all went according to plan, the missionaries' persuasion ended with a movement of families into a mission already established or, if sufficient enthusiasm was generated in a big enough population, to a site where the building of a new mission village could begin and the acceptance of a resident priest (a "Padre Presidente") could be confirmed. This total process was described as a "entrada", an ingression in the search for Indians who could be persuaded to help found and settle a mission village. It later obtained a bad name through instances where intimidation and forceful capture occurred. However, the long-distance forcible "entrada" was not often used by the Capuchins before c. 1770. It was too dangerous to employ in the areas neighbouring the new foundations, although those who had fled a mission after causing a massacre were re-captured when possible, using force if necessary. Only when the mission villages were mature, economically stable and most of the surrounding population already incorporated, did the missionaries have the energy and resources for a series of long-distance incursions with an inbuilt military component. They then penetrated the Essequibo forests via the Cuyuni and Mazaruni Rivers, the Delta of the Orinoco and along the Essequibo coast eastwards, the upper Paragua and Caroní basins (including the forested fringes of the Gran Sabana) and even the headwaters of the Rio Branco in Brazil.[27]

[26]Description given by the Governor of Cumaná, Gregorio Espinosa, of a visit to the Guayana Mission in 1743, Carrocera 1979: I, N° 105, 301.

[27]The most notable exponent of the long-distance "entrada" was Mariano de Cervera. In 1786 he penetrated the Orinoco Delta to obtain Guaraúnos (Warao), and in 1787 he went down the Cuyuni and obtained Guaicas (Akawaio); see Carrocera 1979:III, N° 244, 17. In 1788 and 1789 he led expeditions up the Caroní River, taking Pemon; see Armellada 1960:149-160. The expedition of Benito de La Garriga and Tomás de Mataró to the Rio Branco in 1772 was exploratory; see Carrocera 1979:II, N° 190, 182-186, and Armellada 1960:117-142.

In settling, the indigenous peoples changed their pattern of small, dispersed family residences with occasional village agglomerations of probably fewer than a hundred people, whose families were in part-time residence only, to permanent villages of several hundreds in full-time occupation. They were expected to work systematically at cultivation and cattle herding, to engage in small industries and to keep up public institutions (church and school). A more complex, hierarchical structure was imposed, authority within the mission village being delegated by the priest ("Padre Presidente") to the most reliable Indians who held specific offices relating to the running of village affairs (see Robinson 1975:70-71). This contrasted with the indigenous pattern of autonomous leaders and heads of families, interacting through trading and exchange, intermarriage, feasting and quarrelling with each other. Thus, when several independent groups were compressed within the structure of a mission village the respective leaders and their followings soon began to quarrel. As the customary process of distancing themselves began, the families soon tried to return to their previous localities. The mission village would fall apart rapidly therefore, through the potentially hostile factions within, which led to flight of at least a portion of the inhabitants. Sometimes too, not readily accepting Spanish customs and values and a reduction of their customary mobility, the mission inhabitants would go back to their customary life of "savage independence" -as the Capuchins saw it. As I shall show later, there was also the complication of the different European colonists and the competition between these. Some Amerindians came to ally themselves to the Dutch in Essequibo, others adhered to the Spanish in Guayana. It is rarely stated plainly in the literature that, in fact, these divisions occurred within the same indigenous nation. For example, the Caribs in the Capuchin mission of Miamo agitated to attack the Caribs allied to the Dutch who were said to be slave trading from a settlement at the confluence of the Curumo (Botanamo) with the Cuyuni, previous to 1758.

The Capuchin missionaries had therefore to cope with an inherent instability which was present in a mission village of even 150-200 people -and many of their missions came to have 500 inhabitants or more! It was problematic when a village was inhabited by members of just one ethnic group, but it was worse if it was made up from two or more such units.[28] It was impossible to give every local group its own mission, there being a shortage of personnel even in the villages already established. The Capuchins had to juggle with remnant populations from failed missions, a few willing families and those they were pressurizing to settle, in order to assemble a sufficient number of compatible families for an adequate

[28]Observations to this effect were made in the 1761 Report of the Prefect of the Mission, Fidel de Sautó; Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 27.

village population, This took time, energy and much skill. The problem of making a lasting peace between the Caribs and their intractable enemies, the Guiacas and Barinagotos (Kapoη and Pemoη respectively), proved virtually insuperable. There was occasional collaboration, but this soon failed owing to the strength of mutual suspicion and traditional enmity. Nevertheless, from very early on in the mission endeavour, and despite frequent desertions, revolts and destruction of entire villages whether by their own inhabitants or enemies from outside, and also despite lethal epidemics, the indigenous peoples began to be draw to the missions being founded for them. For the most part they resided in them for their own perceived advantage, and they often brought in relations who were living at a greater distance away.

The inhabitants of the Guayana Mission village, 1724-1761

To assess the impact of Christian missionary teaching on the indigenous population of Western Guiana in the mid 18th century, it is necessary to know which groups were being evangelized in the Capuchin villages of Guayana at that period. Establishing the identity of the peoples in question is not easy, but with the excellent literature now available through the work of today's Capuchin historians and the findings of modern ethnography, we can present a more comprehensive account than was previously possible.[29]

The first Capuchin villages in 18th century Guayana were established along the southern shores of the lower Orinoco and lower reaches of the Caroní, and in the Imataca Mountains where they run parallel to the Orinoco, overlooking the flood plain. They were settled by Pariagotos, or Guayanos. The relationship between these two names, seemingly referring to one specific group of Carib speakers, has not been satisfactorily established. Both names go back to the very early records. In the Capuchin documents the Pariagotos were listed and referred to frequently up to the late 1760s, when this name began to be displaced by Guayanos. For example, in the 1770 account of the Mission given by the Prefect Bruno de Barcelona, the designation "Guayanos" totally replaces that of "Pariagotos" for those villages previously denoted as inhabited by the latter (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 170, 116-124). Sometimes the phrase "Guayana or Pariagota" is used, implying two alternative names for the same ethnic unity. Thus, Manuel Centurión in 1768 referred to "... the numerous and difficult guayana or pariagota nation established in the seven villages..." (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 160, 78). The 1775 Report of the

[29]In this section in particular, and wherever I refer to the Guayana Mission, I draw heavily on the three volumes of documents published by the Rev. Fr. Buenaventura de Carrocera, 1979. See Acknowledgments.

Superiors of the Mission went a stage further, beginning with the state further, beginning with the statement: "The guayanos indians or pariagotos, which is the same..." (Carrocera 1979:II, 209, 268). In accordance with general Amerindian custom in Guiana, one or both might have been nicknames attributed to a particular ethnic unity by their neighbours. Cesáreo de Armellada (1980:206) says that in Carib languages *paria* means "*montaña*" (mountain, high ground), and he notes that the same word enters the geography of Venezuela in the designation "Peninsula of Paria", on the North coast, opposite Trinidad. Perhaps the indigenous word designates an extension of high ground bordering coastal waters or a large river -such as the Imataca Mountains beyond the Orinoco flood plain. The suffix *-gok*, or *-kok*, *-goto*, *-koto* in Carib languages means "a group of people belonging to ..." Pariagoto could therefore mean "people of the high lands". Wilbert (1993:25) notes that *wayaṇa* (hispanicized as guayana) is a Warao designation meaning "without a canoe" (*wa*: canoe), which for the people of the Delta who are famous for their dugouts, is to indicate a pauper and incompetent person. This designation could have been applicable to neighbouring Carib-speaking groups living on the heights of the Imatacas, where boats would be useless.

With great difficulty and after a number of failures, missions were also founded with "Caribes" (Karinya) who were living in the south-eastern sector of the Imataca Mountains, where these lie behind the Atlantic coastal plain. The documents refer to them as inhabiting the valleys of the Aguirre and Curumo (Botanamo), the Amacura, Barima and Barama rivers; that is, the forested areas to the North of the Cuyuni River. Some of them were allied to the Dutch in Essequibo. Another Carib group was residing on the islands in the Caroní River, below the Paragua confluence, having withdrawn from the Llanos North of the Orinoco in order to escape from the expansion of the missions of the Franciscanos Observantes. This latter group was notably hostile to the Guayana Mission of the Capuchins and became part of the Carib network of groups occupying the South bank of the Orinoco from the Caroní River upstream to the Caura River. The Caribs of the Imataca and those of the Caroní-Caura region were in communication with each other for purposes of trading and slaving, following interior paths and waterways in which the Yuruari grasslands of the upper Cuyuni River were an intermediate stage. Local Carib groups periodically attacked the Capuchin foundations and were particularly hostile to those mission villages which were being located in the path of their trade in slaves which extended to the middle and upper Orinoco, and which were perceived as threatening both the Carib economy and independent life-style (see Whitehead 1988:180-188 for a detailed account of Carib slaving.)

Also living in the Capuchin villages were Guaraúnos (Warao) taken from the Orinoco Delta, who were settled with great difficulty as they were

greatly averse to leaving their own territories, which the missionaries considered uninhabitable on account of its marshy nature and regular flooding. There seems to have been a small population of Aruacas (Arawak) in the neighbourhood of the garrison, along the river to the present Punta de Aramaya, and in the Amakura River basin. From 1769 groups of Arawaks were taken from the coastal belt of Essequibo as far East as the Moruca River and Pomeroon. Another distinctive nation was the Panacayos, living in the Imataca Mountains at the sources of streams flowing into the Orinoco. Little is recorded of them and their language affiliation is unknown. Small numbers of Sáliva and Chayma, whose main territories and populations lay outside the Capuchin area, were also listed as a part of the Mission.[30]

Important components of the Guayana Mission population came to be two associated peoples; one referred to as "arinagotos" or "barinagotos" and the other as "guaicas". Arinagotos inhabited the Paragua River and its tributaries, as a map of the period shows (Ramos Pérez 1946:440-443; Caulín 1966:105). Arinagotos were, for example, later settled in the mission village of San Pedro de las Bocas and in Barceloneta (La Paragua), and were used to transport goods and soldiers up the Paragua to the Spanish foundations there in the 1770s. Guaica, or Waika, is a generalised term which has the meaning of "warrior" or "killer", and thus the connotation of "fierce" and "savage". In this context it is best known today through its application to the Yanomamɨ living at the head of the Orinoco in the Amazon territory of Venezuela and in neighbouring Brazil. However, the Spanish in the mid 18th century did not know the Yanomamɨ and they used the name "guaica" to designate specific Carib speakers of the Guayana area, in particular those inhabiting the upper course of the Cuyuni River and its tributaries, the Wenamu, Yuruan, Supamo and streams extending westwards towards the Caroní watershed.

Capuchin documents do not refer to the name "Akuway" or its variants. Nor in the Dutch documents I have seen is there use of the designation "Guiacas".[31] Nevertheless, a comparative study of parallel references in Dutch and Spanish literature indicates that the Dutch in Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice, employed the name "Acawey" (pl. Acaweyen) and similar forms (Ackewey, Acuwey, Akawaïsche, Akawoi, as well as those recorded in the Moravian Mission documents referred to

[30]The Chayma, Carib-speaking, were situated in the Province of Cumaná and were evangelized by the Capuchins of Aragon. A few "Chiama" or "Shiamacotte" were reported as settled round Moruca Post in Dutch Essequibo. These and the small number in Guayana appear to have been splinter groups. The Sáliva, living in the upper Orinoco and in the Meta valley, had a language different from the peoples of Guayana. They were being evangelized by the Jesuits working at the Meta-Orinoco confluence.

[31]However, in reporting to the West India Company a Spanish raid on the Post of Moruca in 1769, the Director-General of Essequibo referred to two Capuchin Fathers, a detachment of soldiers and a large party "of armed Waykiers". This was probably a rendering of Waikas (Guaicas), (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 606-607).

above), whilst the Spanish in Guayana were using Guiaca to designate the same nation.[32] For example, soon after the Bylier's Report of 1756, the Spanish began to manipulate the endemic hostility that existed between groups of Caribs and Guaica in order to counter-balance the power of the former and its destructive effects on Spanish settlement. Ten years later, in 1765, a Dutch Creole pretending to be a runaway, visited "the Spanish Mission" and reported that there were swarms of Akuways at that mission, described as situated about four hours from Cuyuni on the West, "...and that the missionaries are the cause of the war between the Caribs and that tribe, the natives being incited and provided with arms by them." (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 488-489). Whilst relating this, van 's Gravesande gave details in his Despatch of this latest Carib-Acuway war, stating that the "Acuways" had massacred all the women and children in a Carib village on the Mazaruni River.[33] In 19th century British Guiana variants of the terms employed by the Dutch continued in use, but by the middle of the century there was also occasional reference to Waikas, or Waicas. The Anglican missionary W.H. Brett for example, referred to "Acawoios (or Waikas)" and maintained that the Acawoios living on the upper Demerara and Berbice rivers were a branch of the "Kapohn" called Waika by some whilst "others incorrectly give that name to the entire race." (Brett 1868:261, 277). The use of the name Waika began in British Guiana after the destruction of the Guayana Mission in 1817. The mission villages were soon deserted after the massacre of their priests and many of their inhabitants, including the Guaica-Akawaio, made their way into the Essequibo forest to the East, where they were later encountered by British explorers and missionaries. Many of them had originally come from this forest.

Ethnographic research has established that Guaica, or Waika, is a nickname today used in more than one context. Thus the Akawaio refer to Caribs as Waika whilst also naming them as *Kali'na*. Pemon do the same. However, the Pemon of the Gran Sabana and upper Cuyuni (those regional groups, or "tribes" referred to as Arekuna, Kamarakoto and Taurepan) also denote their Kapon neighbours (both Akawaio and Patamona) as Waika (see Butt Colson 1983-84:87-89, 97-98). It is tempting to assume that the 18th century Spanish in Guayana invariably used Guaica, whilst the 18th century Dutch in Essequibo used Acawey, as terms for designating those Amerindian who call themselves Kapoɳ. However, both Guaica and Acawey are nicknames used by "others", the former meaning "warrior" and the latter still of uncertain meaning and provenance (Butt Colson 1983-84:90-91). Nicknames express stereotypes

[32]For lists of alternative spellings for Akawaio and Guaica, see Salazar Quijada 1970:25 and Fournier 1979:91.

[33]The possession of the lower and middle Mazaruni was being disputed by Akawaio and Caribs in the mid 18th century. It appears that the Caribs were invading what had previously been Akawaio territory.

and images and may refer to a whole series of inter-relationships, sometimes dividing and sometimes uniting otherwise discrete groups. The employment of these terms could have changed since they were first reported, so that it is important to proceed with care and to attempt to test them against the documentary evidence of the period.

It is not until near the middle of the 18th century that references to Guaicas began to figure in Spanish documents. Research into Capuchin records by Cesáreo de Armellada reveals the importance of Atanasio de Olot as being the first missionary to evangelize the Guaicas. A native of Olot in Gerona in Spain, he arrived in the Guayana Mission in 1737.[34] He was "Procurador" in 1743.[35] At the beginning of 1744 he was put in charge of the new foundation of Cunuri, in the Yuruari valley, and a Report of the Governor of Cumaná, June 1745, referred to him as being "in the foundation of panacayos" (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 108, 313). The Panacayos had just suffered a severe military defeat at the hands of Carib enemies and, having asked for a mission village of their own to dwell in, they were settled in a new village, Cunuri. Padre Atanasio was elected "Conjuez" of the Mission in 1747. He died on 28th January 1748 -the year in which some of the Carib Indians began to settle in mission villages. It is recorded that:[36]

> "This Father was the first to discover the Guayca Indian nation, and the first who began to catechise and baptize them; and this nation by disposition being very belligerent against others, the said Father imposed peace on them, the Panacayos and Caribes, and remained many years amongst them."

The mission village of Cunuri began in 1743, was formally founded in 1744 and lasted only a few years, for in 1750 its 300 inhabitants rose and fled. The Boundary Commissioner Eugenio de Alvarado described them in 1755 as having been "Caribes", these having been added later (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118, 338). Dutch sources state that Caribs and "Panacays" had joined together to destroy a mission village, being aggrieved at the closing of slave trading route by a newly founded village.[37]

[34]Carrocera 1979:I, 30. He is there referred to as Atanasio de Olost. He was "Procurador" in 1743.

[35]The Procurador managed the common fund of the Mission, in which all the profits from ranching, cultivation and trading of goods were deposited. He also arranged for the purchase and supply of goods for the villages and for the sale of their produce. See Robinson 1975:69.

[36]This quotation, from the *Memoria de los Religiosos Misioneros defuntos de la Provincia de Cataluña y algunos casos particulares*, pp. 46-47, was discovered by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada who communicated it to me (see Acknowledgements). The English translation is mine.

[37]Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 311-312. The Despatch of the Director-General of Essequibo which seems to refer to this event is dated 12th October 1754. No Capuchin village was destroyed in that year or immediately preceding ones, but the details given appear to match those of the destruction of Cunuri in 1750 (see Table 2, Note 23). Some "Panacays" subsequently arrived in Essequibo and the Director-General reported them as being in his house (May 1755). Their leaders were offering help against the Spanish and wishing to settle round the Dutch Cuyuni Post, then being established (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 330-332).

The work which Atanasio de Olot began among the Guaica in the 1740s was continued by others in the 1750s. At this time also, the first literary references to the Barinagotos appear, in connection with the mission village San José de Leonisa de Ayma (or Aima), often referred to as "Yuruario" or "Yuruari", the main river near which it was sited, a major tributary of the upper Cuyuni. Ayma was begun in about 1753 and a formal foundation took place in February 1755. Its first missionary was Tomás de San Pedro, who had arrived in Guayana in 1745 (Carrocera 1979:II, N°. 182, 162). The Report of Eugenio de Alvarado April 1755, recorded that Aima was composed of 163 Barinagotos (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 117, 336). A letter of 9th June 1758 written by the Prefect of the Mission, Benito de La Garriga, referred to the "barinagotos of the Yuruario" who had several times maintained that the Dutch had threatened to burn their village because it was impeding the slave route over the Yuruari River. In this same letter however, there was mention of a Guaica element in the population. Relating how the captain and companion of the Guaica nation had been assassinated by Caribs early in 1758, during the course of building the incipient mission village of Avechica on the Supamo River, the Prefect remarked that Guaicas in the missions of the Yuruari were now repeatedly demanding to be allowed to take vengeance (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 126, 363):[38]

> "...that village now remains lost because on account of that murder the said guaicas have again withdrawn into the Bush, and, as some of the said nation may also be found in the missions of the Yuruario, they frequently demand to go and take revenge."

Perhaps as a consequence of this attack, the Spanish raid down the Cuyuni, which took place in September of the same year, 1758, with the objective of destroying the newly-founded Dutch Post and its supporting Caribs, had both Barinagotos and Guaicas in accompaniment. Thus the Prefect of the Mission, describing the event, referred to "the barinagotos and guaicas of P. Tomás", the missionary resident in Ayma, and also stated that they had returned very desconsolate from the incursion (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 131, 380):

> "... for they thought that they should be allowed to kill all their enemies the Caribs at one blow, and armed with clubs in hand they wished to begin with the first they found and the commander did not permit it."

However, the composition of Ayma, the Yuruari mission village in which it appears that Barinagotos were settled with some Guaicas, was more complicated a matter than might appear at first sight. Although

[38]Caulín (1966:I, 34) also stated that the "Yuruário" mission had Guaycas and Barinagotos. He probably wrote this in 1758: see Estudio Preliminar, LXXXVII by P. Ojer, in Caulín: I.

stated as being founded with Barinagotos in 1755, and having principally a Barinagoto population in 1758, the 1761 Report of the Prefect, Fidel de Sautó, noted that it was composed of Guaica Indians (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 137, 26):

> "...whose nation is extremely widespread towards the South and very inclined to settle. This would not be difficult if the missionaries had the means to accomplish it, as they are very docile Indians although somewhat fickle, for which reason they customarily desert with frequency."

A 1770 Report by the Prefect Bruno de Barcelona, (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 170, 118), affirmed that:

> "The Indians of this mission are guaicas, camaragotos..."

He repeated this in his Report of 1772 (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 182, 156), and in an account of the mission given again by Fidel de Sautó, in 1772, it was recorded that Ayma then had a population of 402 "Guaicas and Camaragotos" (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 183, 166). However, this apparent confusion of identity is explicable when we read an account of 1775 which was composed by the Superiors of the Mission. In it we learn that the Indians of Ayma (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 209, 274):

> "...are barinagotos by nation although the name of guaica is applied to them, which means warlike, because they are extremely so and this nation makes war with the others, like the real guaicas, and these nations abound in the Caroní River, Cuyuni, Mazurini and their mountains and valleys..."

Finally, in a Report signed 14th August 1784 by Buenaventura de Sabadell, the identity of the barinagotos, certainly those of Ayma, is revealed:[39]

> "In the year of 1767, on 25th of February, all the barinagoto Indians of Ayma or camaragotos, which is the same, who were 400 souls, fled into the Bush one night, and more than a year passed during which not one could we retake; they went off because of the earth tremors which were occurring and because of the many falsehoods and the fear which their sorcerers and piaches instilled in them..."

It appears therefore that the Capuchin missionaries, in certain contexts at least, utilized the nickname Guaica to refer to both the Guaica (identified elsewhere in the documentation of the period as Akawaio) and to the Barinagoto, whose identity for the village of Ayma is given as "camaragotos". By autodenomination the Guaica-Akawaio are *Kapoŋ*,

[39]Carrocera 1979:II, N° 231, 343. In this document there appears to be a mistake in the attribution of the Report as printed at the beginning of the text. The mention of "piaches" is interesting as it is today used to refer in Spanish to the Pemon shaman, piaisaŋ or piaichaŋ.

whilst the Barinagoto - Camaragoto are *Pemoŋ*. It is also noteworthy that in a series of Prefects' Reports, the designation "barinagotos" was increasingly displaced by that of "guaicas" for a specific number of mission villages (see Carrocera 1979:III, N° 247, 20-21 for 1788; N° 272, 106-107 for 1792; N° 289, 162-165 for 1797; N° 323, 314-317 for 1816). Yet there is no evidence to suggest that wholesale flight or a tremendous mortality in so many mission villages caused a definitive disappearance of Barinagotos (Pemon), who were then replaced by Guaicas (Kapon). When large sectors of mission population were switched to other villages, as sometimes occurred in some later stages of mission activity, then the Mission Reports usually stated this and recorded it in the lists of mission villages and their inhabitants. There is another, more likely explanation for re-designation. This is that, as in the case of San José de Leonisa de Ayma, the Capuchins were increasingly utilizing the designation Guaica as a generalized nickname, subsuming under it both Kapon and Pemon. That this practice occurred is borne out by a very pertinent comment, made in October 1767, appearing in a letter from the Superiors of the Mission to the King and referring to the new nations then entering the mission villages:[40]

> "... they are those of guaicas, under whose denomination many are included, as are: guaicas, barinagotos, arinagotos, etc., of whom your missionaries could only reduce four villages after their discovery up to the present, but one was completely lost, the other two are very much in their first stages and we are now retaking the souls of the other, which recently revolted..."

