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Chapter 10

The Colonial Event

This chapter is dedicated to the Colonial Event or the “Discovery of Guiana.” This moment changed the future of pre-Columbian societies for ever. The Amerindian populations reacted differently to the presence of the Europeans. They either embraced and/or rejected them. In the end, this encounter transformed their lives. In order to assess the archaeology of the Historic Age, an introduction of the most relevant events is provided here. We have chosen to insert this chapter at the correct chronological moment, i.e. after the LCA.

During this Historic Age, the Amerindian societies witnessed: (a) a 16th century encounter in which a new balance of power between the newly arrived Europeans and the Amerindian groups was established, (b) a 17th century encounter that consolidated this incoming socio-economic and political balance ending in numerous wars when the Europeans started to occupy the coastline permanently, (c) an 18th century introduction of missionaries, resulting in a total destruction of the Amerindian society due to diseases and ethnic amalgamation, (d) a 19th century resurrection, or ethnogenesis, of newly formed conglomerations of Amerindian groups and (e) an appropriation of Western traditions and/or an incorporation of Western society and an increase of population numbers.

We will now attempt to describe and trace this process of transformation by means of highlighting the numerous events in French Guiana, Suriname and Amapá which occurred in the course of these Colonial and Modern Times as historians often call it. Archaeologists refer to it as the Historic Age, or Period.

10.1 Introduction

From the European point of view

The first descriptions delivered by the Europeans are fairly similar: they try to understand this New World by classifying it according to their own world, reflective of a Eurocentric point of view (Boomert 1984:125). Although early voyagers provide us with incredible or even fantastic accounts of people with ‘eyes in their chests’ and of ‘people whose feet point backwards’ (Ralegh 1848:85), scholars have illustrated that European and indigenous expectations of monstrous races
in fact converge in certain key tropes (Mason 1990; Hulme 1992). According to Anthony Pagden, the West European mentality of these early voyagers was based on the conviction that human nature was homogeneous although albeit that certain differences could exist between human groups, such as languages or customs. Hence, every group should adjust itself to the natural guidelines of the human species (Pagden 1986:17). Human behavior was validated by means of an “anthropological classification” of physiological and psychological human traits (e.g. the size of one’s head, body length, hair style), geographical location, or even astrological conjunctions. The application of this method in order to classify behaviour also inferred various qualities or levels ascribed to a human group which was not part of the Western world (e.g. beliefs, governing systems, matrimonial rites, laws regarding descent, means of subsistence, how to prepare a meal). These concepts concerning humanity are products of Greco-Roman paganism and evidently not of Medieval Christendom. When the Spaniards arrived in the Americas, all Indians were considered barbarians as they were not Christians. In addition, their races were deemed savage because they lacked any civil behaviour (Lemaire 1988:236–244). Christopher Columbus presents us with a significant example of such imagery. In his view, Indians were either “good” or “bad” Indians, soon to be translated as Arawak or Carib Indians, respectively (Whitehead 1984:70, 1988). It was evident to Isabella, Queen of Spain, that the man-eating Caribs were to be captured and enslaved, as “the idolatry of the Indians, their mortal sins, and their human

236 Robert Schomburgk forwards a reasonable explanation of the origins of such European fantasies in note 2 of his PhD dissertation entitled: The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana by Walter Ralegh (1848:85): “The account which Ralegh gives of the Indian tribes who have their eyes in their shoulders and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, has been charged as another proof of his attempt to deal in fables. Such accounts however have existed since the time of Pliny; and when Ralegh reported the wonderful tales, which he sufficiently proves were not the offspring of his own imagination, he merely related the common belief of the natives, not only at the period of his visit but up to this day. How frequently have we heard, in our ramblings, the most circumstantial accounts of the existence of tribes equally absurd in appearance as Ralegh's Ewaipanoma! Ctesias speaks of men with the head of a dog, and Pliny repeats Herodotus' relation of the Acephali, who, if the Libyans may be credited, “have their mouths in their breasts.” Sir John Mandeville, speaking of the inhabitants of some southern islands, observes, “Alia insula habit homines aspectu deformes, nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes; unde et acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, et in loco pectoris os apertum, ad formam ferri quo nostri caballi framantur.” We find therefore that Ralegh had several prototypes, and, as he himself observes, he grounded his belief of the existence of such a people upon the testimony of the natives. We learn from Humboldt’s narrative that the forests of Sipapo, where the missionaries place the nation of Rayas who have the mouth at the navel, are altogether unknown (Vol. 5, p. 176). An old Indian, whom the great traveller met at Carichana, boasted of having seen these Acephali with his own eyes; and, abused as these fables are, Humboldt observes that they have spread as far as the Llanos, ‘where you are not always permitted to doubt the existence of the Rays Indians.’ It is probable that Shakespeare, having read Ralegh’s Guiana voyage, makes use of his account of the Ewaipanoma, which he introduces in his Moor of Venice; and when Othello gave fair Desdemona a relation of the wonders he had seen, he included: “The cannibals, that each other eat, The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads Do grow beneath their shoulders.” Oldys supposes that this was done in compliment to Sir Walter Ralegh. Keymis certifies the existence of the headless men. He speaks, in a marginal note, of a sort of people more monstrous, “who have eminent heads like dogs, and live all the day-time in the sea, and they speak the Carib language” (Hakluyt, Vol. iii, p. 677).’ See also Whitehead (1997, 2009), Raftes (2002:95–101) and Oldenburg (2008).

237 The Greco-Roman origin can be illustrated by the use of words such as barbarians or savages, terms often adopted to designate the Amerindians. Since Hellenistic times, savages were inferior people, both culturally and mentally. Since Roman times, non-Latin speakers were considered inferior. During the Christian era, non-practitioners of the only true religion, i.e. Christianity, were considered pagans (Pagden 1986:15–26).
sacrifices, provided a sound basis on which to justify the conquest of America’ (Delgado as cited and translated in Whitehead 1988:173). The existing rivalry between the so-called Taino (an Arawakan speaking group) of the Greater Antilles and the Caribs (a Cariban speaking group) of the Lesser Antilles was eventually adopted by the Columbus family in order to not only ally with the former Taino but also to exploit their communal enemy and to justify the Carib enslavement.\footnote{Whitehead (1988:182) further states, following the historian J. C. Salas, that ‘the term canib was used by the Taino of the Greater Antilles to refer to those Amerindians of the Lesser Antilles [Kalinago] whom they considered as maco,’ or (allied) servant population.}

On the one hand, European sources are prejudiced and thus unreliable with regard to any knowledge of the history of the Amerindian societies. On the other hand, they represent the only written documents to inform us of the Amerindian (pre) history, in addition to Amerindian oral tradition. Next to archaeology, they are often the only way to look back into the proto-historic period in order to obtain any information on pre-Columbian societies (Whitehead 1993:299).\footnote{Whitehead (2003c:ix) also points out that these historical sources are in fact always anchored or situated in the place and time they were written and, above all, reflect the personal trajectories of their authors.} It is therefore important to study these Europeans documents and not to discard them \textit{a priori} because of their bias (Santos-Granero 2009b:6–7). As we have very little archaeological data from this early period and due to an incomplete view of history as told in Amerindian oral tradition, these documents constitute another relevant source enabling scholars to gather information on proto-historic subsistence economy and social-political organization as: ‘… the colonial period of history is a very important arena of debate since the written historical sources permit a complexity of inference that is not available form the archaeological record’ (Whitehead 1992a:130).

Indeed, one must be cautious when reading the early historical sources. Authors did not always write down precisely what their guides or interpreters said, often either to their own benefit or else caused by means of misunderstandings. In addition, as mentioned above, the worldview or perception of these voyagers is no longer embraced by historians. The interpretation of their experiences is, however, now and again difficult to grasp. The cultural, political and religious aspects of these Amerindian societies were influenced and/or altered by means of European ideology and economy. It is our task to determine the degree as well as the momentum of this transformation.

According to the sources, Amerindian nations inhabited rather well-structured socio-political territories, similar to countries or provinces in medieval Western Europe. Amerindian groups were evidently not organized as in Western Europe. Nonetheless, they apparently possessed a certain hierarchical structure which voyagers referred to as similar to the social structure they were familiar with. This does not exclude the fact that such a structure existed. Voyagers were not able to investigate any further or did not wish to demonstrate that their organization was similar to his, in order to obtain further (financial) support from Europe in view of trading expeditions.
The first encounters

Between the arrival of the first Iberians on the coast of the Guianas in c.AD 1500 and the North Europeans almost a century later, we must acknowledge the lack of any historic evidence or archaeological data on Amerindian societies. As Neil Whitehead (1988:53) stated in his PhD dissertation on this 16th century void: ‘Moreover, it would thus appear that there is a “hidden” phase in the history...
of the Guayanese Amerindians, being the time between the first arrival of the Europeans, when they were largely confined to the immediate area of the coast, and the inception of continuous colonization in the early 17th century.241

During the 16th century, the Guianas were situated between the Portuguese and Spanish realms of the South American continent. Although various conquistadores and European adventurers must have visited this region, the Spanish favoured the pearl beds near Cubagua, Coche and Margarita in the vicinity of the Paria Peninsula until their depletion during the 1530s. Next, the Spanish expanded their search for pearls and gold not only towards the west (e.g. Magdalena, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Cabo de la Vela), but also towards Trinidad in the east. Spanish documentation suggests that Aruacan and Carib powers occupied the Lower Orinoco River and Atlantic coast of northern South America (Whitehead 1992b, 2011b; Sued Badillo 1995). With the arrival of the Europeans, the Carib and Arawak population of the coastal region presumably received greater significance from the Spanish. This region represented a trading post (Fr., comptoir) for metal tools and other European goods, hereby controlling this trade spatially (Whitehead 1988:53). The European presence in this region must have changed the local situation among the Amerindians. It may also have influenced the local social-political status of regions situated further away in the interior as well as the status of the Guianas in general.

Aside from the European influence played out on a political and cultural level, the heaviest blow was due to: (a) the introduction of a sugar-based economy during the second half of the 17th century onwards and (b) the missionary works that struck the Amerindian demography (c) together with the spread of Old World diseases (Hemming 1978; Whitehead 1988). In many parts of the Guianas, the lowest number of native peoples was reached towards the end of the 18th century for various reasons (e.g. the actions of the missionaries, internal disputes, disease). For example, only 200 Galibi were still residing on the French Guiana littoral in 1787, according to Hurault (1989:169).

It is obvious that the current situation of small indigenous groups is a weak reflection of the Early Historic situation when the Europeans first arrived. The Amerindians who presently inhabit the littoral of the eastern Guianas (e.g. Kali’na, Lokono, Palikur) were not isolated forest dwellers, as pictured during the period of Enlightenment by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the myth of Le bon Sauvage.242 The Amerindians were actors of their history and not only victims of a colonial and capitalist empire. For instance, the Amerindians of the littoral played an active role in the economic trading network with regard to the Europeans as distributors of the goods, hereby utilizing their socio-cultural ancestral networks which have survived until today (Rivière 1963, 1984; Butt Colson 1973, 1985; Lathrap 1973; Boomert 1984, 1987; Porro 1985, 1992, 1996; Dreyfuss 1992; Louis Allaire (2013:98) called it Period II (1515-c.1625) or ‘a long century of some five generations (the “lost” generations) that is poorly known in historical documents but during which so much would have happened.’ See also Jean-Pierre Moreau, Navigation européenne dans les Petites Antilles aux XVIe et début du XVIIe siècle (1987:134).

242 The Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade reckoned that without the Amerindians the French Revolution would have been impossible as he wrote in his Anthropophage Manifest: ‘Queremos a Revolução Caribá. Maior que a revolução Francesa. A unificação de todas as revoltas eficazes na direção do homem. Sem nós a Europa não teria sequer a sua pobre declaração dos direitos do homem’ (de Andrade 1928).
Whitehead 1988, 1992a, 1993; Heinen and García-Castro 2000; Gassón 2000; Galois-Tilké 2005; Collomb and Dupuy 2009.\footnote{Claudius de Goeje (1932) relates this trade to the tale of the Amazons, women being traditionally the beholders of lapidary skills in Amerindian (pre-Columbian) society. Boomert (1987) elucidates that greenstone items (e.g. nephrite frogs, or *muiraquitãs*) were highly valued items in a huge network located between the waters of the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. The relationship with the Amazon River can be found in the works of Father João Bettendorf (1910:172, 261) who refers to a noble class, or ‘cavaleiros,’ differing from the chiefs, which were called ‘Maria Moacara’ among the Tapajo.}

In recent decades, the development of archaeology and anthropology, especially in Lowland Amazonia (Smith 1980; Dreyfus 1983-84; Roosevelt 1991; Whitehead 1994, 1998; Porro 1994; Hill 1996; Heckenberger 2005; Heckenberger et al. 1999; Heckenberger and Neves 2009; Balée 2006), has urged scholars to reexamine the early historic material. They have proposed to study the contents more dynamically and not view it as a static mosaic consisting of multiple tribes, introducing the historical perspective of *longue durée*.\footnote{This concept that Michael Heckenberger promotes in his *The Ecology of Power* (2005), Renzo Duin applied to the history of the Wayana in his 2009 PhD dissertation. The latter discusses the role of the community house in Cariban speaking peoples of the Guianas while elaborating on the model of regional organization. This issue comes with a discussion constituting of socio-political complexity nourished by mythology, architecture, rituals, social memory, etc. Ethnic groups form geographical regions (territories?) containing various villages each with a different status and exhibiting an exchange of goods and rituals in which the presence of roundhouses is translated as unequal distribution equals ranked regional organization, creating a dynamic sacred landscape of social memory (Duin 2009:25–27). See also note 363.}

In the Guianas, it is thought that the shapes of groups or villages change continuously. The reason for this is the absorption and separation of people, hereby altering the socio-political, geographic situation of a certain region (Dreyfus 1992; Rivière 1984). Languages played an important role as socio-political identifiers in the Amerindian world. In addition drinking feats during funerary and matrimonial practices, warfare and alliances between varied groups represent other identifiers which, when reading the historical document, are merely moments frozen in time (Whitehead 1994:35, 1995b).\footnote{For further reading on the importance of feasting, mortuary rites and public speeches among the historic Amerindian population of the Llanos in Venezuela and regional archaeology, see Gassón (2003).} However, it is believed that the political alliances between Amerindian groups and Europeans were fluid. Moreover, they were modified according to Amerindian principles of warfare in which the Europeans were just another player during the contact period (Whitehead 1992a) (cf. Appendix 2 for a description of the historic Amerindian coastal groups).

The Historic Period

The following chronological stages can be established with regard to the post-Columbian or Historic Period in the eastern Guianas, representing the general outline of this chapter:\footnote{Concerning French Guiana, see P. Grenand and E. Grenand (1997:64).}

a. The Time of Contact or Proto-historic Period. It stretches from the discovery of the Guianas up to the end of the 16th century and is characterized by means of (i) the implantation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial powers in...
South America and (ii) Spanish attempts to colonize the Guianas. Although we have little documentation on these events, it is thought the Amerindian populations in the Guianas must have been influenced in some way (red slave raiding?) by means of the distant presence of these new powers;

b. The Colonial Period represents the exploration and permanent implantation of the coastal Guianas by mainly English, French and Dutch flagged colonies. This era can be subdivided into: (i) an early privateering phase including trading posts and (ii) a subsequent permanent phase. Now mainly Dutch and French colonies or trading posts were founded in the central Guianas. This era also provided the first important and satisfying ethnographic descriptions of Amerindian society, albeit perhaps not meant as ethnographic accounts and influenced by European culture. Producing sugar demanded a permanent stronghold and soon Africans were brought into these colonies as slaves. This permanent presence and the introduction of missions at the beginning of the 18th century resulted in a rapidly diminishing demography. This was mainly the result of Old World diseases and slave raids, but also caused by means of a diaspora, reduction and forced re-locations of the Amerindian population;

c. The Modern Period represents the time after the abolition of black slavery as obtained by the majority of the colonies in the Guianas during the second half of the 19th century. The Modern Period can be subdivided into an earlier post-colonial and a later post-W.W. II era when independence was granted to Guyana (16 May 1966) and Suriname (25 November 1975) as well as the declaration of French Guiana as a French Department (19 March 1946).