The Capuchin classification of two different peoples (or "nations") under one term, that of Guaica, may have been adopted directly from a customary practice of predominantly coastal Amerindians (Warao, Carib, Arawak and Guayanos),[41] in their reference to two warlike groupings who appear always to have been closely connected with each other and who are culturally very similar. Indeed the account of 1775 quoted above, which explains how the Ayma Barinagotos came to be referred to as Guaicas, is immediately followed by a description of a practice which these two peoples had in common and which served to pinpoint a difference between them and other Amerindians. After referring to their habitat in the Caroní, Cuyuni and Mazaruni Rivers, the Superiors of the Mission went on to say of both Guaicas and Barinagotos that (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 209, 274):

[40]Carrocera 1979:II, N° 155, 64. The four villages referred to in this text seem to be Avechica (Guaicas), which was lost: Ayma (Barinagotos and Guaicas) whose inhabitants revolted in February of that year, 1767: the relatively new foundation of Cavallapi (Guaicas) and, perhaps, San Pedro de Las Bocas (Barinagotos), which may have been beginning but which was formally founded a few years later.

[41]W.E. Roth 1924: Index, 721, stated: "Waika is the term applied to the Akawaio by the Arawak..."

"... they are skilled in fishing like the guaraúnos (Warao); these nations make salt from different things, as of herbs, palm hearts, ite palms and it converts into salt..., with which they salt fish and they put it in the cooking pot, and in place of tobacco they chew a herb which grows in the water and all day long they keep the chewing mixture in the mouth."

This observation appears to refer to the custom of charring a water weed, perhaps the one known as *weira* (*Lacis fluviatilis*), which grows on submerged rocks at rapids and off which the paku fish (*Myletes setiger*), feeds, so giving it the popular Guyanese name of "paku weed" (V. Roth 1943:94-95). The salty-tasting powder (*urin* or *ulin* is mixed with squeezed tobacco leaf and formed into small pellets placed between the lower lip and teeth which are sucked for hours at a time. The upper Mazaruni Akawaio who still followed this traditional practice in the 1950s, stated that *weira* gave its name to the Ireng River (the *Weiren* or *Eiren*), and that the Patamona living in that valley were consequently denoted the *Eirema-gok*, the people of the (*W*) *Eiren* River (see Butt Colson 1983-84:91-92). As noted above, the 18th century Dutch rendered this name as "Arenakotte" and apart from specifying that these lived in the Siparuni (another river valley of Patamona Kapon territory), also stated that they were: "up in Caroni, a branch of Orinoco".[42] One conclusion which might be drawn from the Dutch statement combined with today's ethnographic information, is that their informants could have been referring to the group of Pemon (Taurepan) living on the river known as "Wairen", a tributary of the Kukenan River (the upper Caroni) where there is now situated the Venezuelan township of Sta. Elena de Wairén, in the South of the Gran Sabana a short distance from the frontier with Brazil. More importantly, it raises the possibility that the people referred to in the Capuchin documents as Arinagoto, Barinagoto, and occasionally Varinagoto, of the Caroni and Paragua River valleys, possessed the same nickname as the people of the Siparuni River (and beyond), who were referred to by the Dutch as Arenakotte. Although of distinct ethnic affinity, being Pemon and Kapon respectively, both utilized the *weiren* weed for the same purposes. In this context it is also noteworthy that today's Pemon population in the Paragua valley is by language and culture nearly identical to the Kamarakoto and Taurepan, Pemon groups living on the Gran Sabana in the upper Caroni valley and also dwelling in the upper Cuyuni basin (Armellada & Matallana 1942:92-94).

The Barinagoto (Kamarakoto Pemon) of the village of Ayma probably did not derive from the Paragua or the Caroni, still unexplored in the mid 18th century except for the lower course of the latter, for Ayma was located well to the East on a tributary of the upper Cuyuni. The Kamarakoto, Pemon who are today concentrated in Kamarata in the Northwest Gran

[42]I at first considered that the "Arenakotte" of the Dutch and the "Arinagoto" (or Barinagoto) of the Spanish referred to the same ethnic group.

Sabana, have a long history of occupation of the uppermost reaches of the Cuyuni and tributaries such as the Chikanán. Ancient trails, still in use, link the two groups. Akawaio (Guaica) in the Kamarang River area in the North Pakaraima Mountains have similarly maintained contact with those of their people living in the upper Cuyuni valley, using a trail linking the Paruima River, tributary of the Kamarang, with the Wenamu which is a tributary of the Cuyuni. Moreover, Akawaio of the upper Mazaruni River and its tributaries, sometimes referred to in the literature as the Serekong, regularly utilized several trails which lead over the Pakaraima escarpment to the middle and lower Mazaruni where they have always maintained villages. The use of highland and lowland habitats by people of the same ethnic group is a common occurrence in the western area of the Guiana Highlands and is a way of effectively tapping the resources of distinct ecosystems.

The inevitable conclusion drawn from these facts is that some of the new mission village foundations being made by the Capuchins in Guayana from the mid 18th century on, contained Carib-speaking groups drawn from the forest-grassland borders in the lower Caroní and upper Cuyuni basins. However, these people also belonged to very much bigger ethnic units with vast territories, and they participated in a network of relationships extending into the highland areas of a more distant interior which was to remain unknown and unexplored for a further 100 years and more.[43]

The Guayana Mission Villages, 1755-1761

The population composition, numbers and dates of foundation of the Capuchin villages of the 1755-61 period are shown in sequence in Table 1(see appendix). Table 2 (see appendix) gives a summary of basic information on the villages which had been lost up to that date. The data in both tables derive from a series of reports and accounts on the state of the Mission, mostly written by the successive Prefects but sometimes by visiting authorities. Of special interest because they encompass the period on which we are focussing (that of the two Dutch Reports of May and July 1756), is the Report of the Boundary Commissioner Eugenio de Alvarado, April 1755 (Carrocera 1979:I, N°. 117 & 118, 335-338), and the Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó, August 1761 (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 137, 23-28)[44] Additionally, there is a useful description of Guayana and of the Mission given in a Report for June 1758 - May 1759 by the Bishop of Puerto Rico, Pedro Martínez de Oneca, after his visitation (Carrocera

[43]Although the Portuguese in Brazil may have reached the Roraima area during the 18th century, the first recorded visit of Europeans to Mount Roraima, on the heights of the Gran Sabana, was made by Robert Schomburgk in 1838. He travelled through the Rupununi to the Rio Branco and then northwards through Brazil.

[44]Note that Carrocera heads the Report with the date 26th February 1761, but the Report is signed and dated 26th August 1761.

1979:I, N° 127, 386-371), and also a 1761 Report by the Governor and Captain General of the Province, José Diguja Villagómez (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 138, 28-30). All this information demonstrates the extent of religious endeavour of the Capuchins over the period from 1724 until 1761. By examining the years immediately following 1756 as well as the period leading up to this date, we can better assess the state of affairs in the Mission and in Guayana generally, and the overall direction of events at the time when the numerous, mixed party of Spanish Indians arrived at Arinda on the Essequibo, claiming to have been resurrected and to be "God's folk".

1. The Situation in 1755: Mission Composition and Numbers: Tables 1-6 *

In April 1755 Eugenio de Alvarado (utilizing information received from the Prefect Benito de Moya), reported 11 missions successfully founded, excluding Carapo which had begun but still lacked its priest. He gave seven mission villages as lost, not listing Mutanambo which had an exceedingly short existence. He referred to Casacoima, but not to Tipurúa -villages perhaps comprising one mission since his information for Casacoima is the same later Mission Reports use for Tipurúa.

The occupants of the existing missions were listed as being Pariagotos (6 villages): Pariagotos with Caribes added (1 village, namely El Palmar): Caribes (3 villages): Barinagotos (1 village). The Barinagoto village was Ayma, founded in Feb. 1755 with 163 inhabitants, although it had begun in 1753. As my analysis of the documents has indicated (see above), these Barinagotos were sometimes referred to as Guaicas on account of their warlike behaviour, but were, in the main at least, Kamarakoto (Pemon). The total population in the 11 villages in early 1755 was given as 2,901, but Alvarado's numbers add up to 2,907! Perhaps the "1" is a misreading of an obscured "7" in the original manuscript. For these 11 surviving missions, Alvarado noted that by 1755 a total of 5,636 had been baptised, 1,622 marriages had taken place and 3,474 had died (see Table 6).

The mission villages lost had been occupied by Pariagotos (1 village): Guaraúnos (1): Aruacas (1): Chaimas (1): Caribes (3 villages, excluding Mutanambo and with Cunuri denoted a Carib village -there being no mention of the original population of Panacayos). The seven destroyed villages recorded by Alvarado had been occupied by a combined total of 1,286 Indians (Table 5). Counting Mutanambo, the total is 1,356 (Table 2).

2. The Situation in 1761: Mission Composition and Numbers

In August 1761 the Prefect Fidel de Sautó reported 16 mission villages in existence. The 5 missions added to the previous 11 of Alvarado's Report were, Carapo (Caribes): Avechica (Guaicas); Guasipati (Caribes): Piacoa

*Tables 1-6 and the corresponding observations are found in the appendix

(Aruacas): Calvario (Guaraúnos). He did not mention Cavallapi, a village for Guaiças, or Uyacoa, for Guaraúnos, presumably because they had scarcely begun. These new foundations added 785 to the overall numbers in the mission villages (with a total of 271 for Ayma, as stated in Diguja's Report). Adding up the figures given by the Prefect for the individual villages yields a total Mission population of 4,378 for 1761 (Avechica being counted as an existing village with 190 Guaicas just re-taken). This is a slightly lower figure than the 4,393 total given by Diguja for the same year.[45]

Fidel de Sautó gave 8 mission villages lost, referring to Tipurúa (with a population of 115, the same as Alvarado had quoted for Casacoima), but similarly excluding mention of Mutanambo. The additional village lost was Terepi, in 1758 with 48 Caribs. In all, 1,440 Indians had been lost from the villages he listed. We should note that his figures are the same as those given by Alvarado except in two instances. In the case of Unata, Fidel de Sautó gave a 1735 foundation date and a population of 149 (Alvarado gave a 1747 foundation date and a population of 133). For Payaraima the Prefect gave a lost population of 298 whilst Alvarado gave 208. However, there might be a misreading of "9" for "0" in Fidel de Sautó's Report and we should note that Sabadell in 1777 also gave Payaraima as having had a population of 208 (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 222, 307. See Table 2, notes 20 & 21.)

According to Fidel de Sautó, the 8 missions lost by 1761 had populations of Pariagotos (1 village): Guaraúnos (1): Aruacas, Sálivas and Guaraúnos (1): Chaimas (1): Caribes (4 villages, including Cunuri which had been founded with Panacayos), (see Table 5.)

Table 3 summarizes the population statistics which we can extrapolate from the Alvarado Report of 1755 and the Report of Fidel de Sautó of 1761. It will be seen that there is some discrepancy between the overall global figures given by the Prefect in his Report and the numbers which are obtained by adding up his figures for each individual village (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 137, 24). This was no doubt due to fluctuating conditions in the villages, such as deaths, desertions, births and new accessions, which meant that figures were never totally up-to-date, nor ever perhaps, one hundred per cent accurate.

Tables 4 & 5 give a breakdown of the numbers of the various Amerindian peoples who had been prosyletised between 1724 and 1761, with the statistics for 1755 showing the situation immediately before the enthusiastic movement of 1756 and those for 1761 showing the trend. Table 6 gives figures for baptisms, marriages and deaths up to 1755 and then up to 1761.

[45]Slight variations between population numbers given by Fidel de Sautó and those given by Diguja are presumably due to fluctuations within the villages and the dates for recording them.

The information on the Guayana Mission, summarized in the 6 Tables, gives an excellent idea of the scale of Capuchin activity from 1724 to 1755. By the latter year a total of 6,381 had inhabited mission villages. Of these, 2,907 were alive in April 1755 and 3,474 had died "as Christians". A further 1,286 (if Mutanambo is included, 1,356) had fled from lost missions, but must have experienced varying degrees of Christian influence before they left. In one way or another therefore, 7,737 had been exposed to Roman Catholic teaching and mission life, some more intensively and for longer periods than others. Around 3,000 were occupying the eleven existing villages at the time of the 1756 enthusiastic movement of "God's folk".

The figures for the subsequent six years indicate that there was a steady increase, and indeed this was also to be the case after 1761 as more and more Amerindians were sought out and persuaded into the Mission. According to the Report of the Bishop of Puerto Rico who visited Guayana during the period June 1758 - May 1759, there were over 3,300 Indians in 12 mission villages and another village was being founded (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 127, 369). By 1761 there were 16 villages, plus two more beginning, and a total population of between 4,328 and 4,406 (according to the two sets of figures deriving from Fidel de Sautó), and of 4,393 as stated by Diguja, also in 1761 (both sources excluding the newly begun Cavallapi and Uyacoa). Taking the Alvarado figure of 2,907 for 1755 and the medial figure of Diguja for 1761, there was an overall increase of 1,486 over the six year period. If we use the statistics of Fidel de Sautó, then the increase was 1,471 over the sum total of his village figures, or 1,499 if we use his global figure.

The loss for the six years, as Table 3 indicates, is the difference between Alvarado's 1755 figure of 1,286 and the 1761 figures given by Fidel de Sautó, namely 1,440 (by individual village count), or 1,686 (global figure), giving 154 in the first instance and 400 in the second. There is thus a substantial difference between the two statistics, even if the Payaraima population given as 298 were to be a misreading of 208 (see note 21 of Tables 1 & 2). However, the founding population of Terepi was 200 (in 1757) and the mission was totally lost in 1758, so accounting for half of the global loss given by Fidel de Sautó. Instability in other Carib villages, such as Aguacagua with its flights by Carib leaders and their followers, also helps to explain the lost population total.

As Table 4 indicates, 898 of the increase in population between 1755 and 1761 was due primarily to a dramatic augmentation of the Carib Mission population (from 887 in four villages in 1755 to 1,785 in six villages in 1761), There was a significant rise of 108 in the Ayma Barinagoto population (from 163 to 271). The Guaicas appear in the Mission statistics for the first time, after 1755, with 190 in 1761 (although 200 had been in the process of settling Avechica when the Caribs made

their attack early in 1758). Small numbers of Aruacas and Guaraúnos appear in the 1761 lists, their former mission populations being represented only by loss totals in the 1755 Report of Alvarado. Finally, by 1761 there had been a small increase of 170 in the six Pariagoto villages (from 1,857 to 2,027).

The trend over the 1755-61 period was to a 50% increase of population overall, taking the most conservative estimate of 2,900 Mission inhabitants in 1755 and an augmentation of 1,470 by 1761. The increase shows most dramatically in the aggregation of Caribs in mission villages created for them before and after 1755. A substantial increase in the small population of Barinagoto and the introduction of Guaica Mission population indicate the Capuchin advance to make contact with the indigenous peoples towards the South. As Table 1 shows, the Carib and Carib-speaking peoples of Guayana were beginning to be drawn into the Mission from the middle of the 18th century and the process was accelerating from 1755 on.

Since the availability and distributions of meat from Mission herds was a major factor in persuading the Indians to remain in the villages founded for them, a fact fully recognised by the missionaries themselves, these should not be forgotten in the statistics (Report of Fidel de Sautó, Carrocera 1979:II, 137, 24; Carrocera 1981:210-211). Despite the severe drain on resources caused by the presence of the Boundary Commissioners, their families, retinue and military forces during a prolonged stay in the Guayana Mission during 1755 and 1756, and requisitions afterwards whilst they were in the upper Orinoco, the Mission was becoming increasingly prosperous. In 1761 the cattle herds were in the region of 14-16,000 head and there were herds of horses and mules besides (Carrocera 1979:I, 43), (see appendix for notes on tables 1-6). The following section puts flesh on all these statistical bones.

The Status of the Guayana Mission Villages, 1755-1761

The Pariagotos (Guayanos) were the earliest mission inhabitants, living on the banks of the Orinoco and the high ground and mountains running in parallel at the back of the flood plain. From the beginning they suffered severe epidemics, notably smallpox and measles, and they also took the brunt of Carib assaults. Nevertheless, by the mid 18th century their villages were relatively stable and virtually all of them had been proselytized. They were the backbone of further missionary endeavour and were sometimes transferred to Carib missions in order to stabilize their volatile inhabitants.

The mission villages occupied by Guaraúnos (Warao), Aruacas (Arawak) and Panacayos (affiliation unknown), some Chaima and Sáliva, were founded between 1735-41, but lost in 1740-42 (see Table 2). Their next

villages, Piacoa (Aruacas), Calvario and Uyacoa (Guaraúnos) had their beginnings in 1760-61 (Table 1).

The Caribs presented the most recalcitrant problem, being the major obstacle to the successful founding of permanent mission villages. A fiercely independent people, they were engaged in long-distance, profitable trade in indigenous, "red" captives whom they sold to the plantation owners of the Dutch colonies to the East of Guayana: Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice and Surinam, where they were valued highly as household slaves. This trade was vigorously opposed by the Capuchin missionaries, who saw Spanish sovereignty and their own religious work undermined by a Dutch-Carib trading alliance which also threatened to depopulate the Orinoco basin of its indigenous inhabitants.

In the 1740s the Mission began to found villages which were strategically placed, starting in the eastern sector of the Yuruari valley of the upper Cuyuni River basin, in a deliberate attempt to interrupt the Carib slaving route. Their Carib inhabitants came from the forested, eastern region, the Aguirre, Aruka river areas and also included what is today the forest of the North West District of Guayana.[46] Later Carib villages of the Yuruari, such as Carapo and Guasipati, also derived their population from this region. However, those who were persuaded to settle maintained their contacts with those who remained independent and allied to the Dutch, and some of those "settled" even continued clandestine slaving. The hostility of the independent Caribs to Spanish dominion and interference was also fuelled by Dutch alarm at what seemed to be an attempt to take control of the Cuyuni River, for there were Dutch plantations on its lowest course and its confluence with the Mazaruni and the Essequibo was in front of the old fort of Kijkoveral, the first headquarters of the Dutch West India Company in the colony of Essequibo. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the first Carib foundations had brief and violent histories. Thus, after much endeavour some Caribs were persuaded to settle at Miamo, on the river of that name, a tributary of the Yuruari. The foundation took place in January 1748, which was the month and year in which Atanasio de Olot died, after he had made peace between Guaicas, Panacayos and Caribes, and had presided over the village of Cunuri (founded with Panacayos in 1744 but with Caribs added later). The village of Tupuquén, also with Caribs, was founded in February 1748. Curumo and Mutanambo were founded in 1749 and 1750 respectively. All these villages were destroyed during 1750, beginning with Curumo and Mutanambo in an uprising in August. Then, on Sunday 17th October after Mass, there took place a concerted uprising of the Carib inhabitants of the other three villages, who burnt down the buildings, killed several of the

[46]The international frontier, unknown in the 18th century, has still not been agreed between Guyana and Venezuela.

military guards and, in the case of Cunuri and Tupuquén, made off with church ornaments and the animals of the common herd (see Carrocera 1979:I, N° 111, 321; N° 113, 325-326; II, N° 231, 341). The priest at Tupuquén, Benito de La Garriga, was tied up and narrowly escaped death. Involvement of the Dutch in the uprising was ascertained later (Carrocera 1979:II, N° 164, 100-101). Of these five Carib villages destroyed, the Mission succeeded in restoring only one, that of Miamo in 1752, after strong persuasion had been excercized over its previous inhabitants to get them to return. However, in that year new mission villages for Caribs began to be founded, starting with Carapo which had its first, fragile, beginnings then and was consolidated in 1756. Also in 1752 Caribs were added to the Pariagoto population of El Palmar.

The Caroní River foundations for Caribs deriving from the Llanos but settled on the islands, began with Aguacagua in 1753. It was still unstable in 1761 through regular desertions of its inhabitants, and was soon definitively abandoned. Murucuri started in 1754 and likewise had a very precarious existence in its first years, although it flourished from 1757 on. Guasipati and Terepi began in 1757, but whilst the former became a successful and enduring Carib village, Terepi was abandoned by its inhabitants in the year following its foundation. Both of these villages must have been in active preparation during the previous year, 1756, and probably before then.

As the research of Cesáreo de Armellada reveals, the discovery of the Guaica nation was attributed to Atanasio de Olot who taught and baptised them and pacified them and their neighbours. We know this to have taken place between November 1737, when he first arrived in Guayana, and January 1748 when he died (Carrocera 1979:I, 30). Most likely he had already achieved some success in this task when, in 1744, he began to reside in the new village of Cunuri, with Panacayos. Whether Padre Atanasio proselytized the "real" Guaicas (i.e., the Akawaio), or that warlike group of Barinagotos (the Kamarakoto) who were to become the population of Ayma a few years later, and who were often referred to as Guaicas, I do not know. Certainly the settlement in a mission village for the first time of some of their closest Pemon neighbours, would have made a strong impression on the Akawaio. Where these two peoples have been adjacent to each other they have maintained a variety of close links, involving mutual trading, and sometimes raiding, inter-marriage and exchange of knowledge -a close cultural identity and similarity in language being continually reinforced by these activities. The fact that the Capuchins sometimes classified Pemon groups as Guaicas (see above), is a good indication that this close identity appertained in the 18th century, as it did in the 19th century and does today.

That some Akawaio were disposed to settle in a mission village of their own is demonstrated by the fact that 200 of them began constructing one

at Avechica in the Supamo River valley in 1757-58. Assembly of population would have begun in 1757 as the incipient village was destroyed early in 1758. The Supamo is a tributary of the Yuruan, which flows into the Cuyuni River where the township of El Dorado is today. The Guaicas were engaged in their task when they were attacked by Caribs, who killed the Guaica Captain and his companion, burnt the dwellings and caused the remaining population to flee into the forest. Apart from other, personal grievances against these Guaicas, the Caribs were said to be infuriated because the site of the new village would have interrupted a trade route between the Cuyuni and Caroní Rivers.[47] According to the 1761 Report of Fidel de Sautó, 190 of the Guaicas were subsequently re-taken and persuaded to begin building their village again, but they deserted in 1762. Avechica was not successfully re-founded until 1783, and in 1788 it was recorded as having a population of "Arinagotos" (Carrocera 1979:III, N° 247, 20-21).

It is important to note that the initial preparation for the founding of Avechica as a Guaica (Akawaio), village, and the task of assembling a suitable and enthusiastic group of settlers, must have begun in 1756 at the very latest. More likely, it was envisaged and planned for earlier, as a follow-up to the successful founding of Ayma (over the period 1753-55). We know that there were some of the same nation living in the Yuruari villages at the time of the destruction of Avechica, for the missionaries referred to them as such, and distinguished them from the "Barinagotos" when, as noted above, they described the clamour for revenge against the Carib enemy (see foot-note 38.)

Political-Religious Connections in mid 18th Centur Guayana

The activities of the religious in 18th century Guayana led to rapid economic, military and political development, to the degree that the missions have been designated as "motores de la transformación" (engines of transformation) in the region (Donís Ríos 1987:201). They also had geo-political importance (Carrocera 1981:213-219). This was certainly true of the 1750s, when the problem of Dutch activity was firmly addressed. Apart from contraband trade which disrupted Spanish official policy, there was the trade in Amerindian slaves which was hindering the advance of the Guayana Mission. This was pursued along a network of

[47]Letter of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga, 9th June 1758, Carrocera 1979:I N° 126, 363-364. Although Carib slavers destroyed Avechica, the Guaicas were also slave trading. Thus it was reported in 1762, during the second stage in Avechica's history, a Guaica leader there had sold some children from the village to Dutch traders. The culprit and his following were transferred to another mission village. See the 1769 Report of Benito de La Garriga to the King, Carrocera 1979:II, N° 164, 101.

PLATE 3

REMAINS OF THE MISSION CHURCH, SAN ANTONIO DE CARONÍ, WITH A MONUMENT ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE CAPUCHINOS CATALANES OF THE GUAYANA MISSION, 1724-1817

rivers and interconnecting paths through the hinterland of Guiana and had political and economic repercussions for the Spanish. It entered into territories claimed by Spain though as yet unexplored and unsettled by Europeans. It promoted a strong inter-dependence and alliance between the Dutch who purchased the slaves, and those Amerindians, especially certain groups of Caribs, who obtained and sold them. The trade was helping to maintain, if not actually advancing, the frontiers of the Dutch sphere of influence beyond the Essequibo forests and into the grasslands

of Guayana, so threatening the security of the Spanish occupation of the Orinoco basin. Once they had entered the Yuruari grasslands in the upper Cuyuni basin, the Capuchin mission villages were in the front line with respect to both Dutch and Carib hostility. Their advance began to take place in 1731, when the mission of Cupapuy was founded on the southern edge of the Imataca Mountains, on one of the headwaters of the Yuruari within the Essequibo basin. La Divina Pastora (El Hato) was founded in 1737, the first mission to be sited in the grasslands and destined to be the central cattle ranch. Finally, in 1744, Cunuri was established near the Yuruari, the first of the series of missions to be founded on its eastern tributaries. Although Cunuri was amongst the five Carib villages lost in the revolt of 1750, the following decade saw the beginnings of several foundations which were to endure in this area.

The turning point in the relationships between the Dutch in Essequibo and the Spanish in Guayana, which took place during the 1750s, began with the treaty of 13th January 1750 (el Tratado de Límites), between Spain and Portugal who agreed to demarcate their boundaries in order to settle conflicting claims in the upper Orinoco and Casiquiare.[48] In 1753 it was also agreed, but secretly, to expel the Dutch and French from their possessions in Guiana. Joint measures were to be taken against these colonies by forming a semicircle of settlements in their rear. Part of the plan was to establish contact and to leave some Spanish ringleaders with groups of runaway Negro slaves who had settled in the forests at the back of the Surinam plantations, and to use them to raid these (Ramos Pérez 1946:80-81). The "Expedición de los Límites", the Boundary Comission which was created, was in Venezuela from 1754 to 1761, and whilst the main body of the Commissioners was getting organized for their ascent of the Orinoco, one of them, Eugenio Fernández de Alvarado, arrived in the Guayana Mission late in 1754. He was to obtain information on the Mission, to ascertain the distance between it and the Dutch colonies and the dealings between Amerindians and Dutch. Alvarado made his headquarters at the mission of San Antonio de Caroní (Plate 3), but also stayed in Divina Pastora and in Altagracia. He visited a number of others among the eleven mission villages extant at that time, including Miamo, but he failed to reach the Cuyuni. He listed all the villages with their dates of foundation and populations in his Report of April 1755 (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 117, 335-337). The Chief Commissioner, José de Iturriaga, arrived in the Capuchin Mission a year later, in September 1755, with a third member, José Solano. The three Commissioners were together until

[48]In 1744 Padre Manuel Román S.J. discovered the Casiquiare from the upper Orinoco. Immediately, the implications of this water connection between the Amazon and Orinoco basins became apparent, as well as the fact of Portuguese slaving in the upper Orinoco via that route. See Donís Ríos 1987:224-228.

February 1756, their headquarters being San Antonio de Caroní and the newly begun Carib village of Aguacagua nearby. In mid February Solano departed up the Orinoco and Alvarado followed at the end of that month. Iturriaga stayed on until 27th June (Ramos Pérez 1946:193).

One of the objectives which the Commission had been instructed to pursue was that of pacifying, settling and controlling the Caribs, a policy which, as described above, the Capuchin missionaries had been painstakingly attempting to achieve, but were in 1755 still recovering from the setback due to the Carib uprising of 1750. After a number of incursions eastwards to the Imatacas, and at the time of Alvarado's arrival, they were attempting to re-settle the Caribs who had been involved in the five destroyed villages of the eastern edge of the Yuruari grasslands, through the restoration of Miamo, the new foundation of Carapo and the addition of Caribs to the Pariagotos in El Palmar -all of which events took place in 1752. The settlement of the Caribs of the Caroní islands to the West was also being undertaken, via the new villages of Aguacagua and Murucuri (1753 and 1754 respectively). Alvarado treated with the Caroní Caribs, but by the time of Iturriaga's arrival in September 1755 had induced only one leader, Patacón and his followers, to settle in Murucuri, situated on the right bank of the river, two and a half days' journey from San Antonio de Caroní. The other Carib leaders had evaded attempts to get them to settle (Ramos Pérez 1946:138-140).

Soon after his arrival, Iturriaga began personally to treat with the Caribs and with the same objective in mind he even took up temporary residence in Murucuri, together with Solano. At the end of 1755 and at the beginning of 1756 the three Commissioners were together in Murucuri, following a policy of inducement, making gifts and promising good treatment. At the end of March 1756 however, Iturriaga returned to San Antonio having failed in his objective and having imprisoned one of the Caribs already resident in Murucuri. He ended up using even more forcible measures for, at the beginning of May, he sent his soldiers by night to Murucuri, ordering the arrest and imprisonment of a Carib Captain and his assistant. He gave no reason to the missionaries and denied them access to the imprisoned men. This act raised a great fear in the Mission that a general uprising would thereby be provoked throughout all the villages with a Carib population, and the Prefect Benito de La Garriga was "...crossing himself against a Carib revolt..." (Ramos Pérez 1946:185-188; Carrocera 1979:I, N° 123, 360). It was at this time too, in April 1756, that a plot of a Panacayo leader and his two sons was uncovered. They had planned to assassinate the Prefect of the Mission and the Pariagoto men at San Antonio and to carry off the Pariagoto women! (Ramos Pérez 1946:187)[49]. Thus the apparantly good relation-

[49]See foot-note 37 referring to "Panacay" leaders visiting the Director-General of Essequibo a year previous to this event.

ships being established between the Boundary Commissioners and the Caroní Caribs at the end of 1755 and beginning of 1756 had broken down by the end of March and steadily declined through April and May of 1756. Relationships with the Panacayos were also at a low ebb.

Another objective of the Boundary Commission was to obtain information on the geography of Guayana and its communications. Alvarado researched the sea, river and land connections between the lower Orinoco and the lower Essequibo where the Dutch were settled. The enquiry included the course of the Cuyuni River. Very little, however, was known of the course of the Caroní River and at the end of May 1756 Iturriaga sent an exploratory party up it, consisting of over 40 Indian archers and 15 armed Spanish soldiers and militiamen. It was the beginning of the long wet season and the river was running fast over a series of rapids. It took the party 12 days to ascend to a distance which in the dry season took only three days! Moreover, some of the boats capsized and nearly half of all the arms and ammunition was lost (Ramos Pérez 1946:188).

The information sought on routes of communication eastwards and southwards also had a political dimension, since it related to the third, secret, objective of the Commission which was to contact the runaway Negro slaves reported to be living behind the Dutch plantations, in Surinam and to a lesser extent in Essequibo, and to use them against the Dutch colonies. Part of the plan was to attract the Negroes to the Guayana mission villages where they could be settled and evangelized and then organized as a military force for use against the Dutch and their Carib allies. This was a secret project because it was feared that if the Dutch were to become aware of it they would rapidly take all necessary countermeasures. There were also the overall relationships between Spain and the Netherlands in Europe to be considered.

Iturriaga had communicated the objective to the Capuchins by early April 1756, for a letter sent him by the Prefect Benito de La Garriga dated 26th May referred to a conversation which had previously taken place concerning the matter.[50] It stated that the proposal had been further discussed at the triennial Chapter Meeting (that of 22nd April 1756, at which Benito de La Garriga had been elected Prefect in place of Benito de Moya who had died on 30th March). The fugitive Negroes were mentioned and the fact recorded that the Indians had reported them as "living near the headwaters of the river of that Dutch colony" (the Surinam River). The Prefect declared the enthusiasm of the Padres for the project and pronounced himself ready to undertake the journey personally to make the contact. The date he specified was from the first of January 1757. This he regarded as the opportune time for soliciting their coming and which

[50]Carrocera 1979:I, N° 122, 357-359. The secret project is discussed in detail in the section of my text entitled "The Cuyuni Route to the Essequibo".

would allow for the necessary preparations to receive them. However, the Prefect also pointed out two basic problems which needed to be resolved first. A military escort would be needed for the Mission and it was also necessary to give the incoming slaves their freedom, otherwise they would not come. He pointed out that as the law stood, they had the obligation to sell Negro slaves taking refuge in Guayana, and to notify their former owners of the transaction so that they might come and collect money from the sale.[51] Unless this practice was changed, by Royal Order, then the plan would fail. These problems were not resolved and the missionaries refused to budge from what they considered to be the necessary conditions for success. As Iturriaga explained in a letter of 1st December 1756 to the Minister Ricardo Wall, he had had several discussions with the Prefect in an attempt to overcome his doubts and to get him to proceed with the journey in the coming dry season (i.e., from January 1757), but he had failed to convince the Prefect and nor would he be able to do so without the order which the latter asked for (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 125, 361-362; Ramos Pérez 1946:189-191)

After the departure of the Boundary Commissioners from the Guayana Mission, the Capuchins persisted with their objective of founding new villages of settled Indians which would close the slave trading routes traversing the territory and ending in the Dutch market. This period saw the beginnings of a new policy which involved a close understanding with some groups of Guaicas (Akawaio) by taking advantage of their perennial hostilities against their Carib enemies. Mission planning included the foundation and manning of Guaica villages in strategic positions -the foundation of Cavallapi, beginning in 1761, being a good example. There also began the use of Guaicas to accompany armed raids down the rivers of the Essequibo forest.

The first firm indication of this policy was the 1757-1758 attempt to found the Guaica village of Avechica in the Supamo River valley, which was designed to close a slave route between the Caroní and Cuyuni Rivers but which, as already described, was destroyed by Carib attack early in 1758. The concept of using Guaicas and Barinagotos (Kamarakoto) for military purposes against the Dutch first matured in August 1758, and no doubt the destruction of Avechica was partly the reason for this since the blame was assigned to Caribs in league with Dutch traders living down the Cuyuni. Guaicas and Barinagotos accompanied the Spanish raiders, who destroyed the newly established Dutch Post Aguigui on the banks of the Cuyuni below Tokoropati Island and took the Post-holder and his assistant prisoner. This initiative caused most of the Carib Indians living along the Cuyuni River to go down stream to report to the Dutch (see the

[51]Transactions of this kind are referred to by the Director-General of Essequibo for the 1740s, 50s and 60s. See Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 244, 304; II, 510-512.

Despatch of Storm van 's Gravesande, 9th September 1758, in Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 356). It was the forerunner of a number of raids which involved both Spanish military and the missionaries, and led to Carib withdrawal from the Cuyuni in favour of the islands of the lower Mazaruni and the neighbourhood of Arinda Post when this was transferred from the mouth of the Siparuni, up the Essequibo to above the Rupununi confluence, in 1767.

A process of increasing polarization of the Amerindian population began to occur after the Cuyuni raid. Some groups of Caribs settled in the mission villages in Guayana, but others retreated further East and remained firmly within the Dutch sphere and allied to the Dutch administration. Similarly, from 1758 on, the Capuchins increasingly evangelized the westernmost groups of Guaicas (Akawaio), even using them militarily, but to the East the Dutch were allied to the Akawaio living in their colonies because, as van 's Gravesande remarked in a Despatch to the West India Company, 27th August 1755, "the tribe of the Acuways" was very strong in the interior and some of their villages, in Essequibo, in the Mazaruni and Demerara, were situated next to the plantations (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 340). However, the situation was not always clear-cut since Amerindians on either side often pursued their own patterns of indigenous alliances and hostilities and were sometimes prepared to exploit either set of Europeans for their own ends. Furthermore, there was the complication that Amerindians of the same ethnic affiliation were still living independently in the areas unexplored by the colonists and at very considerable distances from the colonial settlements, but sometimes visited and negotiated with those "settled".

The inhibition of slave trade through control of the trade routes, using mission villages which often had a small fort, mobile canons and couple of military guards, together with the manipulation of Guaica hostility towards the Caribs, were tactics which united in a project which took a firm hold in 1758. It was that of building a fort at the junction of the Curumo (Botanamo) River with the Cuyuni, to be supported by a village of Guaicas (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 128, 373, and N° 132, 382). This fort was not in fact built until 1792.[52] It lasted until 1809.

[52]Armellada (1960:161-174) has published the document which relates the journey of Mariano de Cervera along the Cuyuni and Mazaruni Rivers in 1793, and which bears witness to the existence of the Cuyuni fort in that year.

Christian Evangelization in Western Guiana in the mid 18th Century: Conclusions

No Christian missionary work took place in Portuguese territory immediately South of the Spanish and Dutch colonies during the period under consideration. The nearest Mission was that of the Carmelites at Aracari on the Rio Negro and it was not until the 1770s that colonial settlements began in what is now the Brazilian State of Roraima.[53] Occasional slaving expeditions had previously ascended the Rio Branco. In the Dutch colonies the southernmost settlement, that of Post Arinda, was not moved from the area of Siparuni mouth to just above the Rupununi confluence with the Essequibo until 1767, eleven years after the Bylier's Report concerning the visit of "God's folk". Creoles employed by the West Indian Company occasionally traded in the Rupununi savannas, and in 1747-1750 a Dutch slaving expedition there had coincided and clashed with a Portuguese one. None of these activities are likely to have involved the teaching of Christianity.

Of the two missionary endeavours I have described, that of the Moravian Brethren in the Dutch colonies of Surinam and Berbice and that of the Capuchins of Catalonia in Spanish Guayana, the latter was beyond doubt the most persistent and extensive. A great deal of meticulous research on the Moravian archives is needed in order to obtain a clearer picture of their Amerindian Mission, but some important parallels and differences can already be noted in a preliminary way. Thus, both Missions worked with the same four ethnic units: the Carib (Karinya), the Coast Arawak (Lokono), the Akawaio or Guaica (*Kapoη*) and, perhaps to a limited degree, the Warao. These Missions were evangelizing peoples whose territories extended across the Guianas from East to West, although the Guayana Mission, as Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 demonstrate, was also evangelizing ethnic groups whose territories were not in the Dutch sphere -notably the Pariagotos (or Guayanos), Panacayos and Kamarakotos.

The time-scales of the two mission enterprises are also comparable. The Capuchins, after previous abortive attempts, began to evangelize successfully in 1724 and continued until their destruction in 1817. The Moravians began in Surinam in 1735 and evangelized those in the colony of Berbice from 1738 until, effectively, 1808. The first baptisms at Pilgerhut took place on 31st March 1748 (Benjamin 1991:26). The Moravians had established substantial contacts with the Surinam Caribs

[53]Spanish penetration southwards (via the Paragua River) into the upper Rio Branco basin in 1773, brought the Portuguese northwards in 1775 to defend the Roraima territory and caused them to build a military fort, Fort São Joaquim, at the confluence of the Takutu with the Uraricoera (Rio Branco). See Hemming 1987:30-32 & 1990:2-3. Attempts to settle Indians in a number of villages under Portuguese control were made from 1777 on.

by 1742-3. In Guayana, the Capuchins first began consistently to work with and to settle Caribs during the 1740s. The Carib village of Tupuquén, for example, was being planned in 1743, was founded in 1748 although lost in 1750 (see Table 2, note 24). Moravian evangelization of the Arawaks in Berbice began in 1738 when the first two Moravians arrived there and began visiting up-river settlements. In the same year the Capuchins founded their first village for "Aruacas", Santa Bárbara de Payaraima.[54] As already noted, the first mention of the Akawaio in the Moravian Mission Diary was in 1743. Then in 1746 Brother Dehne expressed his wish to evangelize them. In 1748 Brother Gräbenstein visited them and on a second occasion reached ten other settlements. Comparably in Guayana, the discovery of the Guaicas was being made by Atanasio de Olot in the period after his arrival in 1837, and most probably in the early 1740s when he took charge of the village of Panacayos at Cunuri (in 1744) and was making peace between them, the Guaicas and Caribs. He died in the year that Brother Gräbenstein began visiting and discovering new Akawaio settlements. The baptism of an unspecified number of Akawaio at Pilgerhut in 1751 had its parallel in Guayana with the teaching and baptism of the "Guayca nation" by Atanasio de Olot during the 1740s (see foot-note 36). The Berbice Mission appointed an indigenous Akawaio, Ruchama, as an evangelist who was referred to by a similar, Arawak evangelist called Jeptha in 1751. The Capuchin Mission trained Indians to undertake duties related to their village church, its upkeep and proper functioning, and some were even trained to baptize and deputize for the priest in his absence (Carrocera 1979:I, N° 107, 310-312). Presumably these took part in teaching those Amerindians who were of their own language and culture, both inside and outside the mission villages.

The Moravian literacy programme in Berbice centred on the Arawak language, beginning with translations made by Johann Zander, dating from 1745. A literacy programme for Arawaks in the Orinoco area was well under way before then. The Moravians were informed c. 1747 that a Spanish church about 20 days journey North-west of Pilgerhut, in the Orinoco, had 100 Arawak men baptized, and whites and soldiers were living with them as well as the missionary. "They had books in the Arawak language and taught the Indians to read and write" (Benjamin 1991:12 & 15). Most likely this was a reference to Santo Tomé or the Garrison at El Castillo, with soldiers and a European population, since no Arawak mission village corresponds to this period. Benjamin speculates that these books, or manuscripts, perhaps derived from the time of the Arawak mission of Payaraima (1738-40), and would therefore have been the

[54]Table 2, note 21. However, it is very likely that some Arawaks had inhabited the transient mission villages before the successful establishment of the Catalan Capuchins from 1724 (see Benjamin 1991:11-12).

earliest known written Arawak. Carrocera (1981:244-245) notes that there was an obligation imposed on the Capuchin missionaries in Guayana to learn the language of the Indians they worked with and to teach in it, and he indicates that the Mission headquarters at Suay was at first the training centre for this up to 1765, and thereafter San Antonio de Caroní the new Mission centre. Owing to the first successful missions being those occupied by Pariagotos or Guayanos, their language was the one commonly used by the Capuchins (Carrocera 1981:224, quoting Alvarado's Report of 1755). However, when the Caribs began to settle permanently after the middle of the 18th century, it was noted that Carib was a universal language which allowed for the comprehension of languages of several other nations in the Orinoco Missions. The survival of Carib vocabularies suggest that, in the later period, it became widely learnt and used.[55]

In the year 1756 there were some 300 Amerindians living in and around the one Moravian mission of Pilgerhut, Berbice, and 367 Indians had been baptized, mainly Arawak. In 1755 in the Guayana Mission, there were 2,907 Amerindians living in 11 mission villages. As religious enterprises amongst the indigenous peoples, the Capuchin endeavour was a far greater one. However, if the dominant Pariagoto population and their villages are discounted and we count only those people who were common to both Missions, then the overall statistics for the mid 18th century appear not to be so radically different. In 1755 the Guayana Mission contained a population of 887 Caribs, in four villages, and there were 163 Barinagotos (Kamarakoto Pemon) in one village, mixed it appears, with a few Guaicas (Akawaio) -the whole population being sometimes referred to as Guaicas in the sense of being warlike. A wholly Guaica (Akawaio) village, Avechica, was probably already in the planning stage. One Arawak and one Warao village founded by the Capuchins had been lost (their populations having been 208 and 133 respectively). Also there was a lost population of 710 Caribs from three destroyed villages (see Table 5). The statistics given for Pilgerhut unfortunately do not differentiate by ethnic affiliation. All that can be said, for the moment, is that the main indigenous group proselytised by them in the 1740s and 1750s was Arawak, although Carib, Akawaio and perhaps some Warao were also involved.

A very clear and fundamental difference between the Moravians and the Capuchins was that the former made no attempt to assemble the Indians in mission villages. There was no use of compulsion in the process

[55]Carib could be used in basic communication with the Carib-speaking peoples in the Mission, such as the Guaicas and Barinagotos (Akawaio and Pemon). The Pariagoto/Guayana language might have been closely related, and even Panacayo. Thus Aruaca and Guaraúno (Arawak and Warao) might have been the only separate languages of importance. See Carrocera 1981:248-262 on the surviving linguistic works from the Guayana Mission.

of evangelization and no physical restraint (such as the use of military escorts). The indigenous settlements continued as before and were visited by the missionaries at intervals, who seemed to have established a brotherly relationship. In turn, many of the indigenous visited the Mission headquarters at Pilgerhut and quite a number settled round it. As already described, the main efforts of the Capuchins were devoted to getting Amerindian groups to settle in villages specially founded for them and governed in an hierarchical structure for religious and secular purposes. This latter process was no doubt one of the reasons why the Guayana Mission had such a prolonged struggle to subdue the Caribs and also had problems with the Arawaks and other indigenous peoples. A combination of epidemic disease and the 1763 Slave Revolt destroyed the most successful phase of Moravian evangelization of Amerindians in Berbice, whilst State intervention caused the final closure of their Amerindian Mission in 1808. In Guayana the Carib Revolt of 1750 (fanned by the Dutch Administration in Essequibo) retarded the Capuchin endeavours but did not destroy them. Carib hostility continued in the 1750s and epidemics periodically wreaked havoc in the mission village populations throughout the 93 years of Mission existence. Nevertheless the Capuchin Mission increased and flourished until it was finally destroyed by Republican Forces in 1817, during the Venezuelan War of Independence.