In the course of the present period we can observe the comeback of the Amerindian populations risen from the ashes of their ancestors, giving birth to "new" indigenous groups, i.e. the Kali’na and the Palikur in French Guiana. It is believed that during the entire Historic Period, the Amerindian population was subjected to 'a continuous reconstruction of ethnic groups by extinction, scission, and absorption' (P. Grenand and F. Grenand 1997:62). Although representing a minority, the indigenous groups nowadays play quite a significant role with regard to the modern post-colonial societies of the Guianas. Of equal importance, corresponding largely to the above-mentioned steps, is the evolution of Amerindian society during the Historic Period, as Peter Kloos (1971:262) suggested. He discusses three stages in which Amerindian village life was: (a) initially part of political alliances, then (b) restrained to isolated villages, to finally (c) become

247 Here, I prefer the following notion that this time of contact ’is not a precise point in time. It is rather a long period characterized by multiple, intermittent, and temporarily variable phases of contact, culminating in the conquest of the contacted native peoples and the settlement of their lands’ (Santos-Granero 2009b:6).

248 When discussing these early historical sources, they are often not ethnohistorical in nature, i.e. written with the intention of providing information on indigenous culture. In fact, the majority is simply historical in nature but do occasionally contain phrases or paragraphs dedicated to Amerindian ways of life.

249 The evolutionary stages developed by Kloos can also be found in the social structure of Guiana society as Peter Rivière outlines in Individual and Society in Guiana: A comparative Study of Amerindian Social Organization (1984). Rivière identified five principles of “settlement,” or “house,” according to Rival and Whitehead (2001:3): “A settlement core is constituted through cognatic descent; kinship is expressed by a two-line prescriptive relationship terminology; there is an emphasis on co-residence in ordering relationships, and uxorilocality is the preferred residence rule; finally, settlements are endogamous, small, and impermanent” (Rivière 1984:4).
part of a national state. This model reflects the above-mentioned periods. In addition, it reveals the profound relationship between European influence and changing Amerindian society during the Historic Period. The following sections are provided with quotations from historic documents in order to forward a more detailed image of the way Europeans perceived and described Amerindians.

10.2 The Contact Period (1500-1652)

The Contact Period is subdivided into: (a) an era (1500-1580) characterized by means of the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial powers in South America and by several Spanish attempts to colonize the eastern Guianas. It is also thought that North European privateers or freeboaters, may have roamed the coast of the Guianas during the second half of the 16th century, (b) an era (c.1580-1621) featuring frequent commercial voyages to the Guianas in order to trade with the Amerindians and (c) an era (c.1621-1652) in the course of which further intensification of this commerce occurred by means of more permanent trading posts or colonies.

1500-1580

In 1499, the Spaniards Alonso de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa touched upon the Guiana coast and travelled on towards Venezuela (Sauer 1966). One year later the Portuguese explorer Vincente Yáñez Pinzón sailed along the Guianas. We have further little information on these first encounters. At around 1530, the Spanish had colonised the Caribbean coasts of Venezuela (Nueva Andalucia), Columbia (Nueva Granada) and possessed a port in Trinidad (Port of Spain). Towards the end of the 16th century, Antonio de Berrio had founded Santo Tomé de Morequito on the Lower Orinoco River.

The Portuguese had settled in Nova Lusitana along the Atlantic coast of Brazil, i.e. Pernambuco and later San Salvador, where they mainly produced sugar. The New World possessions of these two European nations were divided by means of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Now a longitudinal line was drawn across the globe. The Guianas were positioned between these two Iberian empires and received very little attention. The reason for this is that it constituted the eastern extremity of the Spanish empire and was far less attractive than the richer parts of the New World (e.g. Peru, Columbia, Mexico).

As decreed by Queen Isabella of Spain in 1503, with the support of the Roman Catholic Church and based on Columbus’s ethnographic vision, the cannibalistic and therefore savage Caribs were keenly chosen to serve as slaves (Sauer 1966:31–

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250 Next to his voyage along the northern part of the Brazilian coast, the mouth of the Amazon and the Guianas, Pinzón’s voyage probably also provided information included in Vesconte de Maio’s 1519 map (see Rio Branco 1899, Map 1a). Besides regular Spanish river names (e.g. Rio Salgado, Rio Verde, Rio de las Canoas), the ‘Costa de Paricuria’ is mentioned too (F. Grenand and P. Grenand 1987:73). See for example the anonymous Spanish map c.1560 in Rio Branco 1899, Map 13, or the Egerton map of South America from 1508 (MS 2803, f. 9; Roukema 1960:29). However, it is with the arrival of the English at the end of the 16th century that the general Spanish hydronyms and toponyms are replaced by more regional examples Keymis (1890:148) illustrates this when stating ‘that no sea-card that I have seen at any time, doth in any sort neere a truth, describe this coast,’ as quoted by Roukema (1960:31). The latter author presents a detailed description of the early Spanish maps and their hydronyms of the Guiana Coast.

251 The line of Tordesillas is generally considered to be situated to the east of Belém but its position differs through time (Harisse 1897).
The Spanish preferred the less savage *Aruacas* above the savage Caribs. The Spanish allied with the Aruacas and subsequently fought their enemies too. This was the start of an exodus of Amerindian groups towards the upper parts of the river drainages (Whitehead 1988, 1994). Next to the provision of red slaves, the Aruacas provided the first Spanish settlements with food. In 1520, this nation was widely settled to the south of the Orinoco River and along the coast of the western Guianas. According to Rodrigo Pérez de Navarrete (1964:87), the Courantyne River formed the eastern limit of the 'Provincia de Aruacas.' Pérez de Navarrete also stated that the Arawak from the latter region had come from the east and had initially dwelled among the Caribs of the Guiana coast, but eventually they engaged in warfare with each other (ibid., p. 84).

The Aruacas were able to supply great quantities of food (maize, cassava), operating as a complex social system (Whitehead 1992b).

The Spanish Crown presented licences and royal titles to conquistadores, for instance to Diego de Ordás in 1531 as well as to Pedro Maraver de Silva and Fernandez de Serpa in 1568. This resulted in the manifestation of Guayana or the

252 Later, Portugal imposed an inquisitorial model in 1533 in order to converge on barbarians, Jews, Negros and heathens forcing them to accept the dominant society (Nirenberg 2009).

253 A similar, possibly copied, description is presented by Juan López de Velasco (1894:153-155) who provides additional information on the rivers inhabited by *Aruacas*: 'Noticia de los indios aruacas. La provincia y tierra de los indios Aruacas, contenida en el descubrimiento de Serpa, son como doscientas leguas ó más de costa desde la isla de la Trinidad al levante hacia la boca del rio de las Amazonas, en que hay muchas poblaciones de indios, y en la tierra mucha caza de dantas, puercos y venados, y otros muchos animales y caza de volatería, y grandes tierras llanas para pastos de ganados y tierras de labores; y así estos indios Aruacas son grandes labradores, y tienen sus poblaciones en la costa de la mar. Según la memoria que conservan de sus antepasados, dicen que estos ríos y tierras fueron antiguamente posesidos de indios caribes, á quien ellos las quitaron por sus malos usos y costumbres, habiendo venido en unos navios de hacia donde sale el sol; y así traen continuamente guerra con ellos, y los tienen por muy grandes enemigos; son de buena disposición y de rostros nobles; preciáanse de caballeros y andan desnudos; son de buenas costumbres, aman la virtud, castigan el vicio, y creen que hay en el cielo un gran señor que premia los buenos y castiga los malos, y que las ánimas de los que viven bien van con él; tienen escuelas en que les cuentan las hazañas de sus antepasados, y les enseñan á conocer las estrellas del cielo; son muy amigos de cristianos y grandes trabajadores, y así castigan los ociosos: en el invierno entienden en sus labores, y el verano hacen sus armadas de treinta ó más piraguas, que son unos navios de un madero solo en que caben treinta ó cuarenta hombres, y váñse á buscar las armadas de los indios caribes, con los cuales pelean bravamente, y si pueden los cautivan en la mar y en los pueblos, para servirse de ellos. No parece haberse descubierto esta provincia hasta agora, ni haberse dado la conquista dellos á nadie; solo se sabe esto por relación de un morisco de la gente que entró con Diego de Ordáx á la conquista del Dorado, año de 27 [1527], que estuvo entre ellos doce años.

Costa de los Aruacas

*Cabo Raso*: junto á la isla de la Trinidad, al sur della.
*Rio Salado*: junto á cabo Raso al poniente.
*Rio de Canoas*: más al poniente de rio Salado.
*Rio Dulce*: un rio grande que viene de la tierra adentro y tiene á la boca del una isla.
*Rio Fermoso*: al oriente del rio Dulce en 5 grados de altura.
*Punta Turabaja*: al oriente del rio Fermoso.
*Rio Salado*: al oriente de punta Turabaja.
*Arboleda*: al oriente de rio Salado.
*Rio Bajo*: en 4 grados de altura.
*Aldea*: al oriente de rio Bajo.
*Fuma*: entre Aldea y el rio de Pracel.
*Rio de Vicente Pinzón*: 2 grados y ¾ de altura.
*Rio de la Vuelta*: al oriente del rio de Vicente Pinzón.
*Las Planosas*: tres isletas pequeñas á la boca de un rio.
*Fuma Grande*: junto á cabo Blanco, en la entrada y boca del rio de Orellana, á la parte occidental.'

254 A summary of early 16th century Spanish accounts was published in *Timehri* by James Rodway (1895).
Guianas comprising the region positioned between the Orinoco and the Amazon Rivers. Instead of conquering this area, these men were more interested in locating the city of El Dorado or the Last Inca, now supposedly located on the Upper Orinoco River (Hemming 1978).

Remarkably, Mayor John Scott’s journal [1667] is probably the only known source to mention Spanish colonies in the Guianas during the 16th century. One colony had been founded by Pedro de Acosta, accompanied by 300 men, at the Paroma River in western Guyana in 1530. Another was founded by Gaspar de Sotelle together with 126 families at Cayenne in 1568. Both failed hopelessly. The colonists were expelled by the hostile Careebees and Paragotoas population (Harlow 1925:138; Hurault 1989). It was obvious to the Spanish that this region did not possess any valuable resources (e.g. gold, silver or large impressive, indigenous empires) as did Peru or Mexico. On the contrary, the swampy Guiana coastline was invested with mosquitoes and deprived from suitable, natural harbours. Occupied by a hostile indigenous population, the region was soon referred to as The Wild Coast, the Land of the Savages or Wilden as the Dutch often called them.
It is generally accepted that, from the second half of the 16th century on, Normand, English, and later Dutch privateers, sailed along the Guiana coasts. They penetrated into the Iberian *Mare Clausum* and especially into the Paria Peninsula in order to retrieve contrabande merchandise from the inhabitants (Sp., vecinos) of Margarita and Cubagua (Sluiter 1948). On the other hand, Portuguese merchants had contracted Flemish traders, from the beginning of the 16th century on, in order to transport sugar, tobacco and salt from their colonies to European harbours. When Spain closed their European ports for foreign ships and imposed salt embargoes during the early 1590s, Dutch merchants started to retrieve merchandise in the Americas themselves. In addition to salt and sugar, the Dutch and English began to trade metal tools directly with the Amerindians in exchange for dyes, tobacco, wood, hammocks, and victuals. Rapidly, European traders now invested in the Guiana estuaries as well as the mouth of the Amazon River—especially the Northern Amazon Channel or *Canal do Norte* (Br.)—hitherto left unoccupied by the Spanish Crown (Lorimer 1989; den Heijer 2002; Hulsman 2009, 2010).

The early visitors to the Guianas, for instance Lawrence Keymis and Robert Harcourt, noticed the presence of refugee Indians, such as the *Yaisos* and *Shebaios*, living in the mouths of various Guiana rivers as well as the Lower Amazon. According to these travellers, the Indians had fled Spanish terror on the island of Trinidad and the Lower Orinoco River (Keymis 1890:144; Harcourt 1906:373). A strong rivalry expressed in successive battles between the *Careebs* of Cayenne and the Yao/Aricouros of the Lower Oyapock River was witnessed by Jean Mocquet [1604], Charles Leigh [1604], John Wilson of Wansteed [1606], Lourens Lourens [1618], Jan van Rijen [1627], David Pietersz de Vries [1634], Paul Boyer [1643],

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255 Since the second quarter of the 16th century, sailors from Normand ports such as Rouen and Dieppe reconnoitered the Brazilian coasts (Gaffarel 1889:27–28). The French historian Jean-Pierre Moreau (1992:45, note 80) refers to a voyage of Nicolas Guimestre de Fécamp towards Brazil and the ‘land of the cannibals.’ He notes that the “cannibal land” lies between the Antilles and the Amazon, thus integrating the Guianas as possible destiny of this sailor (Gosselin 1876:143). Somewhat later, French Protestants founded a colony, called *France Antarctique* (1555-1567), in the bay of Rio de Janeiro under the command of Chevalier Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon. The reformed Pastor Jean de Léry describes their establishment and management of the colony in his *Histoire d’un voyage faict en la terre de Brésil* (1580). Interestingly, the royal cosmographer André Thevet also described the Guiana coast when returning to France when passing through the Caribbean: ‘De la riviere susdite jusques au fleuve Doux [Amazon], on compte soixante quatre lieues, & de là vous allez à une autre riviere, qu’on appelle Verte, non pour les herbes & plantes qui y verdoient, quoy qu’il y en ayt assez, mais pour les rochers de pierre, la plus finement verdoyante que l’on sçauroit imaginer : & de là aussi les Sauvages tirent des pierres, avec lesquelles ils se font si beaux enfans, lors qu’ils se percett & joues & levres. Entre ceste riviere verte, & l’isle de la Trinité, gist le Cap de Canosas, qui est ainsi dit, à cause des vaisseaux des Sauvages ainsi appellez, & lesquels font d’ecorre d’arbre, liez & cimentez avec des joncs marins, si proprement, que en sorte aucun ne reçoivent point l’eau : Et d’autant que la terre est là fort boscageuse, & qu’ils s’y fournissent de leurs naus grossieres, les premiers qui y ont passé, luy imposèrent le nom de Canosas. De ce Cap à celuy qu’on dit Cap hault, ou *Anegado*, on compte soixante & dix lieues, lequel eft au goulphe de Parie.’ (Thevet 1575ii:961, c.1587, f. 137r).

256 Citing the Dutch historian van Meteren, Engel Sluiter (1948:169, note 15), mentioned two ships from Veere (Zeeland) that had acquired sugar loaves on the Canary Islands via Spain, which were sold in Antwerp. According to Arjen Poelwijk (2003:52, note 93), Amsterdam merchants imported sugar directly from São Thomé (Canaries Isles) and even from Brazil prior to 1595. Sluiter (1948:170) suggests that Dutch ships had already sailed to Brazilian ports in 1587. Jean Mocquet (1617:147) encountered a Dutch ship loading salt at Cumaná on the 4 June 1604 during his voyage from the mouth of the Amazon to the Antilles. Keymis (in Goldsmid 1890:145) mentions that the French ‘loaded Brasil wood at Trinidad that had been traded by Indians from the Guianas.’
Antoine Biet [1652], etc. All this upheaval was probably related to the arrival of those Amerindians who had fled from Trinidad, encroaching themselves in another Amerindian territory. Such a situation has been dubbed the “Tribal-zone”: ‘the area affected by the proximity of a state, but not under its administration’ (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992:3). In sum, this early period certainly represents a void for many historians and archaeologists - further research in the Spanish archives is certainly wanted - but it is generally believed that the implantation of the Spanish in the Circum-Caribbean region provoked changes in the Amerindian geopolitical situation which, from the beginning, obscured and influenced our point of view concerning pre-Columbian society: ‘…before the European intrusion, this coastal area was of marginal significance to ancient networks of trade; a notion consistent with the earliest intelligence on the economic opportunities of this region which uniformly indicate that trade to and from the uplands, not trade along the coast, was of the greater significance. However, this aboriginal situation was quickly obscured by the development of European trade since control of the lower reaches of rivers, where the Europeans invariably established themselves, became vital if participation in the exchange of metal goods was to be achieved’ (Whitehead 1988:18).

1580-1621

The first Europeans to leave written documents concerning the Amerindians of the Guianas often made landfall upon the Wiapoko [Oyapock] and/or the Caiane [Cayenne] Rivers. The Island of Cayenne, the Oyapock, but also the Kourou Rivers, were obviously places to call port, or facilitate a rendez-vous, for ships after crossing the Atlantic Ocean. The prominent eye catching table mountains in the vicinity of these rivers constitute the only visible landmarks along the flat Guiana coast, as Lawrence Keymis described Cayenne or Gowateri, as he called it:

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads under small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be bad, where Caiane falls into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and five fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. (Keymis 1890:147)

On his second voyage to Guiana in 1596, Keymis arrived at the South American mainland on Cape Cecyl (currently known as Cabo do Norte) at the mouth of the Ariwarri (Araguari) River (Fig. 10.1). He continued his voyage to Trinidad in order to gather information on the whereabouts of Lake Parime: the location of

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257 The year of the voyage is placed between square brackets and the year of publication between round brackets.

258 However, this can be considered a continuing battle into colonial times between two local powers. It enflamed due to this influx and can be regarded a relict from the Cariban expansion during Late Prehistoric times (Lathrap 1970:165). See also Santos-Granero (2009b:198).

259 See for Gowateri also the sketch map of the Guiana Coastline drawn by Robert Dudley in 1636 (Lorimer 1989:111). According to Brigitte Gullath of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the folio number Joyce Lorimer added to this map includes an error. The actual code of this manuscript map is: Cod. Icon. 139, E 102v; and according to the old numbering system: no. 52 b v. (B. Gullath, personal communication 2011). Notably Sarah Tyacke had already published the same chart (Tyacke 1980:79, Fig. 4).
Manoa or the city of El Dorado. Earlier that year, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* had been published by Sir Walter Ralegh. It dealt with his voyage to Trinidad and the Orinoco (Keymis’ first voyage) and boosted the North European interest in this part of South America (Ralegh 1596, 1848, 1997; Lorimer 2006). Abraham Cabeliau’s statement illustrates his early European interest. In December 1597, the States General of Holland had sent him along the coast of the Guianas officating as a clerk of a reconnoitering expedition (de Jonge 1862:153–160). Having landed on the “Triangle Islands,” or Devil Islands (now *Îles du Salut*), they met an Englishman who took them to Cayenne. Two weeks later, they encountered four Dutch ships, evidencing that many privateers frequented this region:

> On the sixteenth of April the aforesaid Englishman set sail. On the twenty-ninth of the same month two ships from Amsterdam joined us, through our help, whereof the skippers were Dierck Jansz. Roomschkerck and Wouter Syvertsz., and sailed off again on the tenth of May to the island of Margarita. On the third of June two ships from Amsterdam joined us, named the Great and Little Sphera Mundi, the skippers whereof were Jan Cornelisz van Leyen and Adriaen Reyndertsson before mentioned. And we joined forces with them in order to visit together the entire coast as far as the river called Orinoco by the Indians, Raliana by the English, and Rio El Dorado by the Spaniards. (Cabeliau in Burr 1897, App. 5:17; see also Goslinga 1971:486)

In 1597, Ralegh armoured a third voyage to Guiana under the command of Thomas Masham and Leonard Berry who also landed at Cayenne:

> Upon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboord all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to us, and wee went on shoaire to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seven men, which had every one of them a knife to goe backe to the river of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that because wee coulde not come to him, wee would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to us.

> So upon Thursday the 17 wee stoode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to us with their canoas, which brought us great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselves very kinde and loving, and came all from their townes, and duelt on shoaire by us untill Ritimo came: at whose comming they returned all

260 Joyce Lorimer (1977) forwarded the possibility that Ralegh had already reconnoitered the Orinoco River in 1587 to establish a fortress in collaboration with the French in order to attack Nueva Granada from the Orinoco and Meta Rivers. Ralegh is thought to have sent his trustworthy Capitain Jacob Whiddon towards Trinidad in 1594, a year before his own voyage, in order to reconnoitre the region and to capture Indian guides, thus preparing Ralegh’s voyage (Nicholl 1995:51). These Amerindian guides, having received a quick but proper re-education in England, were taken back to the Guianas in order to improve communication with the local Amerindians to assure a successfull operation (Vaughan 2002). Ralegh left two of his men at the Orinoco River, to wit Hugh Goodwin and Francis Sparrow. The latter returned to England after being taken to El Dorado, according to John Smith (1907ii:185)
Soon more private merchants arrived to trade with the Amerindians or even start a small colony or trading posts. The publication of the first exclusive map of the Guianas, the *Nieuwe Caerte van het wonderbaer en goudrijcke landt Guiana* by Jodocus Hondius in 1599, featured the names of the rivers listed by Master William Dowle, Lawrence Keymis, and Thomas Masham (cf. Appendix 2).\(^\text{261}\) Interestingly, nearly all these hydronyms still exist today. Keymis further listed the names of the Indian nations, their villages or towns and the leaders or captains per river (see also John Ley in Lorimer 2006:326–331).\(^\text{262}\)

Commerce with the Amerindians took place on a private level and depended on the qualities of the merchant and, more importantly, on the mercy of the Amerindians. Lone merchants, such as John Ley and numerous Dutchmen, visited the Amerindian villages and bartered for goods, notably tobacco. The first private Guiana companies, such as the Amsterdam-based *Guiaanse Compagnie*, contracted middlemen, who would sign a two or three year contract with this company in order to built small warehouses or stronghouses in the vicinity of Amerindian villages providing temporary accommodation and facilities to store the trade goods (Hulsman 2009, 2010). These men, also known as factors (D., leggers), would seek to obtain a maximum of Amerindians goods which would be shipped to Europe in a charter their patron sent. It is stressed here that these traders were almost fully dependent upon the mercy of the Amerindians if they wanted to stay alive.

The company’s patrons, and those of other similar commercial enterprises, needed investors in order to pay traders and the armouring of the ships by means of selling “parts” of a ship’s cargo to them. This type of commerce is known in the Netherlands as *partenrederij*. The Dutch had utilized this concept ever since the 15th century (Hulsman 2011a:182). Reverend George Edmundson (1903:643) states ‘that the Dutch method of trading was, in cases where no actual settlement was attempted, to leave factors on the various rivers along the coast with supplies of barter goods, the stores being replenished and the product of the traffic conveyed by ships, which paid periodical visits to the several stations.’ These early Dutch barter activities were reported by Charles Leigh (1906:320) (Williamson

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\(^{261}\) It is presumed that William Downe, having returned to England in 1596, sold maps illustrating his voyage with Keymis to the Wild Coast (Lorimer 2006:287–288) and that they found their way to Amsterdam.

\(^{262}\) After his imprisonment in the Tower of London (1603-1616), Sir Walter Raleigh returned to the Guianas with Keymis in 1617. All ended catastrophically; he lost his son Wat during the plundering of Santo Tomé and blamed Keymis for his death, who immediately hanged himself. Once Sir Walter had returned to England, the Spanish ambassador in London charged him with the murder of the Governor of Santo Tomé (Harlow 1932).
It is quite likely that the small circles with a dot, indicated on the maps drawn by Jodocus Hondius (1599) and Hessel Gerritsz (in de Laet 1625:454–455), may indeed concern the location of such trading posts (Fig. 10.2).

Having arrived at the Oypapock River in May 1609, Robert Harcourt founded a colony. This must have reduced the Dutch activity here as the latter expanded (transferred?) their Guiana trade westward to the Maroni and the Suriname Rivers (van Brakel 1914; Hulsman 2010:303). In 1614, the Spanish managed to destroy a Dutch tobacco colony of 50 ‘flamencos’ having ties with the local Caribs on the Lower Courantyne River (British Guiana Boundary Commission 1898:31–35). In 1616, Dutch traders build another fort, called fort Kijkoveral, on the Essequibo River at the confluence with the Cuyuni and Mazaruni Rivers. Moreover, after abandoning the Harcourt and Roe colonies, they also established colonies in Cayenne and on the Oyapock River (Goslinga 1971).

Robert Harcourt’s journal is another source of interest in view of the first colonists and their relationship with the Amerindians in the Guianas. Upon arriving in 1609, he installed his company (consisting of 20 boatmen and 30 landmen) in the Amerindian village of Caripo (Ouanary Hills), situated at the mouth of the Oyapock River, of which his guide, Martyn, was Lord:

The day following I tooke land, with my companies in armes and colours displayed, and went up unto the Towne, where I found all the women and children standing at their doores to behold us. The principall Indians came out unto me, and invited me into the Captaines house, which untill the returne of Martyn belonged unto his brother, as chiefe Lord in his absence: I went up with them and was friendly feasted with many kindes of their Countrie cates: when I had well eaten and refreshed my selfe, Martyn tooke me by the hand and said, that he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindenesse towards him, in such manner as he desired; neither had he such delicate fare, and good lodging for us, as in England heretofore we had beene used unto: but humbly intreated me to accept of his house in good part for my selfe, and the Gentlemen of my company; and the rest should be lodged in other Indian houses adjoyning: and that such provision as the Country yeeldeth, should be provided for us. His speech was approved by the rest of the Indians present, who tooke me by the hand one after another, and after their manner bad me welcome. I gave them many thankes, and some rewards for their kinde entertainment; and then disposed my company in convenient lodgings: but yet I kept a continuall guard, as in time of warre. When I had thus settled

263 After Father Jean Mocquet (1617:69–160), many French historians consider the arrival of Daniel de la Touche de la Ravardière at Cayenne and Oyapock to be the first French attempt to settle in French Guiana. However, this expedition never counted any settlers. In fact, having reached the mouth of the Amazon River, they sailed along the coast to the Oyapock River and stayed several days in the Oyapock bay in order to trade and take in provisions. They escorted two nephews of the Lord Anacaiouri to Cayenne and eventually to France. In Paris, Mocquet met one of these nephews (Yapoco) once again in 1613 (1617:98–100). At Cayenne, they met the Carib Lord Camaria and reconnoitered the Cayenne and Montsinéry Rivers (ibid., p. 111). The party stayed over a month among the Caribes of Cayenne in order to load Brazil wood and other goods. They continued their voyage to Tobago and Saint Lucia in the Antilles (ibid., p. 134) where they took provisions and eventually set off for Cancale, Brittany. Interestingly, this French expedition included not only numerous English crew members (ibid., p. 148) but also an Amerindian interpreter named John, who had been taken by Whiddon and educated by Raleigh (Vaughan 2002:361, note 42).

264 Unwin Fischer (in Purchas 1906:409) wrote that the Dutch traded axes for golden objects, such as ‘half moons’ and ‘eagle-shaped’ items on the ‘Selinama’ River. See also Whitehead (1990) and Rivet (1923).
archaeological investigations between cayenne island and the maroni river

Figure 10.2. Details of two Dutch maps: (a) the map by Jodocus Hondius (1599) entitled Nieuwe Caerte van het wonderbaer ende goudrijcke landt Guiana (Bijzondere Collecties Universiteit van Amsterdam 104.05.04; courtesy of the University of Amsterdam), (b) Hessel Gerrtisz map entitled Gvaiana ofte de Provincien tuschen Rio de las in Amazonas ende Rio de Yviapari ofte Orinoque published by Johannes de Laet his book entitled Nieuwe Wereldt (1625:452–453). It is presumed that the small circles represent Dutch trading posts. A sketch map of the Guiana coast where Dutch factors are mentioned at precisely the same rivers supports this hypothesis (Hulsman 2010:308).
my company at this village, I went out to view the situation of the place, and the advantages for defence thereof. It is a great rocky Mountain, not accessible by reason of fast woods, and steepe rockes, but onely in certaine places, which are narrow footepaths, very steepe and easy to be defended: whereby we were lodged as in a Fort, and most conveniently in respect the harbour was so neere, for our Ships did ride at anchor underneath us, over against the foot of the hill. (Harcourt 1906:366–367)

Harcourt also provided an interesting description of this spacious Empyre, from a feudal point of view. He presented a geopolitical summary of all nations located between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers, having claimed this area for his Majesty Lord King James (Whitehead 1994:40; 1997:60–66). According to Harcourt, his Countrie was divided into Provinces which were again subdivided into local Signories, each with their own Chiefe. These provinces were inhabited by people of various nations with dissimilar languages. Inhabitants and/or chiefs from Signories situated between the Oyapock and Araguari Rivers were subjugated to Anakyury: a Yao and the principal chief, or cacique, of the Yao.262 Each nation (e.g. Yaíos, Arawaccas, Charibes) had a principal or chief in every region. The inhabitants of the province of Cayenne were Charibes. Their commander was Arrawicary, the antagonist of Anakyury. According to Harcourt, the Charibes of Cayenne were the original inhabitants of that country. However, they were the enemy of all above-mentioned nations as the latter had come from Trinidad (Harcourt 1906:373). Both groups held raids, burned each other’s villages down and captured prisoners, notably women.

Remarkably, neither Ralegh nor Harcourt mention any cannibalism among these populations as do Spanish voyagers (Whitehead 1988:178). However, the first mention of cannibalistic rituals on raided enemies is probably presented by Lourens Lourens. He had been captured by the Aricouros of the Lower Cassiporé River and was held as a slave in their village between 1618 and 1625 in their village (Wassenaer 1627:62–65; van den Bel 2009c).

Clearly, the Amerindians tended to view warfare differently than Europeans. This was perhaps related to the abduction of women as future partners as Harcourt stressed (1928:86). Raids were originally held to take men and women as future servants or captives (C., pëito; A., mako). They would have a specific relationship and perhaps even merge into their new family as brother-in-law of the ruling family (Rivière 1969:77–81; 1977:40; Whitehead 1988:57, 1992a:133, 1994:41, 265 See also note 422.

266 The French anthropologist Pierre Grenand was astonished about this Zeelander’s tale referring to cannibalism among the Aricouros. In his view, this is probably the only reference of cannibalism with regard to this historic population and their descendents, the modern Palikur (Pierre Grenand, personal communication 2011). Another particularity about this journal is the passage on the capture and torturing of a ‘headless’ Mayé Indian by the Aricouros. It is quite similar to the description delivered by Antoine Biet (1664:380–384) of the capture and killing of a prisoner. Interestingly, the Mayé remain a tributary group to the Palikur as Father Fauque reported when installed upon the Lower Oyapock River at the Mission of Saint-Louis: ‘Ce sont des Indiens qui poussent encore plus loin que les autres sauvages le dénuement de toutes choses. Ils n’ont pas même de plantage; les graines des plantes et des arbres ou le poisson sont leur nourriture ordinaire. La cassaye, qui est un gâteau fait de la racine de manioc, et la boisson ordinaire des sauvages, qui se fait de la même racine, sont pour eux le plus grand régal. Quand ils veulent se le procurer, ils font une pêche abondante et ils portent leurs poissons chez les Palikours, qui leur donnent du manioc en échange. Les Palikours ont pris sur eux un tel ascendant qu’ils en font en quelque sorte leurs esclaves, c’est-à-dire qu’ils s’en servent pour faire leurs abatis, leurs canots, leur pêche, etc; souvent même ils leur enlèvent de force le peu de traite qu’ils font chez les Français, lorsqu’ils travaillent pour eux’ (Fauque 1843:27-28).
The information gathered in these documents on Amerindians and their environment is not entirely tainted by means of European thought, but probably also by prejudices and visions of the Amerindian guides adopted during their journeys and stays. They belonged to a specific nation, held certain ideas on other nations and probably also tried to benefit from their alliance with the Europeans in providing negative (fantastic or imaginative?) information on other groups. Nonetheless, this information still contains valuable information on non-material beliefs, for example: across the first rapids on the Oyapock River, lived a Charib nation known as the Marachewaccas. Their ears were extraordinary large and they worshipped a stone idol: ‘This idol is placed in a house that was made for it and was attended by the villagers. It was shaped like a man sitting on his heels and holding open his knees, and resting his elbows upon them, holding up his hands with the palms forwards, looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open’ (Harcourt 1906:388). Having heard of these long eared Indians on the Upper Marawinni River, Harcourt was possibly convinced they were all one nation dwelling in the interior of Guiana.

267 In order to make a difference, Fernando Santoro-Granero (2009b:5) coined this type of tropical American slavery as ‘captive slavery.’ He identified five elements ‘to prevent us from characterizing war captives as slaves. First, captives were eventually incorporated through marriage of adoption into the families of their captors. Second, captive labor did not free their masters from their productive obligations and was not crucial to the reproduction of their economic system. Third, slaves were not subjected to systematic exploitation and were generally well treated. Fourth, they were considered to be propert, and thus could not be bought, sold, or traded as chattel. Lastly, their status was not hereditary and, hence, they did not constitute a permanent social class. Indeed, some authors suggest that because certain native terminologies liken the status of so-called slaves to that of potential affines, the Amerindian institution of war captives had a kinship dimension that was alien to slavery as it was practiced by contemporary Europeans’ (Santos-Granero 2009b:4). According to Pierre Clastres (1977:46), warfare was not only a side effect of Amerindian society but a goal of primitive societies in general: ‘En d’autres termes, la guerre primitive est le moyen d’une fin politique. Se demander par conséquent pourquoi les Sauvages font la guerre, c’est interroger l’être même de leur société.’ Modern ethnography has recognised the importance of the link between commerce and warfare, or trading and raiding, by proposing a ‘scheme of reciprocities’ (Sahlins 1972).