The fact that the Berbice and Guayana Missions were both evangelizing the same indigenous peoples in approximately the same years in the mid 18th century, although to a different degree and within different organizational frameworks, leads to the question of whether their teaching passed along the East West continuum of regional groups. Certainly there was no linguistic problem between Amerindians of the same ethnic unity. Even today, after a long period of isolation, the Caribs of the eastern Llanos of Venezuela and the Caribs of the Maroni River of Suriname comprehend tape recordings made in their respective groups. Similarly, the upper Mazaruni and Cuyuni River Akawaio can converse with each other and with the isolated upper Demerara Akawaio, although there are dialectical differences. The visits reported to have been made by the Moravian missionaries of up to 300 miles westwards along the Guyanese coastlands would have involved teaching an Arawak, Carib and Warao series of local groups. The Berbice Akawaio lived to the South of Pilgerhut, but where it is recorded that brother Gräbenstein encountered a string of 10 Akawaio settlements in a row about one hour's distance between them, and where also it is recorded that Brother Cornelius had been making six weekly journeys to the Akawaio to the West, it appears very likely that the Moravians were visiting the Akawaio of the Demerara basin. These were the neighbours immediately West of the Berbice River group, linked by forest trails and in regular contact with each other. The Amerindians also maintained long-distance relationships of several kinds. Thus the

Moravians recorded that the Corentyne Caribs and Arawaks were in alliance in order to raid the "Spanish Indians" of the Orinoco (1745), but they also recorded that Arawak converts from Pilgerhut, when visiting fellow Arawaks in Guayana, aroused sufficient enthusiasm to cause the latter to form a deputation which in turn visited Pilgerhut to acquire Christian knowledge at first hand (see Duff 1866:7-8, already quoted). Information on Spanish missionary activity was brought to the notice of the Dutch administration in Essequibo by the Caribs in particular, and accounts of Capuchin religious endeavours were spread eastwards from Guayana via the intricate networks of indigenous interrelationships of all kinds (Benjamin 1991:12). Similarly, it would be surprising if Indian evangelists, such as Jeptha the Arawak and Ruchama the Akawaio, had not travelled to preach what they had learnt to more distant groups of their people.

Christian knowledge which became incorporated as the syncretic religion of Hallelujah, spread rapidly over considerable distances in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. It infused all the major river areas of the Kapon and Pemon peoples, in the Pakaraima Mountains, Gran Ṣabana and neighbouring lowlands, from the Makushi of the Rupununi and Rio Branco savannas in the South to the Gran Sabana Pemon and the upper Cuyuni basin Akawaio in the North, with an East-West extension from the lower Mazaruni and Potaro to the Paragua valley (Butt Colson 1985). With this example before us we would expect that in the mid 18th century, when long distance trading expeditions across Guiana were still flourishing, reports of systematic mission activity and teaching in Berbice in the East and in Guayana in the West would have been transmitted to the intermediary groups to a greater extent that the colonists were aware of and the documentation so far suggests.

The Bylier of Arinda on the Essequibo, described his visitors as "Spanish Folk" who had come "by way of Cuyuni". They had come a very considerable distance from the West, and because they denoted themselves "God's folk" we may suppose that they must have been closely associated with the Capuchin missionaries there, in Guayana. The Moravians were working in a diametrically opposite direction, to the East, and were working with Dutch folk! We cannot discount the possibility that the visitors, who were on their way to the Demerara, were intending to share their newly-acquired Christian knowledge with their fellows; or, even, were on their way to the Moravian Mission, being curious to learn more of teaching which was, basically, similar to that emanating from the Guayana Mission. Finally, there is the possibility of a religious motivation allied also to a political objective. The Guayana Mission was at this period beginning to be a force to be reckoned with in the geo-political context - as contemporaneous Spanish and Dutch documents and despatches bear witness.

The years 1754 - 1756

I have discussed the political and religious circumstances pertaining to the Dutch and Spanish colonies of Western Guiana in the mid 18th century in order to gain an understanding of the broad context in which the 1756 enthusiastic movement took place, and to show the relevant trend of events and circumstances. I now consider the crucial years of 1754 -1756 in an attempt to assess the part which the Spanish religious and military authorities in their relationships with the Dutch might have played in the movement of "God's folk".

The State of the Guayana Mission

The Mission was in some disarray by mid 1756. As previously noted, the Prefect Benito de Moya died on 30th March 1756 and Benito de la Garriga was elected in his place at the triennial Chapter Meeting of 22th April. In announcing this, the new Prefect stated that the Mission needed 12 more religious, four having died in less than six months and two being incapacitated owing to ill-health and old age, (Carrocera 1979:I, N°. 121, 356-357, letter from Suay dated 5th May 1756). He claimed that the missionaries had been forgotten, neither heeded nor helped and that as a consequence their morale was at a very low ebb. They had no military escort. By June he was complaining to the Governor of Cumaná, not only of a continuing lack of escort but also of the drain on food and resources caused by the prolonged stay of the Boundary Commissioners, their families and following. There was a dire shortage of food. Even church requisites were needed, such as bells, altar cloths etc., because the Mission had spent a lot in provisioning the new villages which had been founded (i.e., Aguacagua, Murucuri, Ayma and Carapo). In August 1756 the Governor wrote back to say that the royal order to grant an escort of soldiers to the Mission had not yet arrived and so he, the Governor, could not provide one (Carrocera 1979:I, N°. 123, 359-360 & N°. 124, 361).

Even allowing for exaggeration in an attempt to get much needed aid, it can be appreciated that Mission circumstances were not conducive to any new and expensive initiative, such as the foundation of new mission villages with fortifications or a military presence in the extensive and still unexplored forests and mountains to the East, or along rivers rendered dangerous because they were traversed by Caribs allied to the Dutch.

The achievements of the Boundary Commission in the Caroni Region

The Commission's objective of subjugating and settling the Caribs in mission villages was vigorously pursued during the months under investigation. Previous to Iturriaga's arrival in the Mission in September 1755,

the role of the Commission, in the person of Alvarado, had been a fact-finding one. The Commission's aggressive attitude towards the Caribs began to show in late February 1756, when Iturriaga's promises and gifts at Murucuri turned into forcible arrest and imprisonment of one of the Caribs there. During the period April-June the missionaries were in constant fear that a general Carib uprising might be provoked by the Commissioner's acts. The Panacayo plot to assassinate the new Prefect and the Indians at San Antonio de Caroní was uncovered in April. At the end of May - beginning of June, there was the abortive attempt to explore up the Caroní River by boat. In late June, Iturriaga departed up the Orinoco, following his fellow Commissioners who had left in February. There is nothing to suggest that any kind of military expedition had been sent into the Essequibo forests to take possession of the three places named in the Arinda Bylier's Report of 28th May. In contrast, the 1758 raid down the Cuyuni River which destroyed the newly-begun Dutch Post, took place with the Mission and Military in co-operation and with armed Amerindians in attendance. It was fully recorded and reported in detail to the Spanish authorities, and recounted to the Dutch by their alarmed Carib allies who came down river in considerable numbers.

The idea of building a fort on the Cuyuni River, equipped with swivel-guns, a small military garrison and a nearby village of Guaica Indians in support, surfaced in the middle of 1758. Its objective was to prevent the Dutch and their Carib allies from entering the Guayana network of communications to trade and enslave, to prevent the Caribs in the Capuchin villages of Miamo and Carapo and that area from going down the Cuyuni to sell slaves in Essequibo, and to safeguard militarily the mission settlements on the eastern side (Carrocera 1979:I, N°. 126, 366-367, letter of the Prefect Benito de la Garriga, 9th June 1758). The suggestion appears to have come from Iturriaga. It pleased the Capuchins, who considered that such a fort should be sited below the confluence of the Curumo (Botanamo) because the Caribs were accustomed to travel up the Cuyuni and by passing into the Curumo River took the easiest route into the Yuruari on their way to the Caroní River and beyond. The Padres judged that ten soldiers were necessary to guard the river and to make "entradas" from there (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 128, 373, letter of P. Narciso de La Bisbal to Iturriaga, 27th Aug. 1758). However, the fort in question was not built until 1791-92. The literature on this subject is a good indication that no strong places of military significance had been constructed on the Cuyuni River, whether at the mouth of the Curumo or Wenamu, in either 1756 or in the immediately succeeding years. Given the problem of the Caribs, on the Cuyuni in particular, it would have been unrealistic and foolhardy to have established any fort or garrison down the rivers and in the Essequibo forest at that period. Since the middle and upper Paragua basins were still unexplored, as also the Pakaraima

Mountains, it appears inconceivable that any Spanish expedition had reached the headwaters of the Potaro and Siparuni Rivers in order to establish a fort and garrison at Mawak-ken.

The secret project to contact the rebellious Negro slaves in the Dutch hinterland and to use them against their former masters did not mature. As already noted, the considered opinion of the Capuchins was that no success could be attained unless the Negroes received an advance assurance of their freedom. The letter of the Prefect of the Mission stating this, was dated 26th May -just two days before the Arinda Bylier wrote his Report to van 's Gravesande (dated 28th May 1756) concerning the recent arrival of the party of Spanish Indians and what they had told him.[56] Couvreur's account of an assembly up river from his plantation on the Mazaruni was communicated to the Director-General in early July, but it is clear from Iturriaga's letter to the Minister Ricardo Wall, dated 1st December 1756, that despite discussions with the Prefect nothing had been achieved in the intermediate period concerning the Negro rebels in Surinam and the Negro fugitives in Essequibo. Iturriaga had been unable to allay the Prefect's doubts or to persuade him to agree to undertake the journey the coming summer (i.e., January - April 1757, the dry season in Guayana and the most suitable time for travelling), (Carrocera 1979:I, N°. 125, 361-362). As Ramos Pérez remarked: "...the attempted expedition to the lands occupied by the Negroes remained a project only" (Ramos Pérez 1946:191).

From the documentary evidence it appears that at the end of 1755 and during the first part of 1756, the Guayana Mission was overstretched as regards to both resources and personnel. There was the death of the Prefect and the election of his successor during the crucial months of March and April 1756. The Boundary Commissioners had failed to settle the Caroní Caribs, or stop the Carib slaving. They had failed to explore up the Caroní River and they were unable to provide the conditions which the Capuchins considered necessary before carrying out the secret project of attracting over the rebel Negroes in the Dutch colonies.[57] Years later, the policy which was considered fundamental for destruction of the Dutch colonies still had not been carried out. Thus in 1770 the Comandante General of Guayana, Manuel Centurión Guerrero de Torres, proposed that

[56]Professor Burr is misleading where he refers to the Bylier's letter as written on 7th July 1756. It was dated 28th May and was forwarded in the Despatch of 7th July to the West India Company (U.S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela & British Guiana. Report & Accompanying Papers: I, 394: See Plate 1 accompanying this article.)

[57]It was not until a Royal Decree was issued on 22nd December 1763 that a special military escort was conceded for accompanying the missionaries in their "entradas" -their expeditions to obtain free Indians for settlement and to re-capture those who had deserted. Carrocera 1979:II, N°.166, 106-107. Letter of the Bishop of Puerto Rico to the King concerning the Guayana missionaries, 15th September 1769.

there should be a batallion of infantry permanently stationed in Guayana to defend the frontiers and to bring into being the forts which had frightened the Dutch even before they had been contemplated by the Spanish! Centurión also pressed for the granting of freedom for escaped Negro slaves arriving in Guayana, as a vital part of a policy dedicated to the destruction of the Dutch colonies, one by one (Carrocera 1979:II, N°. 169, 110-116; letter of Manuel Centurión answering complaints made by the Dutch Representative in Madrid, 5th April 1770. See also González del Campo 1984:105-106). The circumstances in Spanish Guayana in 1756, in both the secular and religious spheres, do not therefore appear to have been favourable for undertaking any long-distance and problematic expedition to the East, whether by the military or the religious alone, or by both in collaboration.

The Dutch Colonies, 1754 - 1756

The arrival of the Boundary Commission in Venezuela, the very considerable activity in making boats and preparing for the ascent of the Orinoco in order to delimit Portuguese and Spanish territories, were reported in Essequibo in terms which greatly alarmed the Dutch. The panic began in September 1754 and was only allayed in May 1755. During these months urgent steps were taken to put the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara in an adequate state of defence in case of invasion (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 305-330). It was not until the Commissioners began to depart for the upper reaches of the river, some twelve months later, that the Director-General of Essequibo began to relax.

Apart from improvements to the Fort in the Estuary, the acquisition and stock-piling of provisions and ammunition, the arming of vessels to patrol the coast, and suchlike, the defence measures included the use of the Caribs and other Coast Indians as an early-warning system. The Caribs were directed to keep themselves ready and armed. There was increased panic when a report came from the Orinoco that an invasion by sea was planned at the end of December 1754 or the beginning of January 1755. van 's Gravesande wrote a warning letter to the Commandant in Guayana, 12th September 1754, stating: "I have had all the Indians, our allies, warned and armed, and they only await my orders to march and send expresses to our neighbours and allies, and in a word, I have done all that it is my duty to do." (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 319). Fearing the possibility of infiltration via the interior, special measures were taken to defend the Cuyuni, as being the main inland route into Essequibo from Guayana. van 's Gravesande had learnt (in October 1754) that "a Don Eugenio D'Alvarado" had summoned Nicholas Collaert, a Dutchman who had fled to the Orinoco some years previously, and had ordered him to draw the course of the Cuyuni River (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 316-317).

In case of an attack from this quarter, some of the Creoles were to go up the Cuyuni with some whites and mulattoes "...in order to place themselves at the head of the Caribs and make a raid into Guayana" (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 313-314, Despatch of 12th October 1754). On November 26th van 's Gravesande reported that: "...the Indians up in Cuyuni have only this week caused me to be assured that they will guard the passage well, and that I had nothing to fear from that side" (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 326). As he noted in a letter to the Burgher-Officers of the Colony, it was:

> "... not credible or probable that the King of Spain will (as matters now stand in Europe) care to risk a rupture or war with the United Netherlands by an isolated raid upon lands subject to Their High Mightinesses, whereby no one but a few of his individual subjects would profit and the King only lose. But having once resolved upon war he will certainly endeavour to deal the State some sensible blow and to make himself master of these and the neighbouring colonies." (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 320)

When finally, the official objective of the Boundary Commission was communicated, the Dutch continued with their defences as a necessary precaution and continued to be suspicious. Thus, on 31st May 1755, whilst admitting that the fear of a Spanish invasion had "mostly passed away", van 's Gravesande also stated his fear that

> "... they will try to creep in softly, and, as far as possible, to approach and surround us" and he noted that they had taken complete possession of "the Creek Iruwary" (the River Yuruari) which flowed into the Cuyuni. He then mentioned the existence of the new Cuyuni Post, although its stated distance from the mission villages was grossly under-estimated (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 331-332)

No sooner had the menace of an invasion from the Orinoco begun to recede (in May 1755) than van 's Gravesande faced another grave problem, which caused him to express himself as thankful that the colony was in a good state of defence and with adequate ammunition. Hostilities had broken out in August 1755 between the Akawaio and certain of the colonists, in which also some of the Caribs were implicated (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 340-343, 346-347, 349; II, 552). van 's Gravesande denoted the Akawaio as "...a very quarrelsome tribe which will not endure the least injustice and is constantly at war with the Caribs". Since they were "very strong in the interior" and had some of their villages in Essequibo, Demerara and Mazaruni situated next to the Dutch plantations, their actions had serious implications. The long-feared "war with the natives" seemed about to take place and the West India Company's policy of a peaceful and profitable co-existence between colonists and the indigenous peoples was seriously threatened.

The Akawaio began with an unexpected attack on an Essequibo plantation where they massacred some free Creoles. "Thereupon they spread themselves and caused terror everywhere." Most of the Mazaruni planters retired to an island with their slaves and valuables, not daring to spend the nights on their plantations. Then the Akawaio attacked the plantation of Pieter Marchal, killing and wounding his people. The Demerara Akawaio plundered a plantation and carried off everything. The main target of Akawaio wrath, it was revealed in a public enquiry later, was the Dutch colonist Pieter Marchal, accused of having encouraged some Caribs to kill several Akawaio from whom he had, through Carib intermediaries, purchased some slaves. He had told the Caribs that the Akawaio were plotting to kill certain Carib leaders "... and then take flight 'to Camoeran, above Mazaruni."[58] Endeavouring to make peace, the Dutch administration sent for Arawak neighbours of the Akawaio, connected with them and well acquainted with their affairs, in order to use them as mediators. The Arawaks prudently vanished from their homes! "Warouws" (Warao) were also involved, in that they warned the plantation owner with whom Marchal took refuge that Akawaio had been seen at night near the dwellings. The danger was perceived to be serious enough for ordering the renovation of the old fort on Kijkoveral Island, situated in the Essequibo River and overlooking the confluence of the three rivers (the Cuyuni into the Mazaruni and of both into the Essequibo). van 's Gravesande directed four cannon and ten or twelve swivel-guns to be placed there and a corporal and four men were detailed for sentry duty (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 341). For some months the plantation owners lived in fear of attack whilst the Director-General endeavoured to make peace with the Akawaio. The latter, having had the satisfaction of forcing Marchal to leave his ruined plantation and of putting him in fear of his life, and also having attacked the plantations of those owners who had ill-treated them, began to come to terms with the colonists in March 1756. In a Despatch of 12th March, van 's Gravesande reported the "Acuways up in Demerara" being already perfectly satisfied and coming to trade with the Dutch as previously. However, the Akawaio of the Essequibo and Mazaruni had not made peace and, in his Despatch of 7th July, the Director-General reported that he had been obliged to leave the garrison at Kijkoveral, although he had been informed by the Demerara Akawaio that the chiefs of the hostile Akawaio were resolved to go down about the middle of the month and make peace. This Despatch, of 7th July, was the one to which the Bylier's account of the visit of "God's folk" and Couvreur's information on an assembly up the Mazaruni were appended (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 346-347, 349-350).

[58] *The Counter-Case of the U.S. of Venezuela*: 2, Appendix, Pt. 1, No. 3, 205. This is an early reference to the Kamarang River, a major tributary of the upper Mazaruni River which rises in the N.E. of the Gran Sabana. It was a suitable area for refuge being occupied by Akawaio and inaccessible to Caribs.

The fact that the Akawaio in the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara were attacking Dutch plantations and personnel from September 1755 on and were inspiring terror until March 1756, would have been known to Amerindians throughout these territories, especially since some neighbouring Arawak and Warao were involved. As already noted, the initial attacks on the Essequibo plantations were recounted by the Moravian Mission in Berbice (see foot-note 22). The news would have filtered through to Spanish Guayana, and this may be why the map of Luis Surville, "Mapa Corográfico de la Nueva Andalucía", has written on it, to the South-east of the Surinam frontier, "Guacabayos valientes para la Guerra" (literally, "Wacabayos valient for war").[59] However, although the Dutch were gravely worried at events and some of their plantation owners intimidated, the colonies were not unprepared -as van 's Gravesande had remarked when Akawaio attacks first began. It was not therefore, an auspicious time to attempt a secret, combined Military and Capuchin expedition into Dutch territory. In the first instance, the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara had been put on a state of alert and better defence than normal because of fears of invasion from Guayana (via the Coast openly or by the Cuyuni River clandestinely), induced by the presence and activities of the Boundary Commission from September 1754 on. The new Cuyuni Post became established in 1755 and the other Posts were put on alert. Owing to the Akawaio menace the old Fort of Kijkoveral was re-fortified and its small garrison detailed to keep watch over the three rivers.[60] The Dutch colonists were urging the use of their Carib allies to proceed against the Akawaio, and van 's Gravesande seriously considered mobilizing them for this purpose.

Shortages in the Guayana Mission, the problems encountered by the Boundary Commission during their residence there, and the relatively good state of Dutch surveillance and defence despite basic military weaknesses, all point to a conclusion that no official expedition was mounted in Guayana for penetration of the Essequibo forests and rivers.[61] The situation did not however, preclude the possibility of a different kind of enterprise, entailing some form of preliminary, unofficial steps to explore the route to the Dutch colonies and to use Amerindian interme-

[59]This map, dated 1778, was published in 1779 in Antonio Caulín's *Historia Corográphica Natural y Evangélica de la Nueva Andalucía*. In his "Estudio Preliminar" CCXV - CCXXI, Pablo Ojer has a very interesting discussion of the relationship between the cartographic information of the Boundary Commissioners in Guayana and Surville's map.

[60]Note van 's Gravesande's remark that the Cuyuni River "...falls into the River Essequibo... half a cannon shot below Fort Kijkoveral" (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 220).

[61]In August 1755 the Director-General of Essequibo reported to the Dutch West India Company: "...I do not think we have much to fear from that quarter, the more so since they are in actual want of everything and their recruits are deserting or dying by heaps" (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 340).

diaries to make an initial contact with the rebel Negroes in order to sound them out on future collaboration. A preliminary enterprise of this kind would be prudent in order to formulate a realistic plan for action when conditions became more favourable.

The Cuyuni Route to the Essequibo

Both the Dutch and Spanish colonists relied heavily on Amerindian networks of communication for news of occurrences in each other's colonies, through this was sometimes supplemented by the use of spies who, in the case of the Dutch, were usually long-distance traders (For example, see Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 220, 239, 308, 314-315). The Dutch also obtained information from their postholders up the rivers, but this too was mainly obtained from Amerindians settled round or visiting the Posts. The Caribs in particular were noted as frequent long-distance travellers, their trading and raiding taking them from one end of Guiana to the other and even beyond, but all the Amerindian peoples visited, traded and warred to some extend with each other, across the ethnic boundaries and in territories which were occupied by them in accord with their own structural relationships, ignoring the frontiers which the colonists were attempting to impose.