268 In Amazonia, a seated person is often associated with elite rituals and socio-political power (McEwan 2001:178). Similar artefacts have been encountered in Suriname (Boomert 1977:512; Versteeg 2003:184) in French Guiana at the Saint-Agathe site near Macouria (Samuelian 2009:73) and at the site Bois Diable/La Sablière (Thooris 1994b:20, Fig. 12.1). Both are attributed to the Late Ceramic Age. For Amazonian examples, see the Pottery of Marajó Island (Palmatary 1950:383, Plate 25c-e). John Ley had come across Indians with long ears on the Marowine River too during his second voyage to Guiana in 1601: ‘Havinge hard often of the Indyans with longe and Large eares hengeing upon their shoulders; At my last jorney beinge in the River of Marowine, where they were said to dwell, I was very Inquisitive of the Indians for those people, which pointed upward, and made us to understande that within eight daies Jorney above Certaine falls they abide and further said that their did divers of those people dwell with them, but nowe they were either gone home or dead’ (Ley in Lorimer 2006:322), and ‘The next River is Marawen, a greate River Enhabited by the Caribes, their Captaine is Cawpeana, this people have great and wide Ears, soe that a man maie put his fiste in the hole thereof the lower parte of their Eares doth lie upon their showlders’ (ibid., p. 329). Long ears may well be a pan-Amazonian feature among Amerindians: ‘mais les Anatomistes trouveront peut-être quelques réflexions à faire sur l’extension monstrueuse du lobe de l’extrémité inférieure de l’oreille de quelques-uns de ces peuples, sans que pour cela son épaisseur en soit diminuée sensiblement. Nous avons été surpris de voir de ces bouts d’oreilles longs de quatre à cinq pouces, percés d’un trou de dix-sept à dix-huit lignes de diamètre, & on nous a assuré que nous n’avions rien vu de singulier en ce genre. Ils insèrent d’abord dans le trou un petit cylindre de bois, auquel ils en substituent un plus gros, à mesure que l’ouverture s’agrandit, jusqu’à ce que le bout de l’oreille leur pende sur les épaules. Leur grande pature est de remplir ce trou d’un gros bouquet, ou d’une touffe d’herbes & de fleurs qui leur sert de pendant d’oreille’ (de la Condamine 1778:82–83).
After arriving in the Amerindian village of Caripo (his first temporary installation), Harcourt chose the Comaribo Mountain (now Montagne d’Argent) in order to start his colony. This most northern landmark (as seen from the Oyapock River) possessed an excellent soil on which to plant tobacco, maize, cotton and annatto trees as well as a vineyard. Harcourt handed this settlement to the Indian Anthony de Canabre as a tenant of the King! His brother, Michael Harcourt, was left behind as chief commander of the young colony accompanied by 20 men and assisted by Captain Harvey and Master Gifford. Harcourt left his colony and set off along the Guiana coast towards the Caribbean with a stop at the Marawinni River. Here, he ascended onto the first falls:

The next day, and the night following I proceeded Westward with full saile, and passing the Rivers of Manmanury, Sinammaru, Oorasowini, Coonannonia, Uracco, and Amanna; I arrived the twentie five day at the River of Marrawini, which openeth a faire River, but is shoale upon the Barre, which lieth two or three leagues off at Sea, having but two fathome water: within the Barre, the Channell is three, foure, five, and sixe fathome deep. Five leagues within the river we passed by certaine Ilands called Carewapory, not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they are alwayes over-flowne, of which sort the River hath very many: we lodged that night a little beyond these first Ilands at a Village called Moyemon, on the left hand, the Captaine thereof is called Maperitaka, of the Nation of the Paragotos, a man very loving and faithfull to our Nation, whereof we have had good proofe. The next day wee proceeded up the River three leagues, and stayed at a Towne called Coecynay on the right hand, at the house of Minapa, (the chiefe Charib of that Signiorie) to provide two Canoes to prosecute our journey for the Discoverie of this River.

The twentie eight day we went forward passing many Villages and Townes, which I forbearre to name, and having gone about twentie leagues from the Sea, wee found the River in a manner barred up with Rockes, over which the water falleth with great violence, yet notwithstanding we adventured to proceed, and the further we went, the more dangerous wee found the over-fals, and more in number; but when wee had passed the first Mountaine, towards the high Country of Guiana, called Sapparow, and discovered farre off before us other high Mountains called Matawere Moupanana, and had proceeded sixe dayes journey up the River (which was more then fortie leagues) we met with such shoale rockie streame, and great over-fals, that there to our griefe our journey ended. (Harcourt 1906:393–394)

At the mouth of the Maroni River, Harcourt decided to leave his cousin Unton Fischer and several other men at the Paragoto village of Wia Wia beach where Maperitaka was chief. They stayed in this village he described as ‘a great Towne of 20 houses,’ in order to wait for a better time [that is the rainy season

270 During the second half of the 19th century, this mountain had been chosen to install a penitentiary which was soon abandoned due to sickness of both the prisoners as well as the personnel. The construction of this camp probably destroyed the majority of the pre-Columbian and contact settlements (Amerindian and colonists).

271 Accompanied by sixty Indians, Harcourt sent out his brother Captain Michael Harcourt and Captain Harvey to explore the Arrawary, or Araguaí River. They travelled c.50 leagues up river where they met Indians who were not willing to trade or did they speak a language their Indians understood (Harcourt 1928:111).

272 A medieval English village is quite small when compared to present-day towns. In medieval times, a town was much smaller and nowadays comparable to a modern hamlet counting between five and ten houses. As a matter of fact, twenty houses is indeed a “great” town!
to ascend the river] and to explore the upper drainage of the Maroni River in search of information on the great city of Manoa. Thus, Fisher was on a quest for El Dorado and may have become familiar with Maperitaka who is the most important source on the other nations residing on this river:

When the waters of Marrawini were risen, and the River passable, (much differing from the River of Wiapoco, which is not to be travelled, but in the lowest waters,) Hee began his journey for the Discoverie thereof, in company of the Apothecarie, his servant Fisher, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteene others, and proceeded eleven dayes journey up the River, to a Towne of Charibes, called Taupuramune, distant from the Sea above an hundred leagues; but was foure dayes journey short of Moreshego, which is also a Towne of Charibes, situate upon the River side in the Province of Moreshegoro: the chiefe Captaine thereof is called Areminta: who is a proud and bold Indian, much feared of all those that dwell within his Territories, having a rough skin like unto Buffe Leather, of which kind there be many in those parts; and I suppose proceedeth of some infirmite of the bodie.

He understood by relation of the Indians of Taupuramune, and also of Areminta, that six dayes journey beyond Moreshego, there are divers mightie Nations of Indians, having holes through their Eares, Cheekes, Nostrils, and neather Lips, which were called Craweanna, Pawmeeanna, Quikeanna, Petwattere, Arameeso, Acawreanno, Acooreo, Tarepeeananna, Corecorickado, Petauncado, Cocoaano, Istaru, and Waremisso : and were of strength and stature farre exceeding other Indians, having Bowes, and Arrowes foure times as bigge: what the Indians also report of the greatnesse of their ears, I forbeare to mention, untill by experience wee shall discover the truth thereof. Moreover, hee learned that there fall into Marrawini divers great Rivers, called Arrenne, Topannwin, Errewin, Cowomma, Poorakette, Arrova, Arretowenn, Waoune, Anape, Anime, and Carapio: whereof some he hath scene himselfe, That it was twenty dayes journey, from Taupuramune, to the head of Marrawini, which is inhabited by Arwaccas, Sappains, Paragotos, and some Yaio: and that a dayes journey from thence to the Land-ward the Countrey is plaine, and Champian ground, with long grasse. Hee passed in this journey above eightie overfalls of water, and many of them very dangerous: of some of them I had experience the yeere before. He proceeded no further at that present, being unprovided for so long a journey, supposing that it had bee nearer (then he found it) to the head of the River by a fortnights travell: and so returned backe in sixe dayes space, intending better preparation for a second journey: but his purpose was prevented by an untimely death: whereby we see, that man determineth, but God disposeth. (Harcourt 1906:396–397)

Fischer must have reached England (shortly) after his journey, as Harcourt added the above-mentioned information to his 1613 publication. It was also added to Gabriel Tatton’s (c.1613) map (Rio Branco 1899, Map 54). The so-called Fisher Report was later published by Samuel Purchas in *His Pilgrims* (1625:1283–273 The legendary city of Manoa at the Lake of Patimé or Toponowini where the Amerindian King or El Dorado reigned had been a death trap for Europeans for ages and probably still is. See also note 313. 274 Scarifications were common practice among Amerindians of the Guianas until the first half of the 20th century (Roth 1924:419; Butt 1957). Keymis (in Goldsmith 1890:146) observed scarification among the Yao in order to distinguish themselves from other groups: ‘This our guide is of the laos, who doe all marke themselves, thereby to bee knowne from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after divers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure, can never bee done away againe during life.’
1286) and finally attributed by C. Harris to Harcourt’s voyage who added it to his 1928 reissue of Harcourt’s voyage. English entrepreneurs such as Charles Leigh and Robert Harcourt tried to occupy a part of the Guianas by means of planting small colonies which collapsed rapidly due to disease (Lorimer 1993).

In sum, reciprocal relationships between the Europeans and Amerindians characterize this contact period. Tobacco, redwood, hardwood (usually called speckled wood; D., letterhout) for carpentry, but also Brazil wood and annatto (Fr., roucou) in order to produce dye as well as hammocks (cotton) are the most important products exchanged for glass beads, iron tools, clothes and food. Local guides or brokers (Fr., truchements) and factors played an important role in this trade, forming alliances between Europeans and Amerindian populations in which the former were often asked to participate in regional Amerindian warfare by raiding other nations. They described the Amerindian society as a fairly organized and as a stratified society ruled by (supra-)regional warlords in times of warfare, albeit this view might be distorted.

1621-1652

This first period is followed by the further development of alliances and more permanent settling on the higher river banks in order to not only gain a better grip on the procurement of local products, but also to grow their own tobacco and annatto. The founding of the Dutch and French West India Companies, in 1621 and 1625 respectively, indicates the national interest in the Antilles and South America. This period is also marked by means of the arrival of more Europeans on the Wild Coast and thus by an intensification of trading. The rivers most relevant to permanent trading were: the Oyapock, Cayenne, Counamama, Maroni, Suriname, Sarramaca, Berbice and Essequibo Rivers.

There is some first-hand (mainly Dutch) documentation on this period: (a) the journal of the voyage of Jesse de Forest (1914), (b) the letters from Jan van Rijen (1627), (c) the journal of Gelein van Stapels (c.1630), (d) the journal of David Pietersz de Vries (1655) and (e) various passages in the Iaerlyck Verhael by Johannes de Laet (1644). Nevertheless, primary sources remain scant.

The majority of the early colonies failed due to disease, internal conflicts and, eventually, skirmishes with the local population. In c.1630, the Dutch have a permanent stronghold in the western Guianas on the Berbice and Essequibo Rivers. It continued to exist until the beginning of the 19th century (Netscher...

275 The reinforcements for Leigh's colony never reached the Oyapock River but stranded at the Caribbean island of Saint Lucia, as stated in An Hourse Glasse of Indian Newes or A true and tragicall discourse, shewing the most lamentable miseries, and distressed Calamities induird by 67 Englishmen, which were sent for a supply to the planting in Guiana in the yeare 1605, as written by the survivor John Nicholl (1607). John Wilson reports on the demise of the Leigh colony in a publication entitled: The Relation of Master John Wilson of Wansteed in Essex, one of the last ten that returned into England from Wiapoco in Guiana 1606 (Wilson 1906:338–351). Robert Harcourt left his Oyapock colony behind and obtained a patent form the English Crown for the Guiana coastline between Essequibo and Wiapoco. In 1626, these rights were were combined with the monopoly of the former Amazon Company, founded by Oliver North in 1619 (Lorimer 1989:85).

276 However, the colony established by Jesse de Forest and Jean Mousnier de la Montagne [1624] is not very characteristic of this region as it was founded on religious grounds. Wishing to settle on the Lower Amazon River, the local situation ultimately drove them towards the Oyapock River.

277 Important information can be found in the European archives, notably in the Netherlands, France and England, but further research is certainly needed. One important source must be mentioned here: The Calender of State Papers, edited by Noel Sainsbury (1860).
1888; den Heijer 2002; Hulsman 2009). For example, Jan van Rijen arrived at the Wiapoco River with 36 men in order to start a tobacco plantation (de Laet [1644] in L'Honoré Naber 1932:16–19). However, his factory was quickly abandoned once local Indians murdered the settlers, as mentioned in a copy of this letter by van Rijen written at fort Nassau on the Wiapoco River in 1627 (van Rijen 1924:33).

In 1634, David Pietersz de Vries (1655) provided a general description of several Dutch and French colonies when trading along the Guiana coast. On the Island of Cayenne, where he landed 30 planters, he not only found the remnants of a stone (French?) fortress, but also the colonists of a tobacco venture Jan de Moor, a merchant from Zeeland, had begun several years earlier (de Vries in Colenbrander 1911). De Vries further called on the French colony of the Counamama River, under the command of Sieur de Chambaut (Anthiaume 278).

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278 Laurent Polidori and Philippe Guyot (2007:189–186) listed the entire European presence in French Guiana, except for settlers placed by de Vries (van den Bel and Gassies 2011), Paul Boyer (1645:75) who accompanied Poncet de Brétiigny in 1643 to the island of Cayenne mentions Zeelanders in the vicinity of mound ‘Seperoux’ during the 1630s.
On the 21st October, went with our sloop to the river Mariwyne, and saw at once how deep it was. Found, for the most part, eleven to twelve feet a high-water, till we came at the mouth of the river. We found in the middle of the river a sand-bank, entirely dry at low-water. There was an opening on the east side, very narrow, and about ten feet deep; and also one on the west side, but how deep it was, I do not know. The river stretches to the south-west, and about two miles up are some islands [Arouba Islands], it is hardly a mile wide. Such is its situation, as far as I have been able to discover. About a mile up lies a village where Arwacks live, but they had all gone to Sernama, except one woman, who watched the houses. Many different nations live here; to wit, Caribs, Jaos, Arwacks, Pecoren, and many others besides. They promised to furnish us in another year, a full shipload of letterwood. Whilst we were ashore here, a Netherlander came to us, who had left the ship in which he had come, on account of the Indian-pox, and as he is now better, he requested that he might go to Holland with me, and came aboard the ship. Any one who has this disease must be cured here; even though he may have it in Holland, he must return here to be cured; for it is like the Amboyn-pox in the East Indies. Young children of a month old can here be afflicted with it. There came with him to us two Frenchmen, who had run away from Captain Schanbon [Chambon]; they resided at Cunama, and all three lived in an Indian village. (de Vries in Murphy 1852:93–94)

If these Frenchmen were really runaways from the Counama colony is uncertain, as there probably had been a small French colony or outpost on the banks of the Moriwona River (Maroni?) since 1625 (Scott [1667] in Harlow 1925:141). When de Vries anchored in the Saramacca River, he took 150 Indians on board who were afraid of the Caribs. This illustrates that alliances

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279 In 1626, Cardinal Richelieu instigated the foundation of the Compagnie des îles de l’Amérique by influential Lords (Du Tertre 1667 i:8–16). This important merchant company incited further permanent colonisation in the Americas where hitherto, private companies and freebooters (Fr., flibustier; D., vrijbuiter) were bartering with Amerindians along the Brazilian coast and the Antilles. Also in 1626, a trading company from Rouen founded a small French colony on the banks of the Sinnamary River under the command of Sieur Chantail and his lieutenant Chambaut. Interestingly, Chambaut is also member of the Compagnie de Saint Christophe founded by Belain d’Esnambuc in 1626 (Margry 1863:28). Chambaut may have heard of Warner’s endeavours at the Oyapock River where the latter had been installed by Roger North of the Amazon Company in 1623. However, Warner set off for Saint Christophe to settle and start a tobacco plantation (Williamson 1923:87 after Smith 1907ii:188). Cf. Section 11.7.1.

280 Captain Marshall was an English nobleman and the owner of a plantation on Barbados who made two attempts to settle on Tobago (Boomert 1984:163). According to the Dutch historian Schilder (1973:19), Marshall tried to establish a second colony along the Lower Suriname River (the first being the colony visited by Pietersz de Vries). This second settlement was founded in 1643 and apparently coexisted with a French colony led by Sieur de Noailly who had left the party of Poncet de Brétigny and later settled in Grenada (Du Tertre 1667i:426).

281 De Vries’s description (1655:132–133) of his attempt to trade with various Carib villages on the Mana River is probably the first documented voyage up this river.

282 In fact, also in 1625, a French ship was sighted on the Maruni River by the fleet of Hendrick Lucifer and Gelein van Stapels, taking the remaining colonists of Jesse the Forest from the Oyapock River to the Lesser Antilles: ‘On the 4th of May [June] we arrived at Maruni, where we found a small French ship loading letterwood. [The Master] said he had gone away without speaking because he feared that we would seize his ship, which he thought would be easy as he had only thirteen men on board. We got some letter-wood in this river and much cassava’ (R. de Forest 1914:263).
with Europeans had affected the relationships between Amerindian parties: ‘The 30th, weighed anchor, and took aboard full a hundred and fifty Indians, men and women, who prayed us to take them to the Timenare [Demerara] River. They were of a nation called Sapaye, and were apprehensive that the Caribs would kill them’ (de Vries in Murphy 1852:96).

In 1633, Cardinal Richelieu sent Sieurs Rosée and Robin, together with their merchant associates from Rouen and Dieppe, to Cayenne Island and the Maroni River. This was part of a region the French called Cap du Nord (Anthiaume 1918:172). In 1638, Jacob Bontemps further explored this specific area in order to ‘continuer les colonies commences à l’entrée de la rivière de Cayenne, dans celle de Maroni, vers le Cap de Nord, et s’établir dans tous les pays non habités par aucun princes chrétiens entre la rivière d’Orénoque, icelle comprise, jusqu’à celle des Amazones, icelle comprise’ (Anthiaume 1918:172). This colony and Poncet de

Figure 10.4. A detail of a manuscript map of the Leupe collection depicting Guiana, van de rivier Marawini tot Arrowen Eyland (NL_HaNA_4VEL_2153), dated c.1675. This map features numerous similarities with Hessel Gerritz’s 1625 publication (cf. Fig. 10.2). The information recorded on this map was acquired between 1600 and 1630 (Hulsman 2009:80, note 93). The distribution of Amerindian ‘populi’ on the Lower Maroni River resembles the information recorded on the Maroni and Oyapock maps made by the Walloon Fathers of the de Forest voyage, probably by the surviving Jean Mousnier de la Montagne (cf. Fig. 10.3) (courtesy of the Nationaal Archief, The Hague).
Bretigny’s subsequent tentative in 1643 all failed due to diseases, internal conflict and hostile Amerindians (Guéritault 1989).

In sum, during this period, the trading activities conducted by various companies gained interest in the Guianas. Moreover, the commercial and political contacts between Europeans and Amerindian had intensified. Small plantations were founded in order to grow desired goods, but trading remained the most important economic interest in this region. Although Amerindians still ruled their territories, they faced a technological revolution with the introduction of iron tools. This not only influenced the Amerindian customs in general, but also their environment. A dissimilar style of horticulture with iron tools revealed a new political balance between nations (Denevan 1992a).

283 Paul Boyer Sieur de Petit-Puy describes the disastrous colonizing attempt by de Brétigny and dedicated it to the councillor of the French King, Colbert. Boyer spent six years among the Amerindians and provided an excellent description of Cayenne and its inhabitants and even published a small Galibi dictionary (Boyer 1654:220–493). Interestingly, Boyer added a final chapter on the disastrous expedition of the Baron de Dormelles to Cayenne (ibid., p. 434–463). In May 1648, they made landfall on the ‘Berbiche’ (in stead of Cayenne) according to their Captain. They fired their cannon in order to avert the Dutch settlers on this river who did not respond; next, the French launched a search party which never was seen again.
10.3 The Colonial Period (1652-c.1950)

This era is subdivided into three stages: (a) the early colonial period (1652-1680) with the introduction of the sugar plantation economy based primarily on the enslavement of Africans, (b) the consolidation of sugar industry in the Guianas (by now Guiana had been subdivided into a British, Dutch and French Guiana) and (c) the period between the abolishment of slavery and the constitutional independence. This last stage differs for each Guiana, but is placed roughly between 1850 and 1950.

1652-1680

This early phase witnessed the introduction of larger permanent plantations in the Essequibo (WIC), Suriname (Lord Willoughby) and Cayenne (Langendijck, David Nassy, Lefebvre de la Barre) colonies, based on a slave laboured sugarcane model imported from Barbados and Brazil respectively. Although this novelty was growing fast, the planters continued to trade with the Amerindians for food, speckled wood, hammocks and annatto (Biet 1664:168).

The Amerindians of the littoral also provided services for the planters. For instance, they acted as guides and translators, conducted transport in canoes and provided middlemen enabling trade with the interior. In addition, by raiding other nations, they provided the plantations with Amerindian slaves to carry out fieldwork and domestic labour (Warren 1667:26). The permanent installation and trade required well-defined economical and political relationships with the Amerindian population in terms of providing the colony with food, trade goods and peace, as required for sugar production. Although the WIC had stated that enslaving Indians was prohibited (Goslinga 1985:561), raiding Amerindians villages in the interior, in order to capture slaves, was only abolished in 1793 (Boven 2006:57).

In April 1652 the Compagnie de Rouen, under the command of Huet de Navarre and member of the Poncet de Brétigny colony, tried to establish a small colony in the Rémine bay for Jacob Bontemps and had re-occupied fort Cépérou (Artur 2002:141–142; Laon Sieur d’Aigremont 1654:68–69) (Fig. 10.5). In September 1652, a second expedition, organized by the Compagnie de Paris and under command of Leroux Royville, took 700 settlers to Cayenne. Both missions failed miserably due to internal conflicts and Amerindian attacks (Artur 2002:149–152).

(Fig. 10.5). In September 1652, a second expedition, organized by the Compagnie de Paris, took 700 settlers to Cayenne. Both missions failed miserably due to internal conflicts and Amerindian attacks (Artur 2002:149–152). According to Antoine Biet (1664:243–255), the spiritual father of the second expedition, the French settlers left Cayenne in December 1653 and sailed along the Guiana coast towards the Lesser Antilles (e.g. Barbados, Martinique, Guadeloupe). The latter’s book, entitled: *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l’isle de Cayenne*, relates

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284 Interestingly, this expedition found the remnants of a palisaded fort at Mound Cépérou of what was once the alleged fort built by de Brétigny (Laon Sieur d’Aigremont 1654:76).

285 Lord Vertaumon did not join the leaving party and left the colony with a few solders in a bark (Artur 2002:168–172).
the expedition and provides us with important descriptions on the early historic Amerindian society.\footnote{286}

After these French failures and the loss of Dutch Brazil in 1654, the WIC regained interest in the Guianas and the Lesser Antilles with a view to export the acquired Brazilian plantation model and not only to produce sugar, but also to provide black slaves for its production (Postma 1990). Jan Claes Langendijck and David Nassy from Amsterdam—the latter at the head of a Jewish company—had worked in Recife previously and had obtained patronships for Cayenne and soon introduced the sugarcane industry to this part of the Guianas.\footnote{287} Nassy, together with the Compagnie de Guiana, had signed a contract with the City of Amsterdam and the WIC to assure the supply of African slaves (Hulsman 2009:146–148; van den Bel and Hulsman 2013).\footnote{288} Although Nassy was an adversary of Langendijck, who was installed at fort Nassau (baptised Saint-Michel de Cépérou by the preceding French expedition), the former built a fort, a watermill and a synagogue at Armire, located in the present-day Anse de Rémine (Le Roux et al. 2009:47). The Jew “Vermelho” founded a plantation in the close vicinity of the fort (“Le Jambon”). Others were installed at Matoury (Artur 2002:194–195, 203).

In 1663, Quirijn Spranger replaced Langendijck. In 1664, however, the Dutch colony is taken over by a French fleet under the command of Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy and under the flag of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. Lord Lefebvre de La Barre (1666) stood at the head of this new colony. Although both parties signed a peace treaty (Artur 2002:199–201, 226), the Dutch and Jews gradually left Cayenne either for the Lesser Antilles or the Suriname River, leaving their belongings with the French. In Suriname, Lord Willoughby from Barbados had founded an English slave-based colony in 1651 (Goslinga

\footnote{286} The survivors of this French expedition, having embarked in four Amerindian canoes, finally reached the Suriname River and visited the English fort under Mayor Ruf’s command: ‘Les Anglois estoient parfaitement bien establis en ce lieu. Il n’y avoit pas pourtant plus de deux ou trois cens arpens de terre défrìchez en ce lieu, où ils ont basty leur Fort. Il y a bien cinquante cases ou maisons dressées à la façon de celles des Sauvages, elles ne sont pas par ruës en forme de Ville ou Bourgade, mais ça & là sans ordre ny symmetrie. Leur Fort, dans lequel il y a une belle maison basse toute de pierre, les tient en assurance contre les efforts des Sauvages, qui n’ont point de machines de guerre, pour forcer un semblable edifice ; ils n’y ont que faire, pourveu qu’on n’y manque point de vivres. Ils ont fait toutes leurs habitations sur au long de la Riviere; quelques-uns se sont écarter de plus de vingt-cinq lieus. Ils tiennent-là leur ménage & leurs Esclaves, qui défrient. Ils n’y font encore que du Tabac, & scient quantité d’ais. Toute cette terre est quasi plate comme nostre France. La Riviere est extrêmement poissonnexe. Ils y peschent quantité d’un poisson, qu’on appelle Machoran, fort excellent. Il y en a de si gros, qu’ils pesent cinquante & soixante livres. Ils en mangent en quantité & sans pain; la chasse y est aussi très bonne. Ils n’y scauroient plus manquer de rien. Ils n’estoient pas plus de trois cens cinquante Anglois naturels ; mais i’ay appris depuis, qu’ils y sont maintenant plus de quatre mille, bien à leur aise, comme on peut estre dans tous ces païs là, pourveu qu’on s’y prenne de la bonne maniere pour s’y établir. Il n’y a que les commencemens un peu difficiles, lesquels estant surmontez, on y peut mener une vie heureuse, & sans-inquietude’ (Biet 1664:266-267).

\footnote{287} In late 1659, David Nassy left Amsterdam with another expedition led by Baron Gerbier Douvilly. The latter had been given the patent to start a (gold) mine on the Approuague River (de Boer 1903; Hulsman 2009:147–148). This Dutch colony (de la Barre 1666:10, 42), which probably consisted of various plantations at the actual Crique flamand and a fortification at the right bank, were destroyed by de Lézy (a cousin of Lefebvre de la Barre) in 1677, together with fort Orange on the Oyapock River (Anonyme 1678; Muller 2001; van den Bel and Hulsman 2013, 2014).

\footnote{288} Dutch slave traders continued to call on Cayenne when this colony was abandoned after 1664 in order to sell slaves to the French plantation owners (Jennings 1995).
The French also signed a concordat with the Amerindians, stating that the latter would leave the Island of Cayenne and settle down at Terra firme (Le Roux et al. 2009:25). Historically, the latter half of this period is marked by a continuous switching of colonies between the French, English and Dutch colonial powers. They successively conquer their (former) colonies until each nation took possession of a certain part of the Guianas. The French settled at Cayenne. At around the end of this century, the Dutch were installed between the Suriname and Pomeroon Rivers.

Concerning the English colony of Suriname, several significant descriptions are available. An Impartial Description by George Warren (1667) provides us with an interesting description of the Amerindian daily life in Suriname:

Their Houses for the night, are low thatch'd Cottages, with the Eves close to the ground; for the day, they have higher, and open on every side, to defend them from the violence of the Sun's Raies, yet letting in the grateful Coolnes of the Air. Their Household Utensils are curious painted Earthen Pots and Platters, and their Napery is the Leaves of Trees. Their Beds of Hamackoes (which are also used amongst the English) are made of Cotton, square like a Blanket, and so ordered with strings at each end, that being tyed a Convenient distance form one another, it open the full breath. For Bread and Drink, they plant Gardens of Cassader, and the Woods and Rivers are their constant Suppeditories of Flesh and Fish. For ornament they Colour themselves all over into neat works, with a red Paint called Anotto, which grows in pods upon small Trees, and the Juice of certain Weeds; they bore holes also through their Noses, Lips, and Ears, whereat they hang glass Pendants, Pieces of Brass, or any such like Bawbles their Service can procure from the English; they Load their Legs, Necks, and Arms too, with Beads, Shels, of Fishes, & almost any trumpery they can get; they have no Law nor Government but Oeconomical, living like the Patriachs of old, the whole Kindred in a Family, where the eldest Son always succeeds his Father as the greatest; yet they have some more ordinary persons, who are their Captains, and lead them out to Wars, whose Courage they first prove, by sharply Whipping them with Rods, which if they endure bravely without Crying, or any considerable motion, they are acknowledg'd gallant fellows and honour'd by the less hardy. These Chiefs or heads of Families, have commonly three or four Wives a piece, others but one, who may indeed more properly be term'd their Vassals than Companion, being no less subjected to their Husbands than the meanest Servants amongst us are to their Masters, the Men rarely oppress their Vassals with a Burthen, the Women carry all, and are so very humble and observant in their Houses, that at Meals, they always wait upon their Husbands, and never eat till they have done, when a Woman is deliver'd of her first child, the present goes about her business as before, and the Husband sains himself distempered, and is hang'd up to the Ridge of the

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289 The Jewish/Dutch diaspora from northeastern Brazil to the Guianas and the Lesser Antilles after 1654 meant the introduction of a Brazilian plantation model in the Guianas and French Antilles (e.g. Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada) as described by Lafleur (1993:20–35, 2012) and Hulsman and van den Bel (2012). The importance of sugar production during the the 16th and 17th century for northwestern Europe, and especially the United Provinces, is discussed in Poelwijk’s PhD dissertation (2003). Further information on the Jews of Cayenne can be found in an article by Zvi Loker (1989).

290 See also note 265.

291 The English manuscripts by William Byam (1667) and Major John Scott (c.1667) have a more historic character. However, a demographic analysis proposed by Neil Whitehead (1988:40) with regard to the Guayana coast revealed that Byam and Scott were probably correct when estimating the Carib population.
In this period, the coastal Amerindians started to lose their land as well as a certain degree of their mobility. The permanent European presence claimed Amerindian territory. As the Amerindians groups developed a strong relationship with Europeans, the economy of the former depended somewhat on the commerce with the latter. By now territories as well as alliances were more static. In addition, Amerindian settlements near the sugar plantations became inevitable for Amerindians who wished to keep in contact with the Europeans. For example, when the Caribs of Cayenne sought to defeat the Palicour on the Oyapock, they asked the help of the French settlers who had arrived in 1652 in order to persuade the Aracarets in southern Amapá to join them.

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292 This ant test or maraké is still carried out among the Wayana of the Upper Maroni River. The manuscript of Jean-François Artur provided the following description for the Galibi: ‘Les Indiens commencent leur année au lever de la Poussinière qu’ils appellent Girico. Quelques jours auparavant, ils font un vin dans lequel ils font la cérémonie de se fouetter (ordinairement ils donnent à quelqu’un d’eux la commission de fouetter tous les autres). Ils se mettent des colliers de fourmis flamandes etc. le tout afin d’êtreadroits, avertis, laborieux et heureux, soit à la chasse et à la pêche, soit à la guerre, pendant l’année qui va bientôt commencer.’ (FR_BNP_NAF_2579_f. 176v). De Goeje (1930:490) presents us with another example. He translated a part of a Spanish document written by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa which was to be published in 1630. A Garina [Kali’na] man who wished to be a cacique needed to beat three men to death with his wooden club. Moreover, after having fasted for one year, they had to pass the ant test. The before mentioned whipping of the Captains is also a common feature in Amazonia and often witnessed by Europeans: ‘Il n’y a point de village ou de carbet qui n’ait son capitaine, qu’ils élèvent à cette dignité de la sorte. Après avoir fait choix d’un homme qui se soit signalé en guerre contre les ennemis ou qui ait mis à mort quelque bête féroce, ils le font jeûner à la cassave et à l’eau, pendant un mois, l’obliger d’avaler plusieurs fois du jus de petun à pleines écuellées et le fouettent rudement avec de grands fouets qu’ils nomment macoali; que s’il endure toutes ces choses avec courage et sans témoigner de douleur, il passe pour capitaine. Ils ont cette crédence et cette superstition que s’ils n’usaient de cette cérémonie, ils ne seraient pas heureux à la guerre. Ils font encore le même traitement à plusieurs autres personnes pour les faire réussir en leur état et condition. J’ai peine à croire que tous les capitaines des carbets qui n’ait son capitaine, qu’ils élèvent à cette dignité de la sorte. Après avoir fait choix d’un homme qui se soit signalé en guerre contre les ennemis ou qui ait mis à mort quelque bête féroce, ils le font jeûner à la cassave et à l’eau, pendant un mois, l’obliger d’avaler plusieurs fois du jus de petun à pleines écuellées et le fouettent rudement avec de grands fouets qu’ils nomment macoali; que s’il endure toutes ces choses avec courage et sans témoigner de douleur, il passe pour capitaine. Ils ont cette créance et cette superstition que s’ils n’usaient de cette cérémonie, ils ne seraient pas heureux à la guerre. Ils font encore le même traitement à plusieurs autres personnes pour les faire réussir en leur état et condition. J’ai peine à croire que tous les capitaines des carbets particuliers s’assujettissent à cette cérémonie ; peut-être n’est-elle ordonnée que pour ceux qui ont charge de conduire les autres à la guerre ; on en pourra découvrir la vérité avec le temps’ (Pelleprat 1655ii:56-57).