One of Alvarado's duties whilst residing in the Guayana Mission was to investigate the travel routes between Spanish and Dutch settlements, particularly those land trails and waterways used by Carib and Dutch traders and for slaving. The information he acquired from missionaries and Indians was written into his Report of April 1755 (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 120, 351-355)[62] He noted that the land and water routes from La Divina Pastora to the Dutch Fort of Zeelandia in the Essequibo estuary took about 22 days. It entailed a two to three day walk across grasslands followed by an eight to ten day walk through the forest to the banks of the Cuyuni, where the river could be crossed by wading in the dry season and by boat in the wet, and where there was a shelter to stray in. It was then eleven days' hard travel down river to the confluence with the Essequibo, where there was another rest house, and finally the journey down river, some 60 miles, to the Dutch headquarters on Fort Island.

He described two routes which were by river only. One began on the Miamo, Cunuri or other tributaries of the Yuruari, entered the latter and then the Cuyuni and down river. This took up to 20 days in all. The same journey could also be made from the Caroni River via a route connecting its tributaries with those of the Cuyuni, and this involved up to 30 days' travel. The latter was still in use in the 19th century, for Robert Schomburgk (1836, 225) recorded in 1835 that, at a Carib settlement five miles up river

[62]Donís Ríos (1987:19) refers to the magnificent impulse given to the cartography of Guayana by the Boundary Commission.

from Cuyuni mouth, the chief declared that he had several times been to Angostura. He had ascended the Cuyuni some 300 miles to its source, crossed to the Orinoco watershed by walking a short portage, and gone down the Caroní River and up the Orinoco. He had usually completed the journey in a month. Alvarado described the routes as being suited only to the Indians, who were accustomed to the hardships involved in travelling them. Owing to dangerous falls and rapids, especially in the dry season, only corials with shallow draft, holding eight to ten men, could be used. He further reported that the Cuyuni route communicated with all the savage Indians inhabiting the mountains to the South and especially with the Caribs. It was, he asserted, dangerous to travel because of the Caribs -unless one had an understanding with them and the Dutch. He outlined a number of instances of traders from Essequibo who had occasionally followed the Cuyuni route on their expeditions into Guayana (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 120, 353-354).[63]

In a private Report to the King, the Commission recorded that the rebel Negroes numbered some 30,000, of whom only 6,000 might have the resolve to avenge themselves on their former masters. The information derived from accounts of Indians who had had contact with the Negroes (Ramos Pérez 1946:189. In a foot-note he remarks that 30,000 appears an exaggeration). The Prefect of the Mission, Benito de La Garriga, further stated that "according to the information from some Indians, they [the Negroes] live near the headwaters of the river of that Dutch colony" -that is, in Surinam. This he recorded in a letter to Iturriaga dated 26th May 1756, only two days before the Bylier at Arinda wrote his Report on the visiting Spanish Indians, so that Amerindian contacts with rebel Negroes had occurred well before the arrival there of the party of "God's folk" (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 122, 357-359). Then, in a letter to Ricardo Wall dated 1st December 1756, Iturriaga wrote that:

> "There are in the interior villages of the Catalonian Padres some Indians who have visited the said negroes and they say that these were asking for the Spaniards; they add that in their villages they [the Negroes] have great manioc and maize plantations and some sugar presses and all occupations are found among them."

He then went on to write:

> "This news impelled the Catalonian Padres towards making this journey. I find them very suited for this and other enterprises, on account of their disposition as well as their fervent zeal.
>
> The journey, according to the account of the same Indians, is one of twenty days, but I consider it a month and a half for the Padres with Indians and escort." (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 125, 362)

[63]For complementary Dutch accounts, given by van 's Gravesande, see Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 217, 240 & 228-229.

Iturriaga s letter to Ricardo Wall is of great importance. As already noted, it stated that despite attempts to persuade the Prefect to the contrary, the latter still refused to undertake the journey to the Negroes without certain conditions having been met (guaranteed freedom for the slaves and a military escort for the Mission).[64] Iturriaga had been urging that the journey should be made "this summer", that is, the dry season at the beginning of 1757, which is proof in itself that six months after the Bylier's Report of May, at the time of the December letter written by Iturriaga, nothing official had been carried out.

Unfortunately it is not clear whether the Indians mentioned in Iturriaga's December letter were the same as those who had given the information which Benito de La Garriga recorded in his letter of 26th May, describing the Negroes as living near the headwaters of the Surinam River. The Prefect's letter referred to "information from some Indians", whilst Iturriaga wrote of "some Indians who have visited the said negroes". The first might have been a report on Negroes whom Indians had heard about via their information network, whilst the second was an actual visit and an eyewitness account of a Bush Negro settlement of some kind. Moreover, the Indians making the visit were specified as "in the interior villages of the Catalan Fathers", a reference to the mission villages of the Yuruari basin grasslands, as opposed to those on the flood plain of the Orinoco and Caroni Rivers and in the Imataca Mountains. At that date (see Table 1), they comprised the Carib villages of Miamo and Carapo, the Barinagoto (Kamarakoto) village of Ayma with some Guaicas (Akawaio), and might have included the cattle ranch village, La Divina Pastora, with Guayanos (Pariagotos). A mixed party of Amerindians, as described by the Bylier, could have drawn Caribs, Akawaio, Kamarakoto and Guayanos from the grassland villages, but Arawak and Warao would in normal circumstances have had to be recruited from their settlements in the Orinoco and Delta areas.

The distances referred to by Iturriaga are interesting. The Amerindians who had visited the Negroes mentioned a 20 day journey, although Iturriaga reckoned that the religious and military would need a month and a half to cover the same distance. This Amerindian estimate coincides with what Alvarado had learnt previously for a journey from the Yuruari tributaries down the Cuyuni; that is, from the interior villages of the Capuchins to the Essequibo. This time period certainly did not allow for a journey across Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice in order to visit the thousands of Bush Negroes reported in Surinam. The conclusion we must draw is, that the interior Indians referred to by Iturriaga as having visited

[64]In January 1755 the Prefect Benito de Moya had written to his Superiors stating that without an escort it was impossible to make progress in the reductions owing to the Caribs (Carrocera 1979:I, 335).

a rebel Negro settlement on a 20 day journey there, probably located it in the colony of Essequibo. Depending on exactly where they started from and how fast they travelled down the Cuyuni and up the Essequibo, it is just possible that they got to Demerara. Runaway slaves did sometimes appear up the Essequibo and on the West side of Demerara, as had occurred in 1752 when van 's Gravesande "under a promise of good payment" strongly persuaded the "Akawoi" living below Arinda Post to go out and capture them (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 286-287). However, it should be noted that runaways in Essequibo were relatively few compared with the desertions in Berbice and, especially, in Surinam. We may assume that the party which brought back their eyewitness account did so after the Perfect wrote to Iturriaga (26th May) about what had been learnt of the Surinam runaways, but before Iturriaga wrote to Wall (1st December) mentioning the visit by Indians on a 20 day journey to the Negro settlement they described. A visit made between May and December 1756 could have been carried out by the party of "God's folk" who, at Arinda, would have encountered Amerindians who knew where such a settlement was to be found.

The secret proposal was communicated to Iturriaga before his departure from Cádiz (15th February 1754), (Ramos Pérez 1946:65-67, 75-85, 189-191). The letter of the newly elected Prefect Benito de La Garriga to Iturriaga, signed 29th May 1756 at San Antonio de Caroní, is ambiguous in that it refers to previous conversations between Iturriaga and the Capuchins concerning a project for contacting fugitive Negroes, but does not say when these began. However, the letter informed Iturriaga that the matter had been raised during the Chapter Meeting of 22nd April, when the proposal was recounted and discussed and the Padres declared themselves in favour of it and enthusiastic. Informal soundings and discussions must have begun at least a few weeks previously and it is likely that Iturriaga communicated this secret objective whilst he was trying to settle the Caribs in Murucuri during the first weeks of 1756, before he and his companions set out up the Orinoco to begin their official task of delimitation (Alvarado and Solano left in February and Iturriaga departed on 27th June).

The Capuchins were strongly in favour of the project from the beginning, but were quick to see the problems. They could have arranged for a reconnaisance party without much delay, preparations for Amerindian travel being minimal compared with those for themselves and the Military. There was an ideal "Padre Presidente" for the task in the interior villages, namely Tomás de San Pedro who was in charge of the Barinagotos of Ayma. Only two years later he became renowned for his zealous action in the Cuyuni River raid (August 1758) which destroyed the Dutch Post on that river. That expedition was made up of 16 soldiers with two officers in charge, 10 Indians from Altagracia and 12 from Cupapuy (Pariagotos-

Guayanos) and many others from Yuruari (Ayma), "even the kitchen boys of P. Tomás". A force of 100 set off down the Yuruari River and into the Cuyuni in 31 woodskin canoes (see Carrocera 1979:I, No. 131, 378). A few weeks later (September 1758) the missionary in charge of Aguacagua referred to Padre Tomás of Yuruario (Ayma) as "always ready to do what Your Honour wishes, and on giving him some soldiers will, with his Barinagotos, place himself under Your Honour's orders in all matters". It appears that this redoubtable Padre was prepared to burn down all the settlements he might encounter each day along the rivers and inland, until he reached the Essequibo River! (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 130, 377, & No. 131, 380).

An Amerindian party canoeing down the Cuyuni and up the Essequibo to Arinda, and then visiting the Demerara (from 17th May) for a few days, could have arrived back in Guayana by a similar route by late June, allowing for a more time-consuming journey up the Cuyuni at the height of the wet season. If the journey was made to Berbice and beyond into Surinam, or the party delayed until the major rains had ceased and travel was easier, then the return would have been concomitantly later, perhaps August-September.

Couvreur's information was obtained from Indians who had come down the Mazaruni River to his plantation and he himself went to inform van 's Gravesande on Fort Island, arriving shortly before 7th July, for the Director-General, who wrote to the West India Company on that date, recorded that Couvreur had "just come from up in Mazaruni where he lives". Couvreur thought that the reported assembly was taking place at the time he heard about it (end of June or beginning of July, depending on how quickly he reacted). The news might have related to the party of Indians seen by the Bylier, but by then on their way back to Guayana, via the Mazaruni, but the details do not fit this proposition very well. In the first instance, the ten corials recorded by the Bylier for taking his visitors on their journey to the Demerara (and which might have held some local Amerindians accompanying them), would have been insufficient to accommodate "more than two hundred Indians". Such a large party would have attracted attention long before it reached Arinda and had there been "some whites" with them then the Bylier would have seen them or been told about them by the Amerindians around his Post. It may be recalled that the Posts had been put on a state of alert as from September 1754, and just when the perceived danger from Guayana was receding the Dutch colonies were galvanized by the Akawaio attacks on their up-river plantations, beginning with those on the Essequibo. As recorded in the same Despatch of 7th July, overall peace had not yet been made and van 's Gravesande determined to keep the garrison at the old fort of Kijkoveral, from which the confluence of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni could be observed, as well as traffic up and down the Essequibo. In the circumstances, it is

unlikely that a party with whites had managed to pass the new Dutch Post on the Cuyuni without suspicion or comment, had circumvented the surveillance of the up-river plantations and Kijkoveral and also escaped the attention of the Bylier at Arinda. More likely therefore, the travellers to the Demerara were entirely Amerindian.

Subsequent events, in 1764 and 1765, show the difficulty that stranger Amerindians with Europeans in accompaniment met when trying to negotiate the area of the three rivers clandestinely, even when there was no Cuyuni Post to pass first. Thus, on 28th December 1764, van 's Gravesande received a report from colonists "in the upper reaches of the rivers" that "...a few weeks ago they had seen a white man with a few Indians proceeding down the falls of the River Cuyuni and proceeding up the River Massaruni".[65] He thought that they were spies and he feared that there was trouble brewing in the Cuyuni area (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 475). Exactly a year later, 27th December 1765, the Director-General received news that:

> "... several Indians of the Spanish Missions which are up in Cuyuni had sailed down that river, and had proceeded up the Massaruni under the leadership of an Indian officer, whereby the people living up there have been in a state of great uneasiness, and not without reason." (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 494, 496-497)

In a Despatch of January 18th 1766 van 's Gravesande referred to "the white man" who had come down the Cuyuni and gone up the Mazaruni and not been seen thereafter. However, a party of Indians under the leadership of a Creole caught up with the Spanish Indians and brought them to van 's Gravesande who discovered that they had come at the request of a Carib Captain of the Mazaruni River who had wanted their help in fighting his Akawaio enemies on that river. Another Indian, on his way overland to the Pomeroon River to purchase boats, was arrested and found to be a spy from the Spanish Mission.

From the time of the first raid down the Cuyuni, in 1758, Indian allies of the Dutch reported that Indian messengers were constantly being sent down the river in order to ascertain whether the Post was being re-established. In February 1762 for example, the Director-General recorded that Spanish detachments were sent out from time to time and came down as far as the lowest fall, alarming both the settlers "and our Indians" who each time took refuge down stream (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 384, 398). It is possible therefore, that Couvreur's informants related an event which was to be a precedent for later occurrences of a similar kind. However, the Indians who reported the assembly up-river gave no indication that the

[65]The "upper reaches" of the rivers at that period referred to the area of the first falls - not the stretch of the rivers near their sources, as today. In the Dutch period, the colonists extended up to the first falls and but rarely beyond.

participants had travelled from down-river and had passed the informants or Couvreur's plantation. If such an assembly was taking place, then it was most likely to have been independent of the party seen by the Arinda Bylier, or was a back-up expedition awaiting the return of an Amerindian reconnaisance whose task it was to spy out the Post and make contact with the fugitive Negroes in the Demerara valley or beyond.

There was a route between the Cuyuni and Mazaruni which was used by the Capuchin missionary Mariano de Cervera and companion priest on an incursion into Essequibo in 1792-93 (Armellada 1960:162-174, gives a full account of the expedition and its route). This expedition was composed of a mixed group of Amerindians: Guaicas, Barinagotos, Caribs and Guayanos, with an escort of a few soldiers. Going down the Cuyuni they entered a tributary, the Ararúa, and walked a three and a half days' forest trail which brought them to the Mazaruni above the mouth of the Kurupung River. There they made boats and went down the Mazaruni to within half a day's journey from the "Apunuri River" (seemingly the Puruni, where are the Curabiri falls), seizing Indians as they went - including 150 Caribs from the Mazaruni Islands. A priest such as the enterprising Padre Tomás de San Pedro could have made such a journey, living in an Indian-style house whilst a reconnaisance party went off to Arinda and the Demerara.

Against this hypothesis is a statement made by Mariano de Cervera to the effect that the Mazaruni was an area "where up to now there had been no Padre, and where we arrived no kind of privateer" (Armellada 1960:162). It would also have been surprising if a large party of Spanish Indians with Europeans had arrived on the lower Mazaruni in 1756 without causing a great outcry from the Caribs living there. They, as well as those of the Cuyuni basin, were Dutch allies and accustomed to go down in strength to the Dutch headquarters to report every Spanish move, especially when it threatened their own territories and trading routes. As Alvarado had reported, the Cuyuni route was dangerous for the Spanish to travel because of the understanding between the indigenous peoples and the Dutch, but the Mazaruni was equally or more hazardous on account of its independent Akawaio and Carib occupants. Perhaps for this reason and also because its source was thought to be in the distant, unexplored south-west, its course was still unknown in the mid 18th century, both to the Dutch (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 465-466), and, the lack of references to it suggests, to the Spanish.

It is tempting to link the Bylier's visitors to the up-river assembly reported by Couvreur, because they both referred to people deriving from Spanish Guayana and were virtually contemporaneous events (mid May and late June-early July respectively). However, there might have been an even closer identity. From September 1754 information on the activities of the Boundary Commission in Guayana was filtering through to Essequibo, as the Despatches of the Director-General to the West India

Company amply bear witness. It derived from a variety of sources in the Dutch information network, including reports of Amerindian allies who had regularly, over the years, brought news of the founding of new mission villages in the Yuruari grasslands and of the activities in them. When therefore, the Bylier referred to "the rumors of those three Christians who are above in the Savannas", and who had now "made themselves masters of the entire savanna", we can confidently assume that this was a reference to the three Boundary Commissioners, Iturriaga, Alvarado and Solano, who were together in the Guayana Mission at the end of 1755 up to February 1756, when the latter two departed up the Orinoco. There is the additional possibility that Couvreur's informants also had heard of the activities of these same Commissioners, or had made a personal visit to the Caroní, and had then conveyed their knowledge to the nearest Dutch plantation owner at the earliest convenient time. The Commission had its headquarters at San Antonio de Caroní but was resident in the Carib mission village of Murucuri during the first weeks of 1756. Murucuri (founded September 1754) had a population of 190 Caribs in 1755 (see Table 1). With the coming and going of Caribs whom the Commissioners were trying to settle and with their own retinue and escort, the population would have increased for a time. Thus the statement referring to a place where "...live some whites who have there a great house and more than two hundred Indians with them, whom they make believe a lot of things and are able to keep under absolute command" could equally well have referred to the Boundary Commissioners in Murucuri.

There is one serious objection to this interpretation: the assembly was specified as being between two and three days journey above Couvreur's plantation (which was considered to be 12 - 15 hours of travel up river). It was this distance which Professor Burr calculated would bring a traveller to the confluence of the Puruni River with the Mazaruni and perhaps to the site of a strong place constructed at Queribura (*U.S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela & British Guiana.* Report & Accompanying Papers:I, 400-401). In contrast, the distance from the Caroní to the Dutch Fort of Zeelandia for Indians travelling down the Cuyuni route, entailed nearly a month's travel. The time taken via a Mazaruni route did not figure in Alvarado's enquiries, but it was unlikely to have been less. However, a misinterpretation of distances might have occurred, and certainly there is evidence to show that the Dutch frequently believed that Spanish settlements and activities were very much closer to the Dutch settlements than was geographically the case. Hours and days of travel were sometimes wrongly stated.[66] The overall travel

[66]For example, see Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 332, referring to the distance of the Cuyuni Post from "the Spanish dwellings", and Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 132-133. It is not clear why distances were so frequently wrong. A long-term, basic misunderstanding of the Amerindian mode of reckoning time and distance might have been a factor. Refer to Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 90, foot-note 2.

distance between the Dutch plantations on the lowest reaches of the Cuyuni and the Capuchin villages on the tributaries of the Yuruari in the upper basin was in fact a considerable one. The distance between the Cuyuni mouth and the Wenamu confluence is some 220 miles by river. When in February 1895 Michael McTurk and a strong force of police paddled from Cuyuni mouth to the Uruan (Yuruan) confluence (where the present Venezuelan township of El Dorado is sited), it took a little over thirteen days. McTurk denoted the journey as "the quickest on recorded"; no doubt a two and a half to three week journey was commoner, allowing for hunting, fishing and visiting en route, and difficult water conditions.

Leaving aside the hypothesis that Couvreur's Amerindian informants might have been referring to the Boundary Commissioners at Murucuri, there is still the mystery of the "three fast places" which were "gruesomely strong", situated in the Wenamu, a branch (tributary) of Cuyuni, up in Mazaruni in Queribura, and up in Siparuni at Mawakken. As discussed above, no Spanish forts or strong places were reported built on or near the Cuyuni by that date. A Cuyuni fort was projected officially in 1758, although it and others might have been discussed informally when the Boundary Commissioners were resident in the Guayana Mission in 1755-56. Suitable sites might have been canvassed with Amerindians and certainly any plans for preliminary construction might have been referred to them since only they would have known the regions in question and those who lived in them. Although such constructions would have had to have been made of local materials (wood frames, bark or mud and wattle walls, thatched roofs), they could have complied with Amerindian notions of strength and fortification by having a ditch dug round and a stake or bark palisade erected on an earth mound. Such fortified houses were being constructed by Indians during the 18th and 19th centuries. They are referred to in Akawaio myths and tales whilst a sketch by Charles Bentley in 1838 confirms their existence amongst the Pemon of the Roraima area of the Gran Sabana (R.H. Schomburgk: 1841, "Roraima: a remarkable range of sandstone mountains in Guiana"). Strategically, these three specified sites, on the Cuyuni, Mazaruni and Siparuni Rivers, would have been excellent positions for establishing a "cordon of occupation in the rear of the Dutch" (*U.S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela & British Guiana*: Report & Accompanying Papers: I, 401-402). Such a plan would have been in full accord with the secret project agreed between Spain and Portugal, which Iturriaga and his fellow Commissioners were to set in motion. Contact with the fugitive Negro communities and the inciting of these to raid the Dutch plantations was a measure which was designed to make the Dutch colonies untenable, and had the advantage of not committing the aggressors to open war with the Netherlands. However, the logistics for the execution of such a plan at that time could not have been met. The problems of distance, contacts and their

maintenance were extreme, and added to these was a vulnerability to attack on over-stretched lines of communication, from Caribs and other Amerindians allied to the Dutch. The question is therefore, whether arrangements were made for preliminary reconnaisance to ascertain the feasibility of the plan and for preparations to be carried out by Amerindians on the sites in question.

The dispatch of a reconnaisance party of Amerindians had a number of advantages, given the situation of the Guayana Mission in 1756. The Capuchins were enthusiastic about the secret project communicated to them but had to mark time since they realized that the rebel Negroes (then increasing in number in Surinam and, to a lesser extent, in Berbice), were not going to exchange Dutch slavery for Spanish enslavement. The granting of their freedom required a Royal Order. Nor had the Mission sufficient military aid for long-distance incursions, so they needed an escort -again by Royal Order. They needed further detailed knowledge of the routes and distances, of the nature of Dutch defences and information on the Posts. That they acquired more knowledge in the years 1756-1758 is clear from a letter of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga dated 9th June 1758, written shortly after the destruction of the new Guaica (Akawaio) mission village of Avechica, which described the outrages committed by the Dutch against this mission and others (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 126, 363-368). From it we learn that some Dutch slave traders had been living at the confluence of the Curumo River (the Botanamo) with the Cuyuni, together with the Caribs who had attacked Avechica because it was closing the trade route via the Usupamo River. The Capuchins had been warned by the Caribs of Carapo mission village that the Dutch were making a "village" (the new Post) on the Cuyuni River, using three Dutchmen with ten Negroes and many Caribs allied to them. The Prefect stated that their only source of information on this was the Indians, so this is another indication that the missionaries themselves had not travelled the Cuyuni route between the time the Post was in being in 1755, until the raid down the Cuyuni in 1758. Of considerable interest to us is the Prefect's description of the Carib slave routes up the Essequibo, via the Rupununi and Rio Branco to the Rio Negro, and the fact that he also referred to a boat journey 20 leagues up river "where there is a post" -a clear reference to Arinda, which at that date was still near the Siparuni confluence. This, as well as references to Moruca Post and a variety of other routes followed by Carib slavers traversing Guayana and Essequibo, well indicate that the Capuchins had, during these years, been steadily enlarging their knowledge of the geography of the territory claimed by Spain and of the exact whereabouts of the Posts. The Posts were of especial interest because much of the slave trade was conducted through them and they were also a primary means for reducing the incidence of slave desertions from the plantations -apart also from their strategic

importance to the Dutch colonies. For all this knowledge the Capuchins relied almost exclusively on Amerindian informants.