293 De Navarre also participated in a mission between the Galibis of Cayenne, under the command of chief Biraumon, and the Aracarets. The latter Amerindians dwelled beyond Palikour-land—archenemies of the Galibis—in the swamps of the Mayacaré River in modern Amapá. The Galibis were awaited by many Aracarets who were armed with swords and rifles which they had bartered with the Dutch for sea cows (Artur 2002:145; Lefebvre de la Barre 1666:20). The Galibis invited the Aracarets to come and live in Cayenne because of the Portuguese threat of slavery which had caused many Aracarets to join the Galibis (as servants?) in Cayenne (ibid., p. 146). Remarkably, the chief of the Aracarets was at that moment a Dutchman called John vandergoose (Harlow 1925:242; Hulsman 2009:169).
In 1686, the Dutch Governor Heinsius, successor of the Zeelander Governor Cornelis van Aerssen Lord van Sommelsdijck, signed a peace treaty with the ‘Caribessen, Arowakken en Waraouen’ (Oudschans Dentz 1938:78-84; Buve 1966). It is thought that, from the second half of the 17th century on, the history of the Amerindian coastal populations is inevitably associated to the European expansion in the Guianas (Whitehead 1996:34).

1680-1850

During this period the various Amerindians populations in French Guiana and Suriname were not only confronted with further European expansion along the littoral, but also with evangelizing missionaries. We will now discuss Dutch and French Guiana separately because both now represent a permanent colony. However, these two colonies witnessed similar and dissimilar events throughout the following course of their history.

**Suriname**

Although the protestant Dutch left the Amerindians “alone” after the 1686 peace treaty, the latter were now confronted with runaway slaves, or Maroons, and *bokkenruylders*, who penetrated into their territories, i.e. the Cottica and Maroni River area. These *bokkenruylders*, or litteraly goattraders, were middlemen who were born in the colony. They were often multilingual and traded goods as
well as slaves with the Amerindians. In the course of this period, the planters utilised Amerindian trackers in order to find the runaway slaves, who in turn counter-attacked the missions. Maroons and Amerindians now coexisted in the forest, now and again in the vicinity of the plantations. Eventually, this also led to cohabitation, for instance among the Caribs in western Suriname on the Coppenname River (Staehelin 1918 ii:22). During the second quarter of the 18th century, the Dutch government admitted Moravian missionaries into their colony and arrived in Suriname in 1735 in order to proselytize the slave community. They were quick to switch to the coastal Amerindians and in particular to the Arawak, inviting them to stay in newly founded missions. This religious venture was doomed to fail due to the easy spreading of diseases and famine, forcing them to leave these missions or to die (Carlin and Boven 2002).

Peter Kloos published an interesting 18th century manuscript in 1973 which Gerard Bos later commented on. According to the latter, the manuscript must be dated c.1775. It includes an eyewitness report presented by Johannis Sneebeling who was stationed at the Upper Perica River in eastern Suriname, presumably in order to guard a military outpost for runaway slaves. At about this time, the planters had abandoned that part of Suriname where several Paragoto had settled down (Bos 1989:25):

Wat hunne verblijfplaatsen aangaat, benevens hunne huizen en dorpen. Die hebben zij op verscheide plaatsen, want een partij houden zich aan de Neder Marowijne op, en andere aan de Neder Saramaka en Coppelnaam, enige in de Neder Suriname en Commannwijne, zijnde elke partij niet sterker als 60 a 70 stuks mans, vrouwen en kinderen. Daarom bestaan hunne dorpen maar uit 30 a 40 huizen of liever hutten, omdat ze maar van slegt [eenvoudig] rond hout, de posten in den grond geplant, en met zogenaamde wilde banannen bladen of tak gedekt zijn met een pallisade of dikke stoken rondom toegemaakt en teffens met voornemde bladen togedekt tot de grond toe. De huizen zijn niet langer dan 20 voet – 10 a 15 voet breed en 12 a 15 voet hoog, zijnde het dak oval of hooggewijze. Aan het geveleynde hebben zij een gat dat 3 voet breed en 4 voet hoog is, waardoor zij in en uitgaan. In deze huizen slapen de Indianen des nachts, met hunne vrouwen en kinderen, want elk huishouden heeft zijn huis apart. Ook staat elk huis op een bijzondere plaats, de eene omtrent honderd voeten van den anderen af, zodat elk huishouding zijne vrijheid heeft zonder dat zij in iets van hunne buren gehindert worden.

In het midden van hun dorp hebben zij een grote loots van 60 vt lengte, en 30 a 40 voet breedte, 20 a 25 voet hoog. Dit gebouw is van hetselve soort van hout gemaakt, als hunne huizen, behalven wat sterker en dikker van posten en balken, en van onderen rondom open. Dit gebouw wordt door alle de Indianen, die zich op zo een plaats ophouden in compagnie gebouwd, omdat het voor het algemeen dient, die zich op een dorp ophouden, dienende bij dag tot een verblijfplaats.

In Dutch the word bokken, or bokjes, is used for a (small) billygoat which was probably derived from the English “buck.” It is a derogatory term referring to the Amerindian population, see for instance van Berkel (1695:9). It is added here that the Moravian missionary Theophilus S. Schumann, who led a mission named Pilgerhut on the Wiruni River, wrote in 1748 that the term Bockjes was applied to all members of the indigenous population, such as ‘the Carib, Warau and Arawak, who called themselves Lukunu’ (Staehelin 1918 ii:9). In French Guiana the bokkenruylders were referred to as traiteurs (P. Grenand and F. Grenand 1997:64) and in Brazil as bandeirantes.

General descriptions of Suriname have been published by J. D. Herlein (1718), J. J. Hartsinck (1770), P. Fermin (1770) and D. Nassy (1788). The compilations by Bancroft (1769) and Bolingbroke (1807) include the Dutch colonies in former British Guiana.

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Sneebeling observed their appearances, main activities, marriage, dances, birth, justice and superstition closely. He provided a detailed description of their funerary practices and, in particular, on the couvade of a chief, ending with his interment in the central hut of the village (cf. Appendix 4). Interestingly, the Arawac, Chareebs, Yaios and Paracotos, whom Sneebeling had met, were present on the Lower Maroni River when Unton Fischer travelled there in 1609. The former two groups still reside here today. The others may have merged with the existing groups or may have become extinct. De Goeje (1943:337) identified the Paragotos to the west of the Maroni River and Frikel did so on the Mapuera River (1957:553). Rivière added that the ‘Parucuatos’ on de Trombetas River had merged with Wai Wai (Rivière 1963:147).

In 1817, the Roman Catholic Church was admitted in Suriname. It founded mainly missions on the littoral where the residing Caribs had adopted Sranantongo (Vernooij 1989:83). Apart from its missionary activities, the colony’s local politics did not interfere with the Amerindians. Contacts with Europeans were mainly with “outsiders,” such as August Kappler, founder of the village of Albina on the Maroni River in 1846. Albina is said to be built on the site of a former Kali’na village called Kumaka (C.).

The Kali’na of the Lower Maroni River further had contact with the French metropolitan population of Saint-Laurent du Maroni. In 1857, the latter village was also founded on an Amerindian village (Abbenhuis 1940:52; Kloos 1971:7). It represented the principal Transportation Camp of the Administration Pénitentière or Penal Colony of French Guiana. August Kappler proved to be an excellent observer on Kali’na traditions:

Elk huisgezin heeft zijne eignen hut, waarvan zij zoo lang gebruik maakt, totdat er zich geen plaatsje meer in bevindt, waar de hangmat tegen den regen beveiligd is. Deze huten worden doelmatig en zeer eenvoudig gebouwd. Twee of drie, ongeveer 8 duim dikke palen van fraai regt hout worden zo ver van elkander in den grond gegraven, als de lengte der hut zal bedragen. Zij zijn 10-12 voet hoog en dragen eenen zwarven dwarsbalk; deze is zoo lang als het huis en bestemd om het dak te dragen. Vier palen ter hoogte van ongeveer 4 voet zijn op de vier hoeken in den grond geheven, en dragen twee met den middelsten balk evenwijdig loopende en even lange balken. Aan dit lijstwerk wordt een zeker getal ligte staken met touw vastgebonden en in den nok van het huis aan de groote dwarsbalk bevestigd.

De bladen der groote heliconie worden in de middenrib zamengevouwen en met lianen aan elkander gereg. Nadat door het aaneenhechten van vele dezer groote bladen een aanzienlijk stuk van het dak gereed is, wordt dit met sparren en

296 Linguistic analysis of the various indigenous names recorded by Fisher on the Maroni River was proposed by Frikel (1957:541–562), Carlin and Boven (2002:33, Table 1.2), Chapuis (2003:204, Annexe ii), Duin (2009:429, Table 8.4) and Bellardie (2011:117–118).

297 The kuma:ka tree (Ceiba pentandra) is called fromager in French Guiana and kankantri in Suriname (P. Grenand et al. 2004:254). According to Raymond Breton (1665:175) the French word fromager is derived from Dutch cheese: ‘fourmage d’hollande, parce que la hache y entre comme dans du fourmage.’ This tree plays a very influential role in the myths and daily life of the various Amerindian populations of not only the Guianas (de Goeje 1948; Whitehead 2003b), but also of the Maroons in Suriname (White 2010).
staken belast, en blijft zoo lang op den vooraf zorgvuldig gereinigden grond liggen, totdat de stijve bladen eenigzins slap geworden zijn en het geheele stuk zich laat oprollen. Daarna maakt men het eene einde aan den grooten dwarsbalk vast, en ontrolt het bekleedsel. Deze stukken zijn juist zoo lang als de bladen breed zijn, ongeveer 7-8 voet, en er worden er dus zoo vele van vervaardigd, als de lengte van het huis vereist. Een weinig onder het eerste wordt het tweede, en zoo vervolgens elk stuk gelegd, opdat de regen er niet kan indringen. Wanneer beide zijden van het dak op deze wijze belegd zijn, wordt de gevel met kunstig ineengevlochten cumunubladen bedekt. Dit alles wordt met lianen aan het lijstwerk vastgebonden. Hoe ligt deze daken ook zijn, kan de regen er toch niet doordringen. Een zoodanige hut blijft 2-3 jaren in goeden staat en, wanneer zij niet te zeer aan den wind blootstaat is zij van nog langeren duur. Werkzame Indianen plegen ook nog eene afzonderlijke slaapkamer te bouwen. In dit geval wordt de hut aanmerkelijk hooger, en ongeveer 6 voet boven den bodem worden over de geheele breedte zoegenaamde palissaden gelegd, die den vloer uitmaken. De zijden worden zorgvuldig met palmbladen gelot, en slechts aan eenen kant wordt eene opening gelaten, die tot ingang dienst; deze sluit men des nachts met eene, ingelijks uit palmbladen gevlochten deur. Tot dit slaapvertrek geleidt een, uit eenen boomstam ruw bewerkte trap. Ook hier heeft elk persoon een vuurtje onder zijne hangmat, en het is inderdaad onbegrijpelijk, dat er niet meer brand ontstaat. De palissaden worden tot dit oogmerk met potscherven bedekt, op deze wordt een weinig aarde geschud en daarop het vuur ontstoken. Het hout hierop voeren de vrouwen aan; deze zijn ingelijks belast met het aanmaken van het vuur. (Kappler 1854 ii:30–31)

French Guiana

Although the French Capucins had been established in northeastern Brazil since the beginning of the 17th century (d’Abbeville 1614), the Jesuits had only been active in the Antilles and Suriname (Pelleprat 2009) from 1639 on, under the rule of Richelieu.298 They expanded into Cayenne as late as 1666 where the Company of Jesus founded plantations (Artur 2002:212; Le Roux et al. 2009:44).

Although seldom physically present at their habitation sites, the Jesuits roamed the plantations and the surrounding areas between 1667 and 1769 evangelizing and baptizing the local Amerindian population. These early activities in the field were not very successful, but nonetheless yielded interesting journals and reports

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298 Towards the end of the 16th century, the French interest in Maranhão had been triggered by merchants from Rouen and Dieppe (e.g. de Villiers and Riffault) who traded along these coasts, according to Raleigh (1848:26). La Ravardière, in the company of Jean Mocquet (1617), briefly reconnoitred the Oyapock River and later the Island of Cayenne during the first half of 1604. The following year La Ravardière received his patent letters from Henry IV, naming his Lieutenant-general ‘des contrées de l’Amérique, depuis la rivière des Amazones jusques à l’île de la Trinité’ (Anthiaume 1918:169). In 1611, La Ravardière eventually went to Maranhão in order to check on the rumours of the friendly Indians spread by Chevalier de Vaux (d’Abbeville 1614:13). In 1615, the French were expelled from their colony La France équinoxiale, the island of Maranhão (Saint Louis) in northeastern Brazil hereby capturing Daniel de la Touche de la Ravardière. The Portuguese Crown founded the fortification of Felix Lusitânia (later known as Nossa Senhora de Belém) in 1616. The Portuguese continued to send Jesuit missionaries to the Lower Amazon River (Bettendorf 1910) whereas the Spanish founded missions on the Upper Amazon and Rio Negro (Fritz 1922). From this moment on, the Portuguese started to enslave Amerindian populations on the Amazon and its affluents (Monteiro 1992:108).
on the French colony and in particular on the traditions of Amerindian groups (the Galibi) as Jean Grillet and François Bechamel [1674], Jean de la Mousse [c.1690] or Jean Chrétien [1711] report.299

From the beginning of the 18th century on, Jesuit missions were founded at the Kourou and Sinnamary Rivers as well as on the Lower and Upper Oyapock River in order to continue evangelizing various Amerindian groups (Froidevaux 1901; cf. Fig. 11.19). According to Jean-Marcel Hurault (1989:55), this resulted in ethnic reduction as witnessed on the Lower Amazon River. The reason herefor was: the missionaries were herding all the regional Amerindians groups within the reach of their missions in order to gain control over them. For instance, the mission of Kourou harboured fugitive Amerindian groups from Brazil (e.g. Koussari, Maraone, Aruá) whom Portuguese slave traders hunted down (F. Grenand and P. Grenand 1987). Although Amerindian families fled from these missions – which eventually turned out to be a life saving decision—, the majority succumbed to rampant epidemics after flocking in these missionary posts (Boudehri 2002).300 At around this time the Approuague River was populated by numerous fugitive bands and families which had once inhabited the Lower Amazon River or the Amapá coast (Grillet and Bechamel 1698:5). The following citations illustrate: (a) the diversity of Amerindians in French Guiana and (b) the Amerindian village of the Kourou Mission:

Le grand nombre des nations différentes qu’on connoit dans la Guiane nous fait juger qu’elle étoit autrefois très peuplée mais il faut qu’il se soit détruit bien des gens puisqu’on voit plusieurs de ces nations réduites jusqu’à rien : une des plus nombreuses qu’il y ait depuis Cayenne jusqu’à l’Orenoc est celle des galibis. Il serait difficile de marquer a peu pres leur nombre, ils vivent épars ça et là et changent souvent de demeure tantôt meles avec d’autres indiens tantot entièrement séparés de ceux mêmes de leur nation. (Chrétien dans d’Harcourt 1957:49)

Au milieu était le carbet de ces Indiens. On appelle ainsi une espèce de grande halle couverte de feuilles qui tombent jusqu’à terre et ferment exactement les deux côtés, et un des pignons. L’autre qui est ordinairement tous le vent, reste ouvert dans toute sa longueur du haut en bas. C’est là que les Indiens se rassemblent et passent la plus grande partie de la journée, les hommes à fumer, à travailler, ou à converser ensemble, ce qu’on appelle carbetter, les femmes à filer, ou à faire les autres petits ouvrages dont elles s’occupent. C’est là aussi que les Indiens reçoivent les étrangers qui viennent les visiter. (Artur in Hurault 1989:57)

299 The Jesuit documentation of their works in the missions is compiled in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses (Collomb 2011). It represents an important, but lengthy, source of information on their work in French Guiana.

300 Portuguese slave hunting in the Lower Amazon region had started as early as the second quarter of the 17th century, see for example Hygino Pereira (1895:292). The Dutch merchant Jan Reeps acknowledged the presence of Aroasse or Arua on Cayenne Island when, accompanied by Arua, he visited Cayenne in July 1693: ‘ons was oock een canoa met veel Indianen tegen gekomen, Aroasse natie die hier ontrent woonden en vrinden van onse verwelcomden malkander met groote blijtschap’ (NL_KB_131C14_f.17).