If Iturriaga and the Capuchins were in full accord on the desirability of making contact with the rebel Negroes the question arises as to why, if the Capuchins sent out one or more reconnaisance parties of Amerindians, they did not inform Iturriaga of their action? There is one very good reason for the Mission wanting to assess the situation clandestinely for themselves, and this refers to the fundamental question of Mission rights to evangelize in a particular territory. The final pattern of division of territories between the three missionary Orders, the "Franciscanos Observantes", the Jesuits, and the Capuchinos Catalanes", had been agreed in a Concordia of March 1734 which was ratified in September 1736 (Carrocera 1979:I, xiii). However, there was the problem of areas lying at a distance or outside the demarcation agreed, which had necessarily been imperfect since notional lines had been drawn which extended into unknown territory. Even as late as 1769 the Capuchins were querying their right as an Order to evangelize the Indians of Essequibo, for in a letter to the King in July of that year Benito de La Garriga, referring to a complaint which the Netherlands had made concerning Capuchin incursions into Essequibo, broached the question as to whether it was legal for his Mission to reduce the Indians of Barima, Cuyuni and the Essequibo coast. In asking this he referred to the Capuchin territory as being demarcated in the 1736 Concordia by a straight line down to the Amazon River from Angostura (Ciudad Bolivar) on the one side and from the Boca Grande of the Orinoco Delta on the other (Carrocera 1979:II, No. 164, 104). There was a latent competition between different religious Orders and Iturriaga, impatient to begin carrying out the secret project, let it be known that if the Capuchins were not to be persuaded to make the expedition to the rebel Negroes then the Franciscans would! Thus, in his letter to Ricardo Wall of 1st December 1756, Iturriaga ended by saying:

> "I do not doubt that the Padres Observantes of Piritu will embrace with pleasure the chance to take part in the same enterprise and that it would be very useful to them to contain the Caribs in their villages and to bring to them the few that have remained in Caura, Paragua and Caroní" (Carrocera 1979: I, No. 125, 362).

The extent to which the Capuchins would go in order to maintain their rights is most dramatically illustrated by later events. In 1772 the Comandante General of the Province, Manual Centurión, proposed to the Prefect of the Mission that the Capuchins should extend their work to Parime (the area of the upper Rio Branco in Brazil) and to form mission villages there. His suggestion was rejected on the grounds that there was an insufficient number of Padres even to man the existing Guayana villages properly. However, when it was known that Centurión planned to

send a detachment of troops over the watershed, accompanied by two Franciscans to begin work in the Parime area, the Capuchins reacted strongly and rapidly. As Benito de La Garriga put it:

> "This news I communicated to the Rev. Fr. Prefect and the inconveniences which it would result in if the Observatines settled and established themselves in those areas, for they would move into a territory which belongs to us by a Concordia." (Carrocera 1979:II, No. 190, 181-182)

La Garriga pointed out that if the Franciscans had a claim to that territory it would prevent the Capuchins from making future reductions of the multitude of Indians there. Then he and a companion, Padre Tomás de Mataró, arranged to make prior contact with the Rio Branco Indians and to settle them in mission villages before the Franciscans could arrive there accompanying Centurión's force.

The journey was made, but resulted in tremendous hardship and a loss of life. However, as Benito de La Garriga wrote:

> "... I see now how badly my expedition turned out: my only consolation is that of having taken possession of those lands." (Carrocera 1979:II, No. 190, 185).[67]

On the expedition's return Centurión called Padre Benito to account, upbraiding him for having undertaken the journey without his knowledge or permission. He was however, unable to respond when told by the unrepentant priest that this had not been necessary because the Indians in question were within territory which had been assigned the Capuchins by the Concordia of 1736!

It can be appreciated from this later, parallel situation that if in 1756 the Capuchins (with the same Benito de La Garriga newly elected as their Prefect), perceived a danger that the Franciscans would be invited to participate in the expedition to the rebel Negroes, their best course of action would be to begin immediately to spy out the route and the Dutch interior defences, taking advantage also of Dutch-Akawaio hostilities. A clandestine reconnaisance served several useful purposes. It would be a precautionary measure, enabling the Mission to judge the viability of the project which had only just been communicated to them, and to provide more solid information for the organization of it. Most importantly, it would achieve this without need of a military escort, which would immediately have been reported to the Dutch by Amerindian allies and the

[67]Accounts of the journey to the Rio Branco in 1772 are published by Armellada (1960:117-142). See González del Campo 1984: 209-240, who gives an interesting account and view of the excellent relationship between Centurión and the Franciscans and of the bad relationship between him and the Capuchins. Previously there had been a great deal of friction between Iturriaga and the Capuchins, as described in the case of Murucuri and the imprisonment of Caribs from there.

Postholders. Nor would it denude the Mission of its scarce personnel and resources, due to the foundation of several new mission villages in rapid succession and the upkeep of the Boundary Commission and its following. Notably, it would ensure that the Capuchins were in a position to launch a claim over the territory to their East and South for the future evangelization of its inhabitants. By sending out an Amerindian party the secret proposal had the best chance of remaining a secret from the Dutch, since Amerindians on their own could pass the Posts and defences without arousing suspicion. Finally, Iturriaga and the secular authorities could not take offence at the coming and going of Amerindians and could but welcome the information which they delivered -even if they should get to know of a Capuchin hand in the means of obtaining it.

"God's Folk: Reconnaisance party or enthusiastic movement?

The question which can now be posed is whether the "Spanish folk" interviewed by the Arinda Bylier in May 1756 was a reconnaisance party sent out by the Capuchins, when the secret project was communicated and the Boundary Commissioners were urging them to travel eastwards to make contact with the fugitive Negroes. Or, alternatively, was the visit simply an expression of an indigenous enthusiastic movement which had the objective of sharing new and exciting knowledge with other communities? There are arguments for and against both these possibilities, and these I now examine.

A comparison between the situation in Guayana as opposed to that in Essequibo during late 1755 and early 1756 and the changes which followed in May - June 1756, are of considerable significance. Inter-ethnic relations were very fraught indeed in the Essequibo and Demerara colonies when, from August 1755 on, the Akawaio caused havoc with their raids on Dutch plantations and fear grew amongst the colonists that they were on the brink of war with some of their most powerful indigenous neighbours. The news of these hostilities and of the accompanying friction between Akawaio and Caribs which Pieter Marchal had set in motion was widely reported, and must certainly have been noted by the Capuchin missionaries at the western end of the information network in Guiana.

In contrast with the plight of their Dutch neighbours and alienated Indians, there was in Guayana some months during which indigenous relations looked extraordinarily promising. As Mission records and statistics show, the successful settlement of the Caribs was beginning. The near 50% increase in the Mission population in the 1755-61 period was largely made up by an ingression of Caribs into villages being founded especially for them. In the latter part of 1755 and early 1756, the Boundary Commissioners were supporting Capuchin policy and investing much effort in persuading the Caribs of the prosperous and rewarding life,

materially and spiritually, awaiting them in mission villages. This policy had already begun to meet some success (compare Tables 1 & 2). Miamo had survived the Carib revolts of 1750 and the new Carib villages of Aguacagua and Murucuri had been founded, in 1753 and 1754 respectively. Carapo was finally consolidated in 1756, whilst Terepi and Guasipati were being prepared for foundation in 1757 (although Terepi proved to be short-lived). Other Amerindian peoples were beginning to settle for the first time, notably the Barinagotos (Kamarakoto Pemon) in their village of Ayma, formally founded in 1755. This wide-spread nation was "very inclined to settle" (1761 Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó, Carrocera 1979:II, No. 137, 26). A few Guaicas (Akawaio) also settled with their closely associated Kamarakoto neighbours. Others must have watched these developments with keen interest, for a separate village was planned for them at Avechica. The task of enthusing them and preparing them for this must have begun in 1755-56, if not before. Although the first Arawak and Warao mission villages had been lost during the decade of the 1740s, evangelization and plans for their re-settlement were also proceeding in these years, culminating in the new foundations of Piacoa (for "Aruacas") and El Calvario (for "Guaraúnos") in 1760-61. The settlement of the entire population of Pariagotos, or Guayanos, had been virtually completed by 1750.

The material benefits of mission life were numerous, but it was the attraction of a regular meat supply derived from the Mission herds which led Amerindians to subject themselves to settlement -as the Guayana missionaries themselves acknowledged (Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó, Carrocera 1979:II, No. 137, 24). An estimated 8,000 head of cattle in the Mission Ranch of La Divina Pastora was reported in 1754.[68] The meat from this herd supported the old, the sick, the widowed and orphaned, as well as the missionary personnel and settlers in Santo Tomé and the garrison. It was also used to maintain the Indians during the process of founding the new mission villages for them. To aid distribution of fresh meat and milk, villages in the Imataca area, Altagracia, Suay, Cupapuy and Caroní, had their own small herds. Villages to the South, in the Yuruari grasslands, were at first supplied from La Divina Pastora until they too, where there was suitable pasture, were given their own small herds. Miamo was the first village of Caribs to manage its own herd, and this had occurred by 1755, as noted in Alvarado's Report of April that year (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 119, 345).

There was, at the beginning of 1756, every reason for the upper Cuyuni and Caroní Amerindians of the Guayana Mission to feel that they were about to enter a new life which, the Boundary Commission in Murucuri led them to believe, would be one of peace and plenty within the Mission. It is therefore understandable that a certain euphoria was

[68]Report of Mateo Gual, Governor of Cumaná, to the Marquis de la Ensenada, 1st June 1754 (*The Case of the U.S. Venezuela*: 3, No. 644, 375-376).

experienced amongst those who could denote themselves "God's folk", and it is within this context that we should examine the statement which surprised the Bylier, that "...all those who have been dead for twenty years have all arisen again."

A twenty year period takes us back from 1755-56 to 1735-36, which were the years of the founding of La Divina Pastora, (May 1737, see Table 1 and Note 60). This was a dramatic event for all the Amerindian peoples of the South for two reasons. It marked the beginning of Capuchin settlement on the grasslands of the Yuruari basin and a struggle to found mission villages for the Amerindians living in the surrounding forests (Caribs, Panacayos, Guaicas and Barinagotos). It was also the date when cattle herding was introduced to this region and an all-important meat supply was beginning to become available to those in the Mission. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of these two combined events on peoples who had hitherto lived within their own indigenous structures and relationships and who had always had to rely on hunting for their meat supply, necessarily knowing nothing about the domestication of large food animals.[69] For the first time, Amerindians from the Cuyuni and adjacent river basins were trained in the care and management of the herds, learned to ride and were introduced to all sorts of manufactures deriving from animal products, including the making of cheese and butter (Donís Ríos 1987:275). The material benefits of these introductions and changes were associated with the evangelization carried out by Padre Atanasio de Olot who, as already described, arrived in the Mission in 1737, spent many years pacifying and teaching Caribs, Panacayos and Guaicas, and was in charge of the new mission village of Cunuri which was begun in 1742 and founded in 1744 (see Note 23 to Table 2). It is possible that the excitement and promise of prosperity of that previous period, before the disillusionment and strife set in which culminated in the revolts and loss of four villages from the 1750 Carib uprising, were recalled in 1755-56 through an occurrence of similar enthusiasm and parallel events. These were a re-settlement of Caribs and the beginning of settlement of their enemies the Barinagotos and Guaicas, attempts to create peace between them, and promises of material rewards which included the regular supply of fresh or dried meat and the prospect of villages having their own herds, Miamo being a pioneer in this respect.

A twenty year period of death followed by resurrection is a concept which harmonizes with indigenous assumptions as to the nature of a person, for the number twenty equals ten fingers and ten toes amongst both Pemon and Kapon groups, and stands for a whole, complete individual. This is expressed as "one *Kapoŋ*" and "one *Pemoŋ*" (see Butt Colson

[69]The profound impact that the introduction of a cattle economy had, is patent in the content of an enthusiastic movement which took place in the Essequibo forest c. 1797, which I intent to publish.

& Morton 1982:246, foot-note 39). Although we may never know for sure the exact significance of the statement which the Bylier recorded, there was certainly a short interlude, comprising the end of 1755 and the first weeks of 1756, when the activities and promises of the Boundary Comissioners and the work of the Mission appeared to presage a new era and a new life for the individuals concerned, when a strong feeling of spiritual and material well-being (which are interdependent in Amerindian thought), might have given rise to the sensation of a re-awakening and of being born again -as "God's folk".

However, a reversal in the respective situations in Guayana and Essequibo then began. At the end of February 1756 relationships between the Boundary Commissioners and the Mission began to cool and by May were frigid, the imprisonment of the Caribs causing a general fear of a Carib revolt throughout the Mission. In Essequibo by contrast, the prospect of war between Akawaio and the Dutch had passed and a general resumption of good relationships and trading was imminent. Indeed, the Bylier noted in his Report of 27th May that he had heard from the Demerara Akawaio that those who had been involved in the dispute were "...again preparing to go down with slaves to cheat those Christians," -as he sceptically phrased it.[70]

When therefore, a party of Indians left the interior villages of the Mission (those of the Yuruari basin) in March-April, heading for the Essequibo and, via Arinda, the Demerara, they would have left at a time of maximum interest and enthusiasm generated by the events in Guayana described above, and would have been unaware of the serious deterioration in relationships between the Commission, the Amerindians and the Mission at large, which assumed serious proportions in May and June (Letter of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga to the Governor of Cumaná, 25th June 1756, Carrocera 1979:I, No. 123, 359-360). A profound transformation in events and sentiments therefore occurred in Guayana and Essequibo whilst "God's folk" were in the course of travelling from one colony to the other. Even if the travellers got to know of this, there was no reason why a plan to carry out a reconnaisance and to ascertain the whereabouts of escaped Negro slave communities should not go ahead.

A major role of the Amerindians in the 18th century colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice became that of forming "a kind of cordon around the estates", the up-river Posts serving as centres for the policing activities carried out by Amerindians settled in their vicinity (Goslinga 1985:561). Indeed, historians consider that it was the use of their Amerindian allies which kept the three colonies free from the formation of large communities of Bush Negroes, whose descendants

[70]An account of the basic problem in the dispute was given by van 's Gravesande in a Despatch of 12th March 1756 (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 346-347).

today form most of the interior population of Suriname and French Guiana. In the years we are considering, the objective of making contact with fugitive slaves could best be achieved through the Akawaio. Of all the Amerindian peoples in the three colonies, they were best placed to know of any new arrivals in the hinterland forest. This is because their local groups extended East to West across all the main rivers, from the Berbice through to the Demerara, Essequibo, Potaro, Siparuni to the Mazaruni, in the up-river areas in which the fugitive slaves had necessarily to take refuge. The Akawaio settled round the Post of Arinda had already, in 1752, been requested by the Dutch administration to go out and capture some fugitives who were suspected to have come from Berbice and to be hiding up the Essequibo "on the west side of this river" (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 286-287).

An alternative to the visitors having been motivated and directed by the Capuchin Mission to act as a reconnaisance and advance party, is the possibility that they might simply have been visiting and trading with friends and relatives solely on their own account, whilst also under the inspiration of recent mission teaching. It should be noted that only a few years previously Arinda had been visited by a party of Spanish Indians, although of a very different character. In a Despatch of 10th January 1750, the Director-General of Essequibo described the events. A Dutch itinerant trader, Jan Stok, who was accustomed to trade up the Cuyuni River, arrived at Arinda accompanied by "a party of Orinoco Caribs". This "insolant and godless man" and his companions:

> "... attacked the natives our friends [the Akawaio] close by the Post Arinda, caused all the men to be killed, and carried the women and children away as slaves, ruined all the provision gardens, and perpetrated many other unheard-of things.
>
> In a word, they have made the Indians desperate, who intend to take vengeance therefor, so that the other traders who are still up the river are in extreme peril of life, and the plantations up the Essequibo run the risk of being deserted." (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 250-251).

On a fact-finding journey up the Essequibo, van 's Gravesande was confronted by a party of "Akawoi" Indians who complained vociferously. He promised them satisfaction, ordered the arrest of Jan Stok and proposed to stop the trading with Amerindians on the Essequibo, Mazaruni and Cuyuni Rivers. This was but one more instance of the on-going hostilities which characterized Carib-Akawaio relationships in both the Dutch and Spanish colonies.[71] However, there is little doubt that the

[71]van 's Gravesande described the Demerara Akawaio as continually at war with the Caribs: (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 552, Despatch of 6th Sept. 1767).

traumatic events of 1750 would still have been fresh in the minds of Akawaio near Arinda and those in the upper Demerara at the time of the arrival of another party of Spanish Indians only six years later, 1756. This might have been a reason for a Guaica (Akawaio) component in a party which also contained Çaribs from Guayana, and it might have been a reason for discreetly lodging with "the Caribs" rather than spending time at the Post where the Akawaio were concentrated. A stress on being "God's folk" would convey a peaceful intent.

Is there anything in the Bylier's Report which indicates whether his Spanish Indian visitors were acting in total independence or not? I suggest that there is one very unusual fact which points to outside intervention, and that is the extremely mixed nature of the party, already remarked on. The Bylier identified Spanish Indians from the four principal nations he was acquainted with in the Dutch colonies. They were Caribs, Arawaks, Warao and Akawaio. He also noted others from "all sorts of nations", and these would have been from any of the Indian groups then residing in the Capuchin villages, such as Pariagotos (or Guayanos), Barinagotos, Panacayos and, perhaps, Akawaio under their unfamiliar nickname of Guaicas. Already discussed is the fact that they were using primary kin terms which exclude any affinal potential or relationships with strangers, so that there was a stress on familial, co-operative and peaceful relationships. In general amongst Guiana Indians, affinal and stranger categories portray ambivalence at the best and often spell trouble and strife, as myth illustrates dramatically. No female terms were mentioned, which suggests that it was an all-male party.

An association of males from so many different Amerindian nations is very reminiscent of the customary composition of the incursion parties organized by the Capuchins in their search for Amerindians to settle. We may recall that the Amerindian component of the 1758 raiding party down the Cuyuni, just two years later, was made up of Guayanos (from Altagracia and Cupapuy), Barinagotos (from Ayma) and Caribs who had been in the destroyed mission villages of Cunuri and Tupuquén and who were used as guides (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 131, 378). The 1792-93 "entrada" down the Mazaruni had a mixed expeditionary force of 30 Amerindians from Ayma, denoted Guaicas and Arinagotos, 18 Caribs from Carapo, 40 Guaicas from Cura, and Guayanos from Altagracia and Tumeremo (Armellada 1960:163). If we compare these missionary-inspired (often missionary-accompanied) parties of travellers with the indigenous norm, then there is a very real difference detectable. In the latter case the participants are either of the same nation or, more unusually, representatives of two nations in temporary alliance. This is also the case even in conditions of religious euphoria. The recorded visit of some Arawaks from Guayana to the Moravian Mission at Pilgerhut in the Berbice valley is a good indication of this for the mid 18th century.

Hearing of the Moravian teaching, the Arawak hosts undertook the long journey there accompanying their Arawak guests when the latter returned home (Duff 1866: 7-8).

When planning incursions, the Capuchin missionaries took care to recruit Amerindians of the same nations as those who were to be visited, so that they could act as interpreters, make closer contacts and be more authoritative witnesses to the benefits of life in the Mission. Some Guayanos (Pariagotos) were generally included because they were the most reliable of all the Mission Indians. When living in established mission villages, Indians had to have special permission to travel, or even to leave the village for a short period. They were not allowed to take their children, or wife, with them, so as to ensure that they would return.[72] This was a curb on freedom of movement which was especially irksome to the Caribs, Barinagotos and Guaicas and partly accounted for their resistance to Mission life. In contrast, independent Amerindians travelling with peaceful intentions, very often took wives and families with them.

On several counts therefore, the cosmopolitan nature of the party of "God's folk" suggests a deliberate arrangement made by non-Indians in order to facilitate direct communication with the greatest variety of Amerindian peoples that a long-distance journey eastwards might entail. The party would have encountered Caribs on travelling the Cuyuni and the Report specified that they stayed with Caribs, seemingly on the Essequibo. They would have spoken with Akawaio at Arinda and with other Akawaio on reaching the upper Demerara. Down that river were Arawaks. If they travelled further East they would have encountered Warao in the Mahaica and Mahaicony valleys (Harris & de Villiers 1911:II, 460). There were Arawaks in the Berbice valley, with more Akawaio on the upper reaches. Further East still, on the Corentyne and into Surinam, they would have met Caribs and Arawaks. It is unlikely that Amerindians, however enthusiastically motivated, would solely on their own initiative have formed a long-distance travelling party of such mixed composition - more than four distinct nations being represented. It is even less likely that they would unilaterally have decided to visit peoples in a state of war (the Akawaio with the Dutch plantation owners) or extreme hostility (the Caribs and Akawaio) and some involvement (the Demerara Arawaks and, on the fringe, the Warao), (Harris & de Villiers 1911:I, 340-343, 346-347, 349; II 552). On the other hand, to make contact with and to preach a Spanish Christian cause to disaffected Amerindians and to solicit their aid in making contact with any fugitive slaves they might know of, were feasible objectives which might be expected to elicit a good reception.

[72]See "The Method which the PP. Capuchinos catalanes observe for governing themselves and the Indians (1745?)", Carrocera 1979:I, No. 107, 311.

Conclusion

An analysis of some of the most important published documents from Spanish and Dutch sources, combined with information on the nature of enthusiastic movements amongst the indigenous peoples of Western Guiana, together suggest that there are two possible and realistic explanations for the Bylier's account of the arrival of a mixed party of Spanish Indians at Arinda in mid May 1756. Literary evidence has led me to discount a Spanish military expedition into Essequibo, with or without a Mission component. However, there could have been a reconnaisance party, sent out from the Guayana Mission with individuals selected from a number of different Amerindian nations, departing from the villages nearest the Cuyuni port of entry into the Essequibo forest. There, it might have been overseen by the active and enthusiastic Padre Tomás in the Barinagoto village of Ayma, which had been founded the previous year. Such an expedition would have been directed to traverse the main Cuyuni River route to the Essequibo, to ascend the latter and to cross by forest trail to the upper Demerara, arriving in the hinterland immediately South of the Dutch colonies. En route they would have spied out the new Cuyuni Post and also the Essequibo Post of Arinda. Reported hostilities between the Akawaio and Dutch plantation owners on the Mazaruni, Essequibo and Demerara Rivers, may have been viewed as an opportunity for definitively breaking the rapport between the Dutch and their Amerindian allies, in particular between them and the Akawaio. The westernmost regional group of the Akawaio, the Guaicas of the upper Cuyuni basin, were then being wooed by the Capuchins in order to persuade them into mission villages of their own, Avechica being planned as the first. This was the very beginning of what was later to become a Spanish-Guaica alliance, a major objective of which was to counter-balance the aggression of the free Caribs, who were the perennial enemies of the Akawaio-Guaica nation, as also of the Barinagoto (Pemon).

At the same time, the reconnaisance would have been designed to open up a path to Negro rebels, already reported as existing in many thousands in the area of the Surinam River, but also in smaller numbers in Berbice and in the forests of Essequibo, and sometimes as trying to escape westwards into Spanish Guayana. The Berbice Slave Revolt which nearly destroyed that colony, took place only a few years later, in 1763, and is the strongest indication of the menace which so many slaves presented to the very small numbers of European plantation owners. To make contact with fugitive slaves would be the preliminary step towards carrying out the secret project which had been communicated by the Boundary Commission. A similar Amerindian reconnaisance might have been proposed for, or sent to, the Siparuni-Potaro headwaters in the Pakaraima Mountains, to Mawakken (or Maiwak-ken). This would have

been an expedition beyond the power of the Mission and Spanish Military at that time, but was relatively easy for Barinagoto (Pemoŋ) and Guaica (Akawaio) following the customary paths between their respective regional groups. The Mazaruni assembly could have been a back-up party of a similar kind, but the description makes it, in my opinion, more likely to have been one of the several reports on the activities of the Boundary Commissioners in Murucuri in their attempts to settle the Caribs of the Caroní basin, mis-interpreted by Couvreur with respect to location and distance.

The linguistic facility provided by representatives from so many different indigenous peoples, their enthusiasm for the Christian message and the witness they provided as to the benefits of Mission life, would have been designed to maximize their powers of persuasion over Indians in the Dutch colonies. The fiction of primary kinship through a manipulation of kin terms, demonstrated the peaceful and harmonious accord promised in the Mission and also served to foster a sense of unity and Christian purpose amongst the travellers themselves.

This hypothesis presupposes that these informal arrangements were made by the Capuchin missionaries without reference to Iturriaga, who was then pressing them to undertake a journey to make contact with the Negroes before they considered conditions to be appropriate, and who also let it be known that if the Capuchins refused to go, then the offer would be taken up by their Franciscan rivals. An obvious course in these circumstances was for the Capuchins to begin to stake their claim to evangelize the Amerindians to the East and South and to be in a position to travel themselves, with adequate information at their disposal, if it were to become urgent to do so.

The second explanation is that the party arriving at Arinda was one of self-elected missionaries, who had banded together under the inspiration of the then prevailing euphoric conditions in Spanish Guayana, to carry their message of enthusiasm to related groups eastwards. This is feasible because the journey coincided with a period when Carib and Carib-speaking peoples of Guayana were beginning to be drawn into the Capuchin Mission in increasing numbers and at an accelerating pace from 1755 onwards. It is also possible that the party was one of the "deputations" recorded as visiting the Moravian Mission as a result of wide-spread reporting of Christian teaching emanating from Berbice. Such a case would underline the parallel developments in the evangelization of the different regional groups of the same Amerindian peoples, which were proceeding in both the Capuchin and Moravian Missions in the mid 18th century. The movement of "God's folk" would, in either instance, have been activated by the assumption that ritual knowledge is something to be exchanged and shared (Brown 1991:401). This has always been a basic supposition in the pre-Hallelujah and Hallelujah movements which were to follow in the next century.

If we adopt the second hypothesis, then the movement of "God's folk" should be denoted a spontaneous one, deriving solely from the impact of Christian teaching on individuals whose indigenous conceptual system and culture were beginning a process of transformation. That the idea and organization were part of an indigenous initiative does not in itself preclude the possibility that the Mission subsequently gained useful information from it -as it had done from a previous Amerindian report on the state of fugitive slave communities in Surinam. As the literature abundantly illustrates, parties of Indians periodically travelled long distances between Dutch and Spanish settlement areas, traversing paths and rivers in what they naturally regarded as their own lands. The particular instance I have been scrutinizing is important because it gives a very firm indication of the effects that the Guayana Mission in particular was beginning to exercize, and it also shows how the Capuchins were extending and increasing their evangelic Mission, which was also, necessarily, harnessed to Spanish geo-political objectives, particularly in the period when the Boundary Commission was resident and directing events. Part of the prevailing euphoria was doubtlessly due to the wooing of Amerindians by the Commissioners, accompanied by projected plans for the defence and expansion of Guayana, the latter including an offensive against distant enemies.

New evidence from unpublished sources may perhaps finally resolve the queries which still remain, despite my analysis. However, if not for historians then for anthropologists at least, the underlying significance of the events of 1756 is already clear. By that date Capuchin Mission teaching had begun to make a profound impression on the Indians of Spanish Guayana. In one way or another these new experiences, conceptual and material, were being carried eastwards into the Essequibo and Demerara River valleys to related groups of Amerindians. The messages carried were couched in unmistakably enthusiastic terms, which were to be repeated and become familiar components in later movements -those which began a century later under the influence of the Anglicans in 19th century British Guiana.

The impact of Christian religious teaching and its attractions should never be discounted when assessing the relationships between the indigenous peoples of Guiana and the Missions that struggled to establish themselves there. This is because in very many respects, Christianity, whether taught by the Roman Catholic "Capuchinos Catalanes", the Protestant Anglicans or the German Moravians, harmonized with and complemented much of the indigenous cosmology and conceptual system -as the present day Hallelujah religion amply demonstrates (Butt Colson1989:80-89). The primary importance of the 1756 enthusiastic movement of "God's folk" is that, regardless of whether it was organized and sent out by the Guayana Mission or not, it is the first unequivocal

evidence which has emerged so far which indicates that a long process of adoption, adaptation and syncretism had already begun in Western Guiana. Just as in social, political and cultural spheres indigenous systems were being profoundly changed by Old World colonization, so also were their indigenous beliefs being modified and added to.

In Western Guiana the first large-scale evangelization of Amerindians began in the 18th century, by the Moravians in the Dutch colonies of Surinam and Berbice and, on an even greater and more impressive scale, by the "Capuchinos Catalanes" in Spanish Guayana. By the middle of the century the processes of transformation were under way amongst those groups which came in contact with colonial settlements and missionary centres, and it is to these processes that the 1756 party of "God's folk" bears witness.

Abstract

A 1756 Despatch written by Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General of the Dutch colony of Essequibo, to the West India Company in the Netherlands, incorporated two Reports. One referred to the arival of a party of Spanish Indians at Arinda Post on the Essequibo, calling themselves "God's Folk", speaking of three Christians "above in the savanna" and of three strongholds in Wenamu, Queribura and Mawakken. The other was the Report of a Mazaruni River plantation owner who had been told by Amerindians of some whites dominating over 200 Indians in a house two to three day's journey up river. These Reports were investigated during Arbitration proceedings for the settlement of the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, 1897-1898, but no satisfactory explanation of them was achieved and the events recounted remained a mystery.

This article attemps to solve the mystery of these two Reports. The texts are considered in the religious and geo-political context of the period and of the relationships between the Dutch Essequibo and Spanish Guayana. This includes a study of the lower Orinoco and a consideration of the policy and activities of the newly-arrived Boundary Commission from Spain. A detailed analysis, the use of ethnographic knowledge of the indigenous peoples involved and of modern anthropological theory on cults, suggest that the Report on "Gods Folk" refers to an "enthusiastic movement" of a religious nature, stemming from the Guayana Mission of the Catalan Capuchins, the references to three Christians being masters of the savanna, and of white men in a large house dominating a numerous group of Indians, probably refer to the three Boundary Commissioners in the Caroní area of Guayana. The movement of "God's Folk" might have ben an independent one, but more likely it was an advance party of Amerindians, encouraged or directed by the Guayana Mission to make contact with rebel negro slaves and disaffected Akawaio in Essequibo and to spy out Dutch

settlements and defences. This would have accorded with the secret aims of the 1750 Boundary Treaty betwen Spain and Portugal and also enabled the Capuchins to be ready to claim a mission field to the East to which they considered themselves exclusively entitled.

Resumen

La Relación escrita en 1756 por Storm van 's Gravesande, el entonces Director General de la colonia holandesa del Esequibo, a la Compañía de las Indias Occidentales, contiene dos Informes. En el primero de ellos menciona la llegada de un grupo de indios ladinos, que se identificaron como pertenecientes a "la Gente de Dios". Estos indios informaron sobre la presencia de tres cristianos ubicados "arriba en la sabana" y de tres fuertes; uno en Wenamu, otro en Queribura y el tercero en Mawakken. La segunda referencia divulga la información obtenida por un hacendado, quien escuchó de algunos indígenas, sobre unos blancos viviendo en una casa ubicada a unos dos o tres días río arriba, que tuvieron influencia sobre unos 200 indígenas. A pesar de que estas noticias fueron investigadas durante el arbitraje de fronteras entre la Guyana Británica y Venezuela (1879-1898), no lograron resultados satisfactorios y los sucesos antes mencionados quedaron como un enigma.

Este artículo trata de resolver el misterio existente detrás de estos informes. Se analizan los textos tomando en cuenta tanto los contextos religiosos y geopolíticos de la época como las relaciones entre el Esequibo Holandés y la Guayana Española. La investigación incluye un estudio de la Misión de Moravia en Berbice, de la Misión de Guayana ubicada en el Bajo Orinoco, y de la política y actividades de la recién llegada Comisión de Fronteras de España. El conocimiento etnográfico acerca de los pueblos indígenas involucrados y la teoría antropológica moderna referente a cultos, sugiere: que el informe sobre la "Gente de Dios" se refiere a un "movimiento entusiasta" de índole religiosa que arranca en la Misión Guayanesa de los capuchinos catalanes; que las referencias a tres cristianos como amos de la sabana, y de los blancos habitando una gran casa y dominando un numeroso grupo de indígenas, se refiere probablemente a los tres Comisarios de Fronteras en la región del Caroní en Guayana. El movimiento de la "Gente de Dios" pudo haber sido independiente, sin embargo, aparentemente, fue un grupo de amerindios estimulado o hasta dirigido por la Misión de Guayana para hacer contacto con los esclavos negros rebeldes y los Akawaio del Esequibo con el fin de espiar en los asentamientos holandeses y sus defensas. Esto hubiera concordado con los fines secretos del Tratado de Fronteras entre España y Portugal (1750) y hubiera permitido a los capuchinos reclamar el territorio oriental, sobre el cual consideraban poseer derechos exclusivos.

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Appendix

Tables 1&2:

The dating of the foundation of some mission villages is problematic, in part because alternative dates are encountered in the literature and which derive from different events which authors have selected to represent the beginning of any particular village. Thus a date may refer to the intention or the decision to establish a village, to a time when there was a change of site, or to a re-establishment after previous loss. Sometimes it refers to the time when a group of Amerindians assembled on a site and asked for, or agreed to, a mission; when a cross was erected, a formal visit of inspection made or the clearing of land for cultivation and the building of houses began. More firmly, it might be the date of first matriculation when a registration of names was made of those wishing to settle. There was sometimes a succession of matriculations! Sometimes also, the chosen date refers to a formal act, as when the village church was dedicated, or when the "Padre Presidente" (the missionary Father in charge) was assigned and took up residence. Rather than a single act therefore, the founding of a mission village was a process, from first stages of contact, planning and the physical beginning of foundation to the ritual dedication and installation of a missionary. For example, Tupuquén was being planned in 1743 but was not "founded" until 1748: (see Appendix Note 24). If there was a desertion of inhabitants, an attack on the village or a series of lethel epidemics, then dating concomitantly becomes more complicated. The Warao village of Unata is a prime example of a traumatic history of epidemics, raids and desertions, so that dating is complicated by repeated attempts at refounding and restoration. Some sources also simplify the history of a village foundation. For example, the early stages of Avechica, when it was lost through Carib attack in 1758, are sometimes not recorded, but the details of its restoration in 1761 and its second loss in 1762 are: (see Appendix Note 13).

Wherever possible, I have given the earliest date which denotes a formal act in the foundation of a mission village, such as the first registration of names or the erection of a cross. Where appropriate, I have added a later date which refers to an act of consolidation of some sort, when the village is recognized as established. Some of the major discrepancies which occur in the literature have yet to be resolved by a review or publication of more source material. In my notes I refer to fundamental changes in the history of individual missions, such as changes of site or of ocupants, and have described incidents of instability and loss where these are notable and assist in an assessment of circumstances in the history of Guayana and its Amerindians in the mid 18th century.

The population figures given for the Mission for the year 1755 are derived from the Report of Eugenio de Alvarado, 20th April 1755, who obtained them from the Prefect of the Mission, Benito de Moya (Carrocera

1979:I, No. 117, 335-337). The figures given for the Mission in 1761 are, except in two instances (see Table 1, Notes 11 & 17), derived from the Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó, signed 26th August 1761 (Carrocera 1979:II, No. 137, 23-27).

TABLE 1
GUAYANA MISSION FOUNDATIONS 1724-1761

Mission	Founded	Nation	Population 1755	Population 1761
La Purísma Concepción de Suay	1724[1]	Pariagotos	240	224
San Antonio de Padua de Caroni	1725[2]	Pariagotos	253	224
Ntra. Sra. de los Angeles de Amaruca (Yacuri)	1730[3]	Pariagotos	208	228
San Francisco de la Ceiva	1731[4]	Pariagotos	419	499
Yacuari (Altagracia)	(1734)			
San José de Cupapuy	1731[5]	Pariagotos	590	633
	(1733)			
La Divina Pastora de Yacuari (Huarimna)	1737[6]	Pariagotos	147	219
San Miguel del Palmar	1746[7]	Pariagotos	270	350
	(1733:1734)	(Caribes added 1752)		
Ntra. Sra. de Monserrat de Miamo	1748[8]	Caribes	287	529
La Anunciación de Aguacagua	1753[9]	Caribes	140	87
Sta. Eulalia de Murucuri	1754[10]	Caribes	190	329
San José de Leonisa de Ayma (or Yuruari)	1753-1755[11]	Barinagotos	163	271
			2,907	3,593
	1756			
San Fidel del Carapo	1752-1756[12]	Caribes		280
Avechica	1758-1761[13]	Guaicas		190
Ntra. Sra del Rosario de Guasipati	1757[14]	Caribes		210
Piacoa (San Joaquin: Santa Ana de Paicuri)	1760[15]	Aruacas		63
Santa Cruz del Calvario (or Montecalvario de Aripuco)	1760-1761[16]	Guaraúnos		42
Ntra. Sra. de la Soledad de Cavallipi	1761-1765[17]	Guaicas		? (125)
Uyacoa	1761-1765[18]	Guaraúnos		2
				785
				4378

In Table 2 the population figures up to 1755 derive from the 1755 Report of Alvarado (Carrocera 1979:I, No. 118, 337-338), with Mutanambo added (see Table 2, Note 26). The figures given in brackets, for Unata and Payaraima, are those given by Fidel de Sautó (Carrocera 1979:II, No. 137, 28; see Table 2, Notes 20 & 21), otherwise his statistics are the same as those of Alvarado. Owing to these variations it is difficult to give any exact population figure for the total of founding populations which were lost. It

has also to be remembered that death from disease, violence and flight, were the major accompaniments to the destruction of the mission villages listed, but nevertheless, some inhabitants were subsequently re-taken and either used in attempts at restoration or, as in the case of Cunuri and Tupuquén for example, were united to the populations of other, successful, foundations (see Table 2, Notes 23 & 24).

TABLE 2

GUAYANA MISSION LOSSES 1724-1761

MISSION	FOUNDED	NATION	POP.	LOST	CAUSE OF LOSS
Santa María de Yacuari[19]	1726	Pariagotos	120	1728	Smallpox epidemic and flight
Unata[20] : San Miguel	1737 (1735)	Guaraúnos	133 (149)	1741	Village burnt by Mission Indians and Caribs after English invasion of Dec. 1740
Payaraima[21]: Santa Bárbara	1738	Aruacas	208 (298)	1740	Village destroyed by English invaders.
Tipurúa[22] : (Casacoima)	1741	Chaimas & Guaraúnos	115	1742	Flight of inhabitants
Cunuri[23]	1744 (1743)	Panacayos & Caribes	300	1750	Carib revolt
Tupuquén[24] : San Félix	1748 (1747)	Caribes	230	1750	Carib revolt
Curumo[25]	1749	Caribes	180	1750	Carib revolt
Mutanambo[26]	1750	Caribes	70	1750	Carib revolt
			1,356[a] **(1,462)**		
		1756			
Terepi[27]	1757	Caribes	200-203 [48] **1556-9[a]** **(1510)**	1758	Flight of inhabitants

a. Figure derives from addition of unbracketed numbers, which are the most likely ones.

Apart from the Guayana Mission, there were two other communities in the lower Orinoco, established very early on, which did not owe their foundation to any religious Order, although a variety of missionary priests (Franciscan, Jesuit, Dominican, Augustinian and Capuchin) were sporadically in attendance there. One, the Spanish settlement of Santo

Tomé, founded in late 1595, kept alive the Spanish presence on the Orinoco despite a series of attacks on it and sacking by the fleets of Spain's enemies, and a history of epidemics and severe privations. Santo Tomé several times moved to sites between Caroní River mouth and the Usupamo River near the entrance to the Delta, until eventually, in 1764, it was definitively moved up river to Angostura (Ciudad Bolívar). When at Usupamo, Santo Tomé was closely associated with a second Spanish presence, the military fort of El Castillo de San Francisco de Asís, dating from 1642, and a second fort called San Diego del Padrastro, dating from 1747-50. This fortified complex, now referred to as Los Castillos de Guayana, was designed to protect the Orinoco region from attack and conquest by other European powers and to inhibit Carib resistance. The priests associated with Santo Tomé and the garrison would have evangelized some local Amerindians, those who were employed by the Spanish townsfolk, the Military and, probably, those who came to trade. In the main, they would have been Guaraúnos (Warao from the Delta), Aruacas, from the banks of the Orinoco, in limited settlement areas and Southeast of the Delta. Neighbouring Pariagotos (Guayanos) were also subject to religious attention. Capuchin historians assert that evangelization of these three peoples began well before the Capuchin foundation of Piacoa, Montecalvario and Uyacoa in 1760-61 (see Vegamián 1945:45). A specific documentary study of evangelization of the Indians of Spanish Guayana previous to the 18th century has yet to be undertaken.

Tables 1-6

1. The process of founding Suay, the central Mission village, began on 25th April 1724 with an initial population of 38 Pariagotos (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 88, 275-276). There appears to have been an act of establishment on 5th May 1724 (Carrocera 1979: I, 20). In its early days Suay had a traumatic existence, being subject to epidemics of smallpox and measles and attacks from Caribs. In December 1740 it was burnt by English invaders. Suay persisted until 1765 when it was joined to San Antonio de Caroní, the latter then taking the title of La Inmaculada Concepción del Caroní and becoming the official residence of the Prefects of the Mission and of the Procuradors (Carrocera 1979: I, 47 & 1981, 175-176).

2. The process of founding San Antonio de Caroní began 13th June 1725, with a population of 55 (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 89, 276-277). This mission village also suffered greatly from smallpox and measles epidemics and from Carib attacks very early on. In 1765, on the suppression of Suay, San Antonio de Caroní became capital of the Guayana Mission.

3. Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Amaruca, also referred to as Santa

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF THE GUAYANA MISSION 1724-1761

REPORT	EXISTING VILLAGES	POPULATION
Eugenio de Alvarado April 1755	11	2,907[a]
Fidel de Sautó Aug. 1761	16	4,378[b] (4,406)[c]
REPORT	**LOST VILLAGES**	**POPULATION**
Eugenio de Alvarado April 1755	7	1,286[d]
Fidel de Sautó Aug. 1761	8	1,440[e] (1,686)[f]

Legend: (a) Excluding Carapo, 2,907 is the corrected total of village numbers given; (b) Cavallapi and Uyacoa are not listed. The Ayma population is added from Diguja's Report (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 138, 29). The total figure is obtained by adding up the figures given for each individual village; (c) This is the global figure given by Fidel de Sautó in his text (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 24); (d) Mutanambo is not listed; (e) Tipurúa is listed in place of Casacoima. Mutanambo is not listed. The Unata population lost is given as 149 and Payaraima as 298 (Table 2, Notes 21 & 22), otherwise the population figures are the same as those of Alvarado; (f) This is the global figure for losses given by Fidel de Sautó (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 24).

TABLE 4

AMERINDIAN PEOPLES IN THE GUAYANA MISSION 1724-1761

Date	No. of Villages	Nation	Population
April 1755 (Eugenio de Alvarado)	6	Pariagotos	1,857
	4[a]	Caribes	887
	1	Barinagotos	163
Total:	**11**		**2,907**
Aug. 1761 (Fidel de Sautó)	6	Pariagotos	2,027
	6	Caribes	1,785
	1	Aruacas	63
	1	Guaraúnos	42
	1	Barinagotos	271[b]
	1	Guaicas	190[c]
Total:	**16[d]**		**4,378**

Legend: (a) El Palmar is included as being a Carib village by 1755. Carapo was not included by Alvarado because it was without a missionary in charge; (b) This figure derives from Diguja's account of 1761 (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 138, 29); (c) This was the number re-taken at the beginning of 1761 when Avechica was restored after its destruction in 1758 (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 27); (d) Fidel de Sautó did not list Cavallapi or Uyacoa, which were only just beginning.