301 André Sausse (1951:73–85) illustrates that the Amerindian population of the French Guiana littoral declined dramatically between 1720 and 1763 due to the establishment of the Jesuit missions. He estimated that their numbers fell from 20,000 to just over 1000 during this period. Sausse accompanied Hurault on the 1949 geographic mission where they met Raymond Maufrais (2014:107–108) at the goldigger camp Dagobert at the Upper Mana River.
Between 1680 and 1700, the French slave traders purchased a large number of Amerindian slaves from the Portuguese who had taken them from the Amazon River (Hurault 1989:111–112; Acevedo and Gomes 2003; Chambouleyron 2005). In fact, the local Amerindians were officially subjects of the King in Cayenne and could therefore not be traded. They could only be enslaved when crime or rebellion occurred. This explains why there were probably few Amerindian slaves in French Guiana and that Amerindian slaves were rather transported to the Antillean plantations. In Suriname, the coastal Amerindians, such as the Caribs, raided villages in the interior in order to fulfill the demand of the planters who required female Amerindian slaves to carry out domestic tasks (Farage 1991; Dreyfus 1993; Carlin and Boven 2002). From 1718 on, the French Governor Rémy d’Orvilliers signed contracts with the Portuguese in order to hunt down Amerindian slaves. The abolishment of the Amerindian slave trade was proclaimed in 1764, but eventually took place in 1787.

The French and Portuguese had disputed the control of the area located between the Oyapock and Araguari Rivers since the end of the 17th century. It had been under command of Governor de Férolles since 1688. This large French empire, better known as La France équinoxiale or Cap du Nord, was handed over to the Portuguese in 1713 as a consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht. The Jesuit missions in this contested area along the Counani and Macari Rivers forced many Amerindians to set off for French Guiana, resulting in an amalgamation of Amerindians populations. Despite the Jesuit missions in Kourou and the disastrous outcome of the Kourou expedition in 1763, under the command of the Duke of Choiseul and Governor Turgot, concerning approximately 12,000 colonists (Froidevaux 1892; Michel 1989; Thibaudault 1995), the western part of French Guiana remained more or less uncolonized and was better known as Pays indien (Fr.) or Indian Country.

During the second half of the 18th century, the French Governor Fiedmont decided to acquire further general information on the interior and dispatched three expeditions to the Upper Maroni River drainage. The first hereof, under command of J. B. Patris, encountered the Wayana for the first time in 1766. Apparently they had settled down here recently. The French observed that the Oupouloui and Wayana were living together in structured villages of a militaristic nature (Tony 1835; Rivière 1984; Chapuis 1998; Carlin and Boven 2002; Duin 2009).

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302 La France équinoxiale is the name the French gave to that part of the South American continent located between the mouth of the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers.

303 When signing the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France lost Louisiana and French Canada to England, and was in need of consolidating its position in the Americas. Brûletout de Préfontaine (1763) dedicated his book La Maison rustique to the Duke of Choiseul, the Minister of Warfare, and to the Marine in order to promote French Guiana as a potential option to start a new colony. Having wandered through Guyane from the 1740s on, he proposed to colonize the right bank of the Lower Maroni River by means of fifty plantations, as drawn in his 1762 map (Michel 1989, Fig. 4; Rio Branco 1899, map 33).

304 Sergeant La Haye explored the interior during the first half of the 18th century. Travelling on the Oypaock River, he arrived at the sources of the Yari River in 1729 (de Villiers 1920). Other Frenchmen who visited this region are Claude Courant [1716] who visited the Approuague and Oyapock Rivers as well as Chevalier Audfitreddy [1731] at the Oyac and Orapu Rivers (Froidevaux 1895).
Reports on these explorations were the first to mention the presence of the Boni, Maroons from Suriname, residing on French territory at the Middle Maroni River (Moomou 2004; Hoogbergen 2008).\footnote{The history of the Ndjuka and Aluku population of Suriname and French Guiana is not specified here. The reason for this is that it lies beyond the scope of the present introduction.} Their presence created a political issue with regard to the Kali'na of the Lower Maroni and the Wayana of the Upper Maroni Rivers (Boven 2006; Dupuy 2008).\footnote{Other explorations into the south of French Guiana revealed the presence of recently arrived Tupi-guarani speaking groups such as the the Wayápi (Oyampi) and the Teko (Emerillon) from the Amazonian Basin (Métraux 1927:29–35; P. Grenand 1982). During the second half of the 18th century, the Portuguese armed several Wayápi raiding parties who entered the contested area between France and Portugal, mainly the Upper Oyapock River and Tumuc-Humac region. These wars would continue until the first quarter of the 19th century (P. Grenand 1971:112–113, 1982; Tilkin-Gallois 1986:121). According to Peter Rivière (1969:27), the Tumuc-Humac 'has been an area of intertribal mixing, and the vital question is how important are these sub-groups or tribal remnants in the present composition of the Trio and whether there is any advantage to be gained in distinguishing them. It is possible to say with assurance that whatever the distinction may have been previously it is now virtually non-existent.'}

In 1787, according to Hurault (1989:169), only 200 Galibi inhabited the coastal region located between Cayenne Island and the Maroni River. The Amerindian populations of French Guiana and Suriname had been decimated due to disease, enslavement and general misery. They were diversified because of numerous influxes of fleeing, dissimilar ethnic groups from the Lower Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. After the missionary era, the remnants of these indigenous populations clung together or strived at becoming one in order to start the process of restoring cultural affiliation and identity.

This historic event is very much alive among the present-day Palikur and Kali’na, and firmly rooted in their oral tradition. The latter refer to this event as Epa’kana and the former as Naoné (Collomb and Tiouka 2000; Collomb 2001; F. Grenand and P. Grenand 1987; Passes 2004). This ethnic restoration or renaissance is a widely known process in the colonial Guianas and Amazonia. Historians refer to it as "ethnic transformation" or ethnogenesis (Rivière 1984; Crevaux 1883:9).
This regrouping forms a schism in Amerindian history and is now entering the contemporaneous era of Modern Times as a “new-born” ethnic group growing in numbers throughout the 19th and 20th century (Hurnault 1989:169; P. Grenand and F. Grenand 1997:68, 2006).

1850-1950

This period is roughly positioned between: (a) the abolition of black slavery in 1848, (b) the introduction of the punitive system (Fr., bagne) in 1852 and (c) the departmentalization of French Guiana in 1947. In Suriname, slavery was abolished in 1863. This colony gained independence in 1975, followed by means of a devastating civil war during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Both countries witnessed an important gold rush in their interior territories between 1870 and 1930. After the political uproar during the 1920s, the French government proclaimed the Territoire d’Inini in 1930 in order to gain control of the interior. The Dutch government did little to “protect” the interior of Suriname. Nevertheless, several Dutch-French boundary expeditions set off in order to map the interior.

French Guiana

In 1828, Mother Anne-Marie Javouhey, the foundress of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny (Paris) commissioned the village of Mana to be built. Although slavery was then legal (slave trade was to be abolished in 1831), she assessed a different status for her emancipated work force (Cornuel 2011). Her small colony was fairly prosperous. In 1838, c.700 people were working and living in Mana. In 1843, shortly before her demise, she left the colony. Its prosperity and evangelization attracted many Kali’na and Maroons to the Lower Mana River who settled in the vicinity of Mana (Jolivet 1982; Bruleaux 1989).

After the abolishment of slavery and the adoption of the Transportation Law in 1852, French Guiana was chosen as a final destination for criminal and political adversaries of France. They presented a workforce in order to not only develop the colony but also generate the social re-insertion of delinquents. Numerous colonies were founded, but yellow fever and other diseases soon decimated the population participating in these first attempts (Oyapock, Montagne d’Argent). In 1857, it was decided to start an agricultural colony on the right bank of the Maroni River, just opposite Albina, in order to develop this part of the country (Mallé 2003). In 1858, this village was baptized Saint-Laurent by Governor Baudin. One year later, it was inhabited by c.800 prisoners (Fr., bagnards).

In 1860, it was decided that the right bank of the Maroni River between Yalimapo (the confluence with the Mana River and the Atlantic Ocean) and the Hermina Rapids was to be dedicated to agricultural exploitation and maintained by means of the recently installed penitentiary colony of the Maroni. This resulted in additional working camps (e.g. Saint-Pierre, Saint-Maurice, Saint-Jean, Saint-Louis). The latter locations all represented prominent sites along the Maroni.

307 Ethnogenesis is a concept encompassing peoples’ simultaneously cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and discontinuity (Hill 1996:1).
308 According to Henri Coudreau (1893:20), the toponym Hermina is derived from the Galibi word arimina, meaning electric eel (Gymnotidae sp).
River. Interestingly, the majority hereof have yielded Amerindian archaeological material (van den Bel 2007b; Mestre 2008).

In 1865, it was inhabited by c.3000 convicts and 300 free bagnards. Two years later the French also decided to bring in people from other French colonies (e.g. the Antilles, Indochina, islands in the Indian Ocean). In 1891, the Crique Balaté now divided the territory of the right bank of the Maroni River into two zones. Its southern part was devoted to the relegation of which Saint-Jean du Maroni served as headquarters. Its northern part, with Saint-Laurent as its capital, was devoted to transportation. In addition to the various populations entering the colony through the penitentiary system, the discovery of gold along the Maroni River’s middle and upper drainage as well as along other rivers in the Guianas attracted fortune seekers from other parts of South America and the Lesser Antilles (e.g. Saint-Lucia, Martinique).309

Jules Crevaux’s [1878] and Hendri Coudreau’s [1887-1891] explorations on the Maroni River evidenced a fairly populated river with actors along each part of the river, as we can still witness today: (a) the Kali’na and Arawak populations along the Lower Maroni River, flanked by small European settlements, (b) the Boni at the Cottica at the Middle Maroni River and eventually higher up the river near Maripasoula and Papatichon and (c) the Akurio, Trio and Wayana, who fell victim to numerous diseases according to Crevaux (1883:275), beyond the hamlets of Maripasoula and Papatichon.

Trade between the river’s upper and lower parts was a major hinge for varied populations residing along this river. The Amerindians possessed a widespread network. Through it, goods were exchanged between villages as tokens of alliance, generally separated over very long distances and covering the entire Guiana plateau (Butt-Colson 1973; Porro 1985, 1992, 1996; Whitehead 1988; Gallois 2005). These wares included ceramics, manioc graters, trained hunting dogs as well as European kitchen and iron ware, greenstones and gold (Boomert 1987; Roth 1924; Whitehead 1990). It is presumed that this exchange network is a relict from pre-Columbian times and that it was set forth thanks to Amerindian, Maroon and European commercial interaction.

**Suriname**

Following the explorations of Richard Schomburgk (1845, 1922), Everard Im Thurn (1883), Alfred Wallace (1889), Henri Coudreau (1886, 1893) and Jules Crevaux (1883) into the interior of the Guianas, the Dutch carried out the following expeditions into the interior of Suriname at the start of the 20th century: (a) to the Saramaca and Gonini Rivers (Franssen Herderschee 1905) in 1903 and 1904, (b) to the Tumuc Humac Mountains (de Goeje 1908) in 1907 and (c) to the Upper Courentyne River in 1910 (Kayser 1912). In addition to geographical and geological information, they provided the first ethnographic studies on the Amerindian populations in southern Suriname (e.g. Wayana, Trio, Akurio) located on the Upper Maroni, Palumeu and Oelemari Rivers respectively (de Goeje 1908).

During the time of these expeditions at the start of the 20th century, the (smaller) Amerindian groups of the interior were amalgamating. This process of ethnic transformation “created” the constitution of the Wayana and Trio groups.

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309 Interestingly, the Jesuits came back to French Guiana after being expelled in 1763 in order to work in the penitentiaries during the second half of the 19th century (Mury 1895).
we know today (Carlin and Boven 2002:33). As mentioned, a similar process of ethnogenesis occurred c.100 years earlier among the coastal Amerindians. These expeditions illustrated that the distant Tumuc Humac region, consisting of river drainages located between the Maroni and Courantyne Rivers (as well as the Brazilian equivalents of the Paru and Yari Rivers), were inhabited by native populations sharing important relationships (Frikel 1957).

From the 1960s on, North American missions were accepted in Brazil and Suriname. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is perhaps the most influential. The government of Suriname was not able to control the daily life in the interior, leaving the missionaries to very much follow their own agenda. The onset of the civil war in the 1980s brought an end to this situation. The Amerindians now became a pawn in the struggle for power between the incoming national leader Desiré Delano Bouterse and the Jungle Commando led by Ronnie Brunswijk. Many Amerindians and Maroons sought refuge in either Brazil or French Guiana.

310 Hurault (2000) pointed out that the Tumuc Humac Mountains are not “real,” but rather mythical mountains.
In fact, not a single government in Suriname (even during colonial times) had ever created a policy to protect or implement the basic rights of the Amerindians, i.e. the right of land for the indigenous population (D., *inheemse bevolking*).

This issue is very relevant as the interior of Suriname and French Guiana is flooded with legal and illegal gold miners, mainly *garimpeiros* from Brazil. Paramaribo and Cayenne distribute the concessions of governmental land. They do not often question the influences of such activities regarding the local groups in these areas. These haphazardous politics have resulted in disease, the poisoning of staple foods, deformation and miscarriage, prostitution and social disintegration, leaving the indigenous population much on their own.

### 10.4 The present era

After W.W. II, the Republic of France decided to alter the colonial status of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, and La Réunion, and to regulate them as national Departments (Fr., *Départments Outre-Mer*, DOM) by law No. 46–451 of 19 March 1946. These territories were separated from the colonial empire, but nonetheless remained under the administration of a representative (Fr., *Préfet*), formerly known as Governor of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, from 1 January 1947 on.

This so-called departmentalisation, created an entire new array of French citizens that needed to be become French, or ‘francisés,’ according to Hurault (1989:150). Introducing this process implied the destruction of Amerindian society causing social disorganization due to national benefits (allocations), corruption during elections, alcoholism, suicides, changes in indigenous political organization by the State, separation of family members caused due to army recruiting and intern schools. The most significant loss is the loss of knowledge about aspects of Amerindian daily life (e.g. hunting, fishing, basketry, agricultural tasks) as brought about by means of the introduction of the European school system, promoting integration into Western society as witnessed today.\(^\text{311}\)

In 1964, the total Amerindian population of French Guiana consisted of 1200 individuals of whom 800 inhabited the littoral and 400 the interior of this department (Hurault and Frenay 1965:605). In 1970, 700 Kali’na, 200 Lokono and 120 Palikur were counted whereas Suriname was inhabited by 3000 Kali’na and Lokono in total (Fig. 10.9).

The majority of the coastal Amerindians follow the western marriage tradition. However, each group has upheld a socio-political organization based on local kinship—the descendents of founding warrior groups—and the appartenance to a wider regional network of social and cultural affiliation as well as trade goods (Rivière 1984:80). The residential extended Amerindian family consists of nuclear households representing an independent village (Kloos 1971:119–121). It disintegrates when cohabitation becomes too difficult between village members and an individual has to leave to join another village or to found his own village. The village captain (C., *tamusi*) is the founder of the village or has parental links with the founder (Lowie 1948; Oberg 1955).

The village is quite autonomous. Its captain merely has to mediate between households and command communal work. On the littoral, villages represent local groups. All the villages together no longer represent a single supra-political

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\(^{311}\) Peter Kloos (1938-2000) considered the policy of Jean-Marcel Hurault ‘wholly irrational, if only because that which it seeks to conserve has already been fundamentally changed’ (Kloos 1971:264).
power as early voyagers suggest. Apparently, the members of a village or of multiple villages, stood together whenever war was to be waged with a common enemy or another nation. As mentioned, war was a socio-political necessity to reset alliances and nations. It should not so much be seen from a Western point of view: to strive at possessing more land or to steal valuable goods (Clastres 1977; Fausto 2001; Whitehead 1988, 1994; Santos-Granero 2009b).

Regarding contemporary Amerindian societies from both the littoral and interior of French Guiana, it may be evident now that their society has changed radically during the time span between the early voyagers and the present. In modern society, the Amerindians of the Guianas form a minority. They receive very little political attention due to their low numbers (less than 5%) and low social status in Suriname as well as in French Guiana. The indigenous social-political organization of these groups has been altered throughout the colonial era. Western regional and communal templates have caused the most recent changes.