TABLE 5
AMERINDIAN PEOPLE LOST FROM THE GUAYANA MISSION 1724-1761

Date	Villages Lost	Nation	Population
April 1755	1	Pariagotos	120
(Eugenio de	1	Guaraúnos	133
Alvarado)	1	Chaimas	115
	1	Aruacas	208
	3[a]	Caribes	710
Total:	**7**		**1,286**
Aug. 1761		Pariagotos	120
(Fidel de			
Sautó)	1	Guaraúnos	149
	1	Chaimas	115
	1	Aruacas, Sálivas & Guaraúnos	298
	4[a]	Caribes	758
Total:	**8**		**1,440**

a. Cunuri was denoted a Carib village, although it still contained Panacayos. Mutanambo was not listed as it was only just beginning when its inhabitants deserted the site.

María de los Angeles de Amaruca, began to be founded successfully on 15th January 1730 with 77 Pariagotos (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 86, 271-272), but according to a 1734 letter of the Prefect Agustín de Olot, a formal act of foundation took place in the following November (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 93, 281). The habitat proved to be unhealthy and an extreme degree of disease led to a transfer of site. Thus, Alvarado in his 1755 Report noted that an epidemic of smallpox and measles annihilated the Amaruca Indians in 1741. The mission was described in the 1743 Report of Gregorio Espinosa as Santa María de los Angeles de Amaruca and as having abundant fishing owing to the proximity of the Orinoco River (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 105, 300). The village was moved to a site immediately South of Upata in the early 1760s and then became known as Sta. María de los Angeles de Yucuari (Yacuari or Yacuario) or Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Yacuari (see Carrocera 1979: II, N°. 137, 25; N°. 138, 29; N°. 170, 117; III, N°. 293, 177).

4. San Francisco de la Ceiva Yacuari (or Yucuari) was planned for when in March 1728 a visit was made to the site of Ceiva by Agustín de Arredondo the Governor of the Province, and the Prefect of the Mission (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 70, 242-243). There they registered those who had

TABLE 6
BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS IN THE GUAYANA MISSION 1724-1761[a]

Date	Baptisms	Marriages	Deaths[b]
April 1755 (Eugenio de Alvarado)	5,636	1,622	3,474
1761 (Fidel de Sautó)[c]	6,642 (7,388)	1,321 (1,195)	3,669 (3,384)
Difference between 1755 & 1761	+1,006 (+1,752)	-301[d] (-427)	-195[e] (-110)

a. For numbers of baptisms, marriages and deaths in each of the 11 villages in existence in April 1755 and in the 16 villages in 1761, refer to the Report of Alvarado (Carrocera 1979: I, 117,336) and the Report of Fidel de Sautó (Carrocera 1979: II, 137, 24-27). It should be noted that baptism totals would include adult converts, not just newborn children.

b. Deaths refer to those who died "in the communion of the faithful" according to Fidel de Sautó (Carrocera 1979: II, 137, 24).

c. Unbracketed figures have been obtained by adding up the figures given in reference to individual villages. Bracketed figures are the global ones given by Fidel de Sautó at the beginning of his list of villages (for which he gives a total population of 4,406).

d. According to both sets of figures given by Fidel de Sautó 1761, the number of marriages decreased on the total given by Alvarado in 1755! We may note however, that the Prefect, when detailing the demographic situation of the Carib village of Aguacagua, states that it was a great effort to get the Carib nation to marry through the Church and the majority had many women, without this impeding their accession of still more new handmaidens (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 26). We may therefore speculate as to whether the apparent overall reduction in marriages occurred because those with more than one wife became discounted in an attempt to isolate monogamous (Christian) marriage unions from those which had subsequently become plural ones.

e. With regard to the Prefect's global figures for mortality; I am unable to explain why his global figure denoted 110 fewer deaths than Alvarado reported 6 years before when using the figures given him by the Prefect at that time, Benito de Moya. Fidel de Sautó noted that 917 Indians had died on account of a series of misfortunes which included two smallpox epidemics (1728 and 1741), a measles epidemic (1744), an invasion of Caribs (1735) and English hostilities (1740), (see Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 24).

been persuaded to settle. However, through lack of personnel in the Mission, the village was not founded until 18th November 1731 when 494 inhabitants were matriculated (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 82, 267-268). This village later became known as San Francisco de Altagracia, due to a change of site. Alvarado in his Report of 1755 gives the founding date for the latter as February 1734, and this is supported by later Mission Reports, such as that of Mariano de Sabadell (see Carrocera I: N°. 117,

336, & III, N°. 222, 306). Altagracia was visited by the Governor of Cumaná Gregorio Espinosa in 1743, who described its fort and garrison (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 105, 300-301)

5. The initial act of foundation of Cupapuy took place on 21st November 1731, when 241 Indians were registered (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 83, 268)

6. La Divina Pastora was the village in charge of the central cattle ranch of the Mission (called "el Hato"). The herds originated in a special expedition undertaken by the first Prefect of the Mission, Tomás de Santa Eugenia, who obtained 120 animals from Cumaná and Píritu (Carrocera 1979: I, 21). On their arrival in 1725, those animals which had survived the journey were kept at the central village of Suay. They increased in numbers and a shortage of pasture led to a decision in 1732 to move the major part of the herd to "Ceiva Yacuri", San Francisco de la Ceiva Yacuri. Ultimately, this led to the foundation in May 1737 of a new village with the title of Divina Pastora de Yacuari, or Yacuario, (Carrocera 1979: I, xxvi, 27, 31). In 1743 Gregorio Espinosa described la Divina Pastora del Yacuari as having a fort and garrison. It had abundant pasture for the herds and fishing on the Yuruari River. Nearly all its Indians owned a few head of cattle and enjoyed a daily ration of meat from the herd (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 105, 301). Alvarado in 1755 also gives a valuable, detailed account of the cattle economy (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 177, 336, & N°. 119, 344-345). In 1761 the Prefect, Fidel de Sautó, recorded that la Divina Pastora had been moved from Yacuario to the site of Huarimna (Carrocera 1979: II,, N°. 137, 25), or Guarimena (Vegamián 1945:50), in the vicinity of today's township, El Callao, and near the mission of Ayma, (see Note 11 below). In his Report of 1772, the Prefect Bruno de Barcelona stated that the transfer took place in 1760 and was due to a need for new pastures and a more convenient site. He referred to the mission as La Divina Pastora de Yuruari (Carrocera 1979: II,, N°. 182, 156). A detailed and interesting account of the development of the cattle economy of the Guayana Mission, and of its importance, is given in Vegamián (1945: 48-50).

7. According to Alvarado's Report of 1755, el Palmar was founded December 1746 (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 117, 366). Carrocera refers to this date and states that it was a new foundation with a basic population of Indians who had fled from other villages (Carrocera 1979: I, 33-34). However, later Mission Reports give earlier dates, such as December 1733 and 1734 (see Carrocera 1979: II,, N° 222, 306; III, 323, 314), and this suggests that there had been an earlier attempt at foundation, (see Civrieux 1976:135-136).

8. Founded in January 1748 (Alvarado Report 1755, Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 117, 336), Miamo had its first beginnings in 1747 when 88 Caribs were

assembled on that site and began to cultivate there (Carrocera 1979: I, 34, and the Report of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga 1779, in Carrocera 1979: II,, N°. 231, 341). This village was destroyed in October 1750 through an uprising of its Carib inhabitants, who killed a Spaniard and burnt the village, but it was restored in 1752 after much effort and it persisted thereafter (1761 Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó, Carrocera 1979: II,, N°.137, 26).

9. The Alvarado Report of 1755 gives the date of foundation of Aguacagua as November 1753 (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 117, 336), but Carrocera asserts that although Aguacagua began in that year it was not established until 1754 (Carrocera 1979: I, 42). It proved to be an unstable village owing to disease and regular desertion by its inhabitants. It became untenable after 1761 Carrocera: 1981: 230), and in 1763 it was decided to abandon the site and to unite the remaining Indians with those of San Antonio del Caroni (1763 letter of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga, Carrocera: II, N°. 142, 34).

10. Founded in September 1754 (Alvarado Report 1755, Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 117, 336), Murucuri was at first very unstable owing to frequent desertion of its Carib inhabitants, but it began to prosper after 1757.

11. The Prefect Bruno de Barcelona recorded in 1772 that Ayma was founded in 1753 Carrocera 1979:II, N° 182, 156). In 1754 Mateo Gual, Governor of Cumaná, stated that the missionaries "... are at present engaged and working with efficacy in the forwarding of four more villages, named Cunuri, Yuruari, Morocuri, and Carapo. The first two are in a very good state of restoration". He additionally remarked that Yuruari, which suffered the same fate as Miamo (see Note 8 above), "... also through rebellion, is on the way to speedy re-establishment, in accordance with its good beginnings." (Letter of Mateo Gual, Governor of Cumaná, to the Marqués de la Ensenada, lst June 1754, in *Case of the U.S. of Venezuela:* III, N°. 644, 374). It appears therefore, that the inhabitants of Ayma had taken flight soon after they first assembled but had been persuaded to return. A formal foundation date of February 1755 is given in the Report of Alvarado of April that year (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 117, 336) and this is the one which generally appears in the Mission Reports. The population figure of 271 for 1761 derives from the account of the Mission given by José Diguja Villagomez (Carrocera 1979: II, N°. 138, 29).

12. Although a population was assembled at Carapo in 1752, this mission village was regarded as "newly begun" in 1754 and was not consolidated until 1756 (letter of Mateo Gual, Governor of Cumaná, to the Marqués de la Ensenada, 1st June 1754, in *Case of the U.S. of Venezuela*: III, N° 644, 374; Carrocera 1979: I, 42). In his Report of 1755 Alvarado stated that he had not listed Carapo because it was still being founded and did not as yet have a missionary Father assigned to it (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 118, 338).

13. In a letter of 9th June 1758, the Prefect Benito de La Garriga described how Avechica, in the course of being built by its Guaica inhabitants on the Supama River, had been lost through a Carib attack which killed the Guaica Captain and his companion and caused the rest of the 200 inhabitants to flee. The principal cause of attack on the new mission was because it would have closed the route over the Supama which Carib slave traders used between the Curumo (Botanamo) River and the Caroní River (Carrocera 1979: I, N°. 126, 363). The Prefect Fidel de Sautó was a year out when he stated, in 1761, that the loss of Avechica occurred in 1759. However, he recorded that Avechica had begun again in 1761, when 190 Guaicas had been re-taken (Carrocera 1979: II, N°. 137, 27). It was to be lost a second time when, in the following year of 1762 the missionary in charge, Pedro de Fugarolas, was seeking medical aid in Ayma. The Guaicas took his clothes and personal possessions, killed the two soldiers left to watch over the village, and deserted. They went to the Supama River landing and off down river, saying that they were going to Essequibo (Report of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga 1779, who referred to the mission as Angel Custodio de Avechica, Carrocera 1979: II, N°. 231, 342). When Avechica was successfully founded in 1783 it was dedicated to San Juan Bautista and the population denoted "arinagotos" (Carrocera 1979: III, N°. 245, 18, & N°. 246, 20-21).

14. Guasipati was founded on 27th September 1757. This is recorded on a commemorative plaque which can today be seen at the entrance to this township.

15. The foundation date of 1760 for Piacoa is given in the 1761 Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó (Carrocera 1979: II, N°. 137, 27). The Prefect Buenaventura de Sabadell in his 1799 "State of the Mission", wrote that the mission of Santa Ana de Puga began to be founded on its first site of Piacoa in 1760 (There is a misprint in Carrocera's transcript of this where he gives the date 1670! See Carrocera 1979: III, N° 293, 184). Changes of name of this village are due to the fact that, a few years later, the Arawak inhabitants were subjected to a number of autocratic acts on the part of the Commandante of Guayana, Manuel Centurión, requiring their removal to a succession of new sites. On the first move Piacoa became known as San Joaquín. On another site it appears as Santa Ana de Paicuri. In the course of the transferals Guaraúnos were added to Aruacas (Vegamián 1945:62-63; see also the 1775 Account of the Mission, Carrocera 1979: II, N° 209, 276-277.)

16. In his 1761 Report, the Prefect Fidel de Sautó stated that this village began at the end of 1760 when a cross was erected at Aripuco with the invocation of Montecalvario (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 27). Carrocera gives the date of foundation as 1761 (Carrocera 1979: I, 45), and states that the population of Guaraúnos had a Sáliva component (Carrocera 1981: 242).

17. The Prefect Bruno de Barcelona, in 1770, gave the date of the foundation of Cavallapi as 1761. The Prefect added the information that the inhabitants fled in 1769 on account of a measles epidemic, but that 120 were re-taken (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 170, 119). A 1765 date of foundation was given by the Prefect Benito de La Garriga in 1779, and he stated that Cavallapi was founded in that year with 125 Guaicas and then lost in 1771 through desertion, in the process of which a Negro militiaman and a Guayano Indian were killed. It was then decided to abandon this mission since the inhabitants refused to be subjected to life in a mission village and were constantly returning to their own territories (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 231, 342). It would appear that 1765 was a date of consolidation in the history of what turned out to be an unstable and short-lived Guaica mission village.

18. Founded in 1761, Uyacoa was consolidated in 1765. Like the mission villages of Unata and Tipurúa, Uyacoa suffered several changes of site on the orders of Manuel Centurión (Carrocera 1979: I, xxvi, 48, 50; II, N° 173, 128-129).

19. Santa María was founded on the banks of the Yacuari River in March 1726 and was lost in 1728 through a smallpox epidemic (Carrocera 1979: I, 21; the 1755 Report of Alvarado in Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118, 338, and the 1761 Report of the Prefect Fidel de Sautó in Carrocera: II, N° 137, 27). Surviving Indians were added to the village of Cupapuy (see Note 5 above), soon after the latter's foundation in November 1731 (Carrocera 1979: I, 25-26). A certain continuity was achieved when the mission of Nuestra Señora (or Santa María) de los Angeles de Amaruca was transferred to a Yacuari River site in the early 1760s and thereafter became known as Nuestra Señora (or Santa María) de los Angeles de Yacuari (see Note 3 above).

20. Carrocera (1979: I, 31) states that San Miguel de Unata was founded by Buenaventura de Valls in 1737, although in his 1981 volume, page 177, he gives a foundation date of 1735. The mission was lost in 1741, shortly after the English invasion of December 1740 which destroyed the villages of Suay and Payaraima. Mission Indians already settled blamed the Spanish for the English invasion, joined with Caribs and together they set fire to "San Miguel de Hunate", whose inhabitants fled into the numerous streams of the Orinoco Delta (1744 Report of the Prefect Agustín de Olot, in Carrocera 1979: I, N° 106, 305-306; the 1779 Report of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga, in Carrocera 1979: II, N° 231, 340). In his June 1754 letter describing his visit to Guayana, the Governor of Cumaná, Mateo Gual, confirmed that Unata had remained "totally lost" since the conflagration caused by the English (*Case of the U.S. of Venezuela*: III, N° 644, 374). Nevertheless, it appears that an attempt was made to restore Unata soon after the 1743 visit of Gregorio Espinosa and

before Mateo Gual's account. It is to this that Alvarado's entry of Unata might refer. Thus, according to Alvarado in 1755 (having obtained his data from the Prefect Benito de Moya) Unata was the fifth village lost, (the other Mission Reports refer to it as the second lost). He stated that it had been founded in November 1747, lasted two years and three months and had been inhabited by 133 Guaraúnos (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118,338). This would make the date of loss February 1750 -a year when the Caribs were at their most destructive. Either therefore, Alvarado's date of 1747 Should be 1737, or, his informant Benito de Moya was referring to a transient attempt to restore Unata, which failed. However, other confusing accounts emerge in some of the other Mission Reports, Thus in 1777 the Prefect Mariano de Sabadell lists Unata as founded in June 1727 and lasting two years and three months, but Payaraima, which sources confirm was founded in the same year as Unata, is entered by Sabadell as founded in 1738. It would certainly seem that there has been a mistake or a misprint and that for 1727 we should read 1737 (Report of the Prefect Mariano de Sabadell in Carrocera 1979: II, N° 222, 307). Another date was given by Fidel de Sautó in his Report of 1761, which is that of 1735, and he also gave the number of founding inhabitants as 149, instead of 133 as recorded by the other informants (see Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 28). The also later history of San Miguel de Unata was also chequered. It was founded again in 1764, at the mouth of the Caroní River, was moved soon afterwards and in 1768 had a population of 183 naked Guaraúnos and Sálivas (Account of the Comandante Manuel Centurión 1768, in Carrocera 1979: II, N° 159, 76). The following year it was removed to yet another site by Centurión's order. It was again re-founded in 1779 (Carrocera 1979: I, 50, 65).

21. A description of Payaraima was given in the 1743 Report of Gregorio Espinosa, Governor of Cumaná, and he noted it as having been burnt by the English and destroyed (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 105, 302). The prefect Benito de La Garriga in 1779 remarked that the village had been burnt by the English in 1741, and whilst the Indians had fled others had died in a smallpox epidemic, so that re-establishment was not possible. He gave the foundation date as 1738 (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 231, 340-341). Carrocera later (1981, 238) gives a foundation date of 1737, which harmonizes with assertions that Payaraima and Unata were founded in the same year (see Note 20 above). Alvarado listed Payaraima as having been founded in February 1740 and having had a duration of two years and three months (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118, 338). Since the English invasion took place at the very end of 1740, this cannot have been a reference to an attempt at restoration. Also, according to the 1754 account of Mateo Gual, Payaraima had "remained totally destroyed since the English burned it" (*Case of the U.S. of Venezuela*: III, 644, 375). It is more likely therefore, that Alvarado gave the date of destruction in place of that of foundation. Fidel de Sautó,

in 1761, gave 1740 as the date of loss of Payaraima, the occasion being the English invasion. He additionally noted that there were Sálivas and Guaraúnos in the mission, as well as Aruacas. However, he stated that the population of the village had been 298, whereas the figure usually given was 208. This leads us to speculate as to whether an "0" has been mistaken for a "9" (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137,28).

22. Tipurúa was founded in January 1741 with a population of 115 Chaimas, and was lost in 1742 (1777 Report of the Prefect Mariano de Sabadell, Carrocera 1979: II, N° 222, 307). Benito de La Garriga noted in his 1779 Report that the population had consisted of both Chaimas and Guaraúnos, and that whilst their missionary was away confessing, they killed two soldiers and fled (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 231, 341). There is some confusion in the literature as to the relationship between the village of Tipurúa and that of Casacoima. For example, in his 1755 Report Alvarado listed Casacoima and not Tipurúa, but the date he gave was the same as other accounts which refer to Tipurúa (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118, 338). They appear to have been separate, if closely connected villages, as subsequent history indicates. Thus, Tipurúa was re-founded in 1766 and in 1768 was described by Manuel Centurión as consisting of 90 naked Guaraúnos, 5 houses of earth and palm, no church, but a herd of 100 head of cattle, 18 horses and 2 mules (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 159, 76). Casacoima was denoted a separate village but had by 1772 been united with Tipurúa and Piacoa (see Note 15 above), and moved from the banks of the Orinoco to the Caroní River (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 180, 150 & N° 182, 163. See also González del Campo 1984: 97-99.)

23. Cunuri had its origins when a group of Panacayos and their principal leader petitioned for a mission village to be created for them on the site of Cunuri. Gathered there in 1742, a village developed during 1743 and an act of formal foundation took place in February 1744, the founding population being 300 souls, mainly Panacayos but with some Caribs (see the Report of the Governor of Cumaná, Gregorio de Espinosa, 1743, in Carrocera 1979: I, N° 105, 301-302, and the details of the Mission given by the Prefect Mariano de Sabadell in 1777, in Carrocera: II, N° 222, 307). The village was lost in the Carib uprising of October 1750, when the inhabitants killed five Spaniards, left one soldier for dead, whilst the missionary in charge narrowly escaped with his life. The church and houses were burnt and the community's cattle herd carried off. Subsequently, 60 Indians were re-taken and were added to the Guayanos in the mission of Amaruca (see Note 3 above), (Account of the Prefect Benito de La Garriga, 1779, in Carrocera: II, N° 231, 341). Although in 1753 Mateo Gual reported that the missionaries had been working to forward the village of Cunuri, amongst others, and that it was "in a very good state of restoration", attempts to re-found it failed.

24. Tupuquén was being planned in 1743 (The Counter-Case of the U.S. of Venezuela: I, 63), and it had its beginnings in 1747 when a sufficient number of Caribs was assembled at that site, and also at Miamo, with a desire to settle and begin their gardens. Alvarado listed it as founded in February 1748 with 230 Caribs (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118, 338). Its Caribs rebelled in October 1750, killing a Negro and a mulatto, leaving two soldiers for dead and carrying off the church ornaments and the village cattle. The missionary in charge survived, although he had been tied up. Six years later, some former inhabitants were re-taken and used to populate Guasipati, founded 1757 (see Note 14 above). Tupuquén was begun again, with other Caribs, in 1767 and there was an act of foundation in 1770 (see Carrocera 1979: I, 34; II, N° 137, 28: N° 182, 159: N° 209, 272: N° 231, 341.)

25. According to the 1755 Report of Alvarado, Curumo (or "Curumu") was founded in June 1749 with 180 Caribs (Carrocera 1979: I, N° 118, 338), but Mariano de Sabadell (1777) and Benito de La Garriga (1779) refer to populations of 300 and 140 respectively. The mission was lost through the Carib uprising of 1750, when its inhabitants burnt the village, killed two Spanish soldiers and fled (see Carrocera 1979: II, N° 222, 307 & N° 231, 341).

26. The same missionary Father who was at Curumo was also founding "Matanambo" with Caribs in February 1750. Both populations rose at the same time, in October of that year (see Note 25 above and the Reports of Mariano de Sabadell, 1777, and Benito de La Garriga, 1779, in Carrocera 1979: II, N° 222, 307 & N° 231, 341). This mission was not included in the list of losses, either by Alvarado (1755) or the Prefect Fidel de Sautó (1761), presumably because it had only a six month duration and was never a fully established village.

27. Terepi (or Tarepi) was founded in May 1757 but lost a year later when its inhabitants fled by night to the Aquirre River (Report of the Prefect Mariano de Sabadell, 1777, Carrocera 1979: II, N° 222, 307). The Prefect Benito de La Garriga, 1779, added the information that the Caribs of Miamo knew of the flight and pursued them, killing many women and children whom they discovered hiding in the forest (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 231, 341). We learn from the 1761 Report of Fidel de Sautó that the "Terepi" Caribs had fled previously in 1757, the year of foundation, and had been re-taken only to flee again in the following year (Carrocera 1979: II, N° 137, 28). Whilst Sabadell gave a founding population of 203 Caribs and Benito de La Garriga referred to 200, Fidel de Sautó recorded 48 only, but these might have been the ones re-taken after the first flight in 1757.

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