Nevertheless, these modern societies can offer archaeologists a glimpse of earlier pre-Columbian social-political organization when combined with reading historic documents. Recently, certain anthropologists have viewed specific rituals and traditions among the Wayana as remnants of totemic clans and regional supra-powers of historic Amerindian societies (Chapuis 2006; Duin 2009). These aspects have probably survived because of the geographic isolation of the interior. It may even serve as models for the coastal Amerindians who have been subjected longer and more profoundly to European influences.

Following the above introduction concerning the historic groups of the coastal zone (cf. Appendix 2), an introduction to the current coastal Amerindian population of French Guiana is now presented.312

The Kali’na

The ancestors of the present-day Kali’na of the Cariban speaking linguistic stock, inhabited the coastal zone of the Guianas, roughly between Cayenne and the mouth of the Orinoco. Throughout the Historic Age, European powers have referred to them as Charibes, Caribes or Galibi. The French applied the latter term frequently in the colony of Cayenne (Hoff 1995). The Koriabo ceramics are most often associated with the historic Carib population of the Guianas (P. Grenand and F. Grenand 1997:60; Boomert 1986, 2004; Versteeg and Rostain 2004). The Kali’na currently consist of various influential families sharing a historic moment of birth, or Epa’kano, at the end of the 18th century (Collomb and Tiouka 2000; Collomb and Dupuy 2009).

Nowadays the Kali’na are the most significant Amerindian ethnic group in French Guiana. They consist of c.3000 Kali’na whereas in the Guianas as a whole they consist of c.26,000 (P. Grenand 2000). The majority of the Kali’na villages are situated on the sandy coastal ridges between the Iracoubo and Maroni Rivers as well as on the higher riverbanks of the Lower Maroni River itself. A large Kali’na population had settled on the Lower Mana River. However, this location had been abandoned when Jean Delawarde visited this river during the early 1940s (Delawarde 1966, 1967). The Kali’na and Saramacca villages of Kourou represent a recent implantation as a result of the construction of the European Space Center during the 1950s.

312 For population numbers per group see Yann Reinette and Pierre Grenand (2010:139).
Archaeological Investigations between Cayenne Island and the Maroni River
Founded in 1988, the Kali’na Municipality of Awala-Yalimapo is represented by means of both eponym villages. Lawrence Keymis refers to the latter as ‘laremmapo’ during his voyage in 1596. The Kali’na reoccupied this area when the State abandoned the penitentiary of Les Hattes. In 1948 the village of Terre-Rouge, situated south of Saint-Laurent du Maroni on the RN 3 towards Saint-Jean du Maroni, was founded. After several decades, the population expanded rapidly during the Suriname civil war, when a large number of Kali’na fled from the violence in the vicinity of their villages named Bigiston, Christiaan- and Pierrekondre (Kambel and de Jong 2006).

Most Kali’na men have a legal job working for the municipality services or in construction work. However, a rather large number of Kali’na has pursued a higher education in the France métropolitaine, creating an intellectual segment within the community. They have become very active in the indigenous battle from the second half of the 1980s on. In due course, the Fédération des organisations amérindiennes de Guyane (FOAG) was founded in order to defend Amerindian rights on a regional and national level (Collomb 2006b, 2007).

In fact, Kali’na and Lokono men and woman participate actively in the regional politics, representing national political parties during elections. For instance, Brigitte Wyngaard, former capitain, or chef coutumière (Fr.), of the Lokono in Balaté, led the French Green Party in the regional elections of 2002. Jean-Paul Ferreira, the Kali’na mayor of the Municipality of Awala-Yalimapo, officiates as Vice-Director of the Department of Culture at the Région de Guyane for the French Guiana Socialist Party.313

Like the majority of Amerindians in French Guiana and Suriname, the Kali’na, besides Kali’na, also speak some French, Dutch, Creole and/or Sranantongo. The latter is more common along the Maroni River. Despite the economic changes, traditional festivities are still very popular in the Kali’na villages. They represent relevant identity markers as to the Kali’na both in French Guiana and Suriname (Collomb 2000). Albeit less present in present-day society, the shaman (C., piai) does play a relatively significant role. Compared to the Palikur community, the degree of evangelization is less significant.

The Palikur

The Palikur language belongs to the Arawakan linguistic stock. The Palikur villages are situated in northwestern Amapá and in northeastern French Guiana (Launey 2000). The most prominent villages in French Guiana are Kamuyune and Norino, situated to the east of Tonate-Macouria as well as several villages to the north of the village of Saint-Georges de l’Oyapock. The village of Kamuyune, to the east of Tonate, was founded during the 1960s.

The Late Aristé funerary ceramic complex is often associated with the historic Amerindian populations of the Amapá coast which are conceived as the ancestors of the Palikur (P. Hilbert 1957; F. Grenand and P. Grenand 1987; P. Grenand and F. Grenand 1997:60). The historic name of the current Palikur, or Paykwene as they call themselves, can be referred to as Aricourri or Aricouros (F. Grenand and

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313 In 1977, the Kali’na from Awala-Yalimapo founded the Association des Amérindiens de Guyane française (AAGF), the precursor of the FOAG.

314 Gérard Collomb (2008) includes an analysis of the Kali’na point of view on their history, relationships with the Europeans, Creoles and Maroons.
The Palikur consist of allied groups or clans and various other (subjugated?) ethnic groups (F. Grenand and P. Grenand 1987; Whitehead 1995a; Passes 2004) who now consider the wetland savannahs of the Urucaúá River and the village of Kumene to be the centre of their heartland.

In French Guiana, as much as 90% of the Palikur population speaks the Palikur language. All Palikur children go to school. The men live off small legal jobs whereas the women often sell basketry and necklaces to tourists at roadsides. The majority of families tend plots in the distant vicinity of their village mainly in order to produce manioc derived products. As does the majority of the population of French Guiana, the French Palikur benefit from social financial aid. The varied Palikur communities in both French Guiana and Brazil are not isolated, but maintain very close contacts with each other. Exogamic marriages between clans occur, confirming alliances between villages. However, the number of traditional feasts is declining rapidly. This is probably related to the continuous, religious sectarian influences felt during in the last three decades. Members of the SIL, Jehovah's Witnesses and/or Easter Evangelists not only systematically reject traditional practices, but also prohibit the consumption of alcohol (e.g. cassava beer or wohska). 315

The Lokono

The Lokono belong to the Arawakan linguistic stock and reside in Guyana, Suriname, Venezuela and French Guiana. They represent the second largest group in the Guianas (Patte 2002, 2008) but the number of native speakers is estimated much lower (Rybka 2014, Table 1). In French Guiana, the largest villages are Balaté, situated south of the town of Saint-Laurent du Maroni and Sainte-Rose de Lima in the Municipality of Matoury. Smaller villages are located at Larivot near Cayenne (Cécilia village) and Saut Sabbat on the Mana River.

Balaté was founded in 1949 by Lokono from Papatamkondre, a Lokono village situated just opposite Balaté on the left bank of the Maroni River (Armanville 2010; Kambel and de Jong 2006). 316 Balaté housed a fairly large number of Lokono and Kali’na refugees who had fled the civil war in Suriname. Other Lokono families travelled farther eastward to build the above-mentioned villages on Cayenne Island (Guyon 2003).

The earliest chroniclers mention the Arawak who seemingly disappeared in French Guiana during the 19th century. It is thought they may have mingled with the Kali’na of Iracoubo whereas other groups dispersed within the rural Creole population. In general, these villages included a church and several small shops. A school has been founded at Balaté. Only members of the older generation can converse in their own language.

10.5 The Historic and present-day Amerindian material culture

Excavations result in large numbers of artefacts and other data demanding further analysis as well as interpretation. Archaeologists often observe present-day Amerindian societies (ethnoarchaeology) and read historic, ethnographic and anthropological literature in order to assist their interpretation of archaeological

315 Today, only a small number of families, notably at the fairly isolated village of Favard, still practice traditional round dancing accompanied by bamboo flutes, drums, chanting and cashiri drinking.

316 Both references represent recent documents on Amerindian landrights in the Lower Maroni area and are compiled in cooperation with and by Lokono and Kali’na inhabiting this region.
data (Politis 2002; Andrea Silva 2009). As demonstrated in the above sections, these analogies must be made with reason and cannot be applied on a one-to-one basis. The application of these formal analogies in the Americas has grown historically. They appear to be a natural step in regions where the descendents of the pre-Columbian cultures are still present.

A “direct historical” approach can be applied when comparing historic and present-day indigenous culture and society (Fagan 1985; Lyman and O’Brien 2001). In this manner, analogies can not only be made between late prehistoric or proto-historic archaeological data but also with regard to historically or contemporaneous observed cultural practices and objects through the readings of historic documents and ethnographic publications (Hulme 1992; Whitehead 1995b; Deetz 1996). For archaeologists these analogies are an important tool when viewing material traditions and understanding its transformation in order to comprehend the late pre-Columbian pottery traditions, for example, the Koriabo ceramic complex (Boomert 1986, 1995). However, as already mentioned in Section 10.1, the historic sources are biased which cannot be neglected, but for the Guianas a certain degree of continuity can be expected too which cannot be ignored either.

Historic and modern Amerindian pottery tradition

In general, ceramics represent the bulk of the artefacts in Guiana archaeology. (Ethno) historic information is a valuable asset in comprehending the manufacturing and usage of current, historic and late prehistoric pottery. Analogies serve to elucidate either certain aspects as well as differences in modern and prehistoric ways of life in the Guianas. By no means are they holy truths. Traditionally archaeologists focus on ceramics what subsequently renders historic descriptions of pottery production of great interest. Father Jean de la Mousse presents us with one of the earliest of such descriptions. During his second voyage in 1684, he visited the Galibi residing in the vicinity of the Lower Sinnamary River, French Guiana (Collomb 2006, cf. Appendix 3a). Earlier mentions of Amerindian pottery do exist, but evoke the mere presence of pottery. They include for example the following information:

*The women also make drinke of this Cassava bread, which in their Language they call Arepapa, by baking of it blacke, dry, and thinne, then chewing it in their mouths, they put it into earthen pots narrow in the bottome and broad above, containing some a Firkin, some a Kilderkin, some a Barrell, set in a small hole in the ground, with fire about them. Being well sod, they put it out into great Jarres of Earth with narrow neckes, and there it will worke a day and a night, and keepe it foure or five dayes till it be stale, and then gathering together an hundred and more, they give themselves to piping, dancing and drinking. They make drinke also of Cassava unchewed, which is small and ordinary in their houses. They use also to make drinke of Potatos which they paire and stampe in a Morter being sod, then putting water to it, drinke it.* (Leigh 1906:314)

Other similar examples are given by the Walloon colonists under command of Jesse de Forest. They encounter an Amerindian burial ground when landing at the red-coloured river banks of Rooden Hoeck (Red Point, the present-day city of Macapá at the Lower Amazon) to check for victuals:
Le Lundy vingt septiesme nous vinsmes enchrer devant roden houc et nous deualala a terre avec force prieres nous trouuasmes un fort beau pays de Campagne parseme de prayrie ou il y auoit de fort bonne terre nous trouuasmes force fruits appelles Guajes qui sont de la grosseur d’une petite orange dun fort bon gout nous promenant par le pays nous trouuasmes un cymetiere remply de pots de terre de diverses formes et figures et dans iceux des osemens de morts. (R. de Forest 1914 ii:232)

Father Antoine Biet provides another short example:

… et plusieurs autres ustensiles de ménage, surtout de la poterie de terre, à laquelle ils sont fort adroits, quoiqu’ils n’aient point de roués comme nos potiers, faisant le tout par addition de parties les unes sur les autres. (Biet 1664:355–356)

Father Pelleprat reports:

Ils ont trouvé semblablement l’invention de mettre en ouvrage la terre, de laquelle ils font leur vaisselle, leur bateria de cuisine, leurs pots, leurs plats, & leurs assietes; leurs platinas mesme pour faire cuire la Cassave, sont de cette manier, aussi bien que leurs Canaris, ou vaisseaux à mettre leur boisson, dont l’ay veu quelques uns aussi grands que des Tonneaux de vin. (Pelleprat 1655:70)

George Warren states:

Their Household Ustensils are curiously painted Earth Pots and Platters, and their Napery is the Leaves of Trees. (Warren 1667:24)

Edward Bancroft writes c.100 years later:

Their usual ornaments and domestic utensils are two or three small pots, which the mother of each family usually makes from clay, which are afterwards baked over the fire, and then stained with the juice of some particular herbs, which render them black. They have commonly a neck towards the top, for the convenience of holding them. They will last a considerable time, with proper care, and are often used by the Whites as well as Indians. (Bancroft 1769:278)

To sum, all later descriptions of Galibi pottery manufacturing on the littoral until the present, show almost the same sequence: (a) the gathering of fat clay, (b) the women manufacturing pottery, (c) the drying and sieving of the clay, (d) the adding of pounded kwepi as temper (e) as well as the coiling technique, (f) the firing and (g) the application of painting and gums, as observed by Herlein (1718), Pisotorius (1763), Sneebeling [c.1772], Quandt [1774-1780], Fermin (1770), Kappler (1854), Capitan (1882), Penard and Penard (1907), Ahlbrinck (1931), Delwarde (1967), Cornette (1988, 1990, 1992), Wack (1988), Vredenbregt (2002, 2004a, 2004b), Collomb (2003), de Tricornot (2005, 2007) and Coutet (2009) (cf. Appendix 3).

Among other ethnic groups in the Guianas we can witness a similar sequence as observed by: von Sack (1821 ii:118), Martius (1867:712–716), Schombrugk (Roth 1922:95,132,203–204), Im Thurn 1883:274–278, de Goeje (1906:17), Farabee (1918:24–26, 1924:24), Nimuendajú (1926:42–49), Gillin (1936:46–49), Frikel (1973:139–147, 273), Rostain (1991-92), van den Bel (1995), Duin (2001). The majority of the above-mentioned authors note a general decline in the quality of pottery production since the end of the 19th century as observed among the Maroni
Figure 10.10. A drawing by Riou illustrating the manufacturing of pottery among the Galibi (Crevaux 1883:13).

Figure 10.11. A photograph taken by Ahlbrinck (1931:90) depicting a woman at Lelydorp with three samaku pots.
River Caribs: ‘Only a few women still make Carib pottery and those who do so often make it largely for commercial purpose, not for personal use’ (Kloos 1971:61).

The French anthropologist Gérard Collomb (2003:134) noted a homogenization of domestic pottery production in the Guianas: ‘… les séries de poteries utilisées au quotidien dans les villages Kali’na du Maroni, telle que l’observe au début du siècle le père Ahlbrinck ([1931] 1956), est assez semblable à celle que l’on trouve décrite par d’autres auteurs, par exemple chez les Palikur de l’Est de la Guyane et du Brésil voisins (Nimuendajú, 1926), chez les Waiwai (Yde, 1965), ou chez les Carib de la rivière Barama en Guyane britannique (Gillin, 1936); de même, cette série n’est guère différente des types de pots fabriqués par les Caraïbes des petites Antilles à l’arrivée des Européens et décrits par le R. P. Breton (Allaire, 1984).’

At present, however, a revival of pottery production can be observed among the Kali’na, Wayana and Palikur of French Guiana. Several decades ago it was clearly disappearing (Cornette 1988:97; Duin 2001; Barone et al. 2002; Coutet 2009; Tricornot 2007). The origins of such survival can be found in the need for Amerindian identity and economic interest. The technology may not have developed much further during the colonial period due to the diminishing frequency in trade among the declining Amerindian population. Nonetheless, the present author observes clearly a stylistic (aesthetic) and morphological difference between the current pottery productions of the various Amerindian ethnic groups. For example, Palikur and Kali’na have their own ceramic style, but also share several similar vessel shapes. Their appearance and notably designs certainly mark a style difference between both pottery productions. Furthermore, it is remarkable that numerous words in both Palikur and Kali’na language are shared. These (technological) terms focus on the production of pottery and basketry, such as simili: the transparent glaze and seyne: white slip applied on the exterior of recipients (P. Grenand 2006:110; Pierre Grenand, personal communication, 2011).

This final section on material culture has been added as the following chapter delivers a description of artefacts found on an Amerindian site dated to the Historic Period. As discussed above, the colonial period has transformed pre-Columbian society dramatically. This may well be reflected in their material culture and notably pottery. We can therefore attempt to compare these categories of artefacts and check for continuity or discontinuity.

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317 De Goeje (1906:17) refers to an Arawak production at the beginning of the 20th century. However, Father Abbenhuis’s informant (1940:64) states that the Arawak had no longer produced pottery for several decades.

318 See also Boomert on this matter (2004, 2013:151). Concerning the Middle Orinoco River, the changes from late pre-Columbian pottery to modern times, consider the analysis by Tarble de Scaramelli and Scaramelli (2011), revealing a homogeneisation of Amerindian wares towards the end of the 19th century.