

*Early Relations of the Manoas with the
Dutch, 1606-1732*

FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ, in his voyage down the Amazon in the spring of 1689, at the mission village which he had founded among the Yurimaguas was seized with illness. In an interesting passage of his diary¹ written at this time he thus describes a personal encounter with certain native traders:—

While I was thus wearily struggling with my sickness a troop of Manaves, who are heathen Indians, came in some ten canoes to trade with the Yurimaguas.² On their arrival I went along the prow of my canoe, outside the hut, to receive them, but they would not look towards me, and turning their faces away they all passed my hut at full speed. On the following day I caused them to be summoned, and they came to me and called me in their language *abba, abba*, meaning father, just as in Hebrew . . . Their lands are in the northern direction, on a stream called Yurubetts, to be reached by the river Jupura. They usually come out at the time of the flood, because those two rivers then communicate, owing to the abundance of water, so that they can go from the Yurubetts into the river Jupura by canoe. The trade which these Manaves have with the Aizuares, Yvanomas, and Yurimaguas consists in some small bars of gold, vermilion, yuca graters, and bunches of cachivaneos, with various sorts of baskets and clubs, which they work very curiously. They do not extract the gold themselves, but proceed along the river Yurubetts and enter the Yquiari, where they trade for it, and this is the most celebrated river for gold amongst these heathens.

The key to the interpretation of this passage may be found in two quotations from later writers. Padre José Monteiro de Noronha in his 'Roteiro da Viagem' in 1768,³ says—

The Yurubaxi is the same that M. Condamine and other geographers call Yurubex and Yurubesk. At its mouth it is of small width; but

¹ In the autumn of 1902 a copy of a large portion of this diary, together with a contemporary account of his life and labours, was found by the present writer in the public library of Evora, in Portugal, in a manuscript entitled 'Mission de los Omaguas, Jurymaguas, Aysuares, Ibanomas, y otras Naciones desde Napo hasta el Rio Negro.'

² The mission village was almost opposite the mouth of the river Jurua.

³ MS. Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, *British Guiana-Brazil Boundary Arbitration, premier mémoire du Brésil*, Annexe, i. 184-5.

further up it forms great lakes, by which there is communication with the Jupura . . . In other times it was peopled by Manãos.

The anonymous author of a paper entitled 'Synopsis de algumas Noticias Geographicas,'⁴ &c., written about 1766, is more explicit.

When the water is high the passage [from the Rio Negro to the Rio Jupura] is easiest by the river Urubaxi, as it is all navigable by means of pools and swamps as far as the lake of Amana, on the Jupura; this journey takes eight days for a light canoe. Father Samuel Fritz believed that the river Urubaxi flowed into the river Iquiary, of which we will speak presently; however the information on which he went was inaccurate, for as a matter of fact the Urubaxi only makes a bar in the Rio Negro below the Iquiary, at a distance of some sixty-four leagues . . . Six leagues from the fortress of S. Gabriel, up stream, the famous river Cajory is in view; the name in the language of the inhabitants means 'white water' . . . This is the river which is popularly called Gosopes by the natives who lived there, and by some geographers Iquiary and Quiquiary. Lastly, this is the river which Fathers Christoval d'Acuña, Samuel Fritz, and Monsieur Condamine called Rio de Ouro; it gave rise to the story of the golden lake of Parima and the city of Manoa, the exaggerated magnificence of which seem more like the strange fancies of poets than the serious efforts of historians.

At the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century the Manoas⁵ were a numerous and powerful nation, consisting of many tribes, who inhabited both banks of the Rio Negro and the streams which flowed into it from the north and south for a considerable stretch of country, the centre of which was known at a later date as the Portuguese settlement of Bararua.⁶ They were the dominant race on the Upper Negro, and, as the passage quoted above from the diary of Samuel Fritz shows, they were in his time a nation of itinerant traders. Their traffic comprised all the various articles of Indian barter, but in particular they were the purveyors of the golden plates and ornaments which Fritz found in the possession of the tribes living on the Amazon near the mouth of the river Jupura. The writer of the 'Synopsis' and other commentators upon this passage of Fritz's diary agree that his river Yquiari is identical with the Ucayari or Cayari, more commonly known in more modern times as the Uapés.⁷ They likewise agree in asserting that he was inaccurate in saying that the Urubaxi (Yurubetts) entered the Yquiari, whereas in really

⁴ MS. Biblioteca Municipal of Oporto, *British Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitration, prem. mém. du Brés.*, Annexe, i. 88.

⁵ Portuguese, *Mandos*.

⁶ Later still called Thomar (Sampaio, *Diario da Viagem*, § cccxlxiil.) The assumption that the Manaves of Fritz were Manoas scarcely needs justification. La Condamine writes, *Le P. Fritz dit expressément dans son Journal que ces Manaos qu'il vit venir trafiquer avec les Indiens des bords de l'Amazone, &c.*

⁷ So called from the name of the dominant tribe on its banks.

both are tributaries of the Negro, and their mouths are sixty-four leagues apart. But it should be remembered that these native names of rivers were continually changing and shifting, according to the migrations of the tribes that used them, and that Ribeiro de Sampaio⁸ states that the ancient name of the Rio Negro itself was Quiari. Possibly the word, which belongs to the Manoa idiom, had at one time this more extended signification.⁹

In his further comment, however, 'This is the river which Fathers Christoval d'Acuña, Samuel Fritz, and Monsieur Condamine called the Rio de Ouro; it gave rise to the story of the golden lake of Parima and the city of Manoa,' the author of the 'Synopsis' makes a suggestion of no small interest. Of the various localities towards which adventurers set out in quest of the fabled lake of Paytiti, on the shores of which dwelt El Dorado—the gilded king—in the golden city of Manoa, three stand forth pre-eminent. The first, the district of the Omaguas, lay on the Upper Amazon, in the neighbourhood of the spot where Fritz encountered the 'Manaves;' the second, among the Uapés, high up the river Ucayari; the third, that of Lake Parima, among the plains watered by the upper tributaries of the river Parima or Branco.¹⁰ The fact that the name of Manoa is so widely associated with this imaginary city filled with rich treasures of gold may be taken to indicate that within the limits of the three localities named lay the sphere within which the Manoa traded. The three localities named represent the legend as it was carried by native rumour, with all the fictitious exaggeration characteristic of Indian tales, from the mouth of the Jupura up and down the Amazon to Quito and Pará, from the Cayari to Santa Fé and the Upper Orinoco, from the Parima to the Essequibo and its sister rivers of the northern watershed of Guiana. It was while coasting along the mouths of these rivers that Raleigh heard the story of 'the great and golden city of Manoa,' and through his fascinating pen it found its final resting-place on Lake Parima. Not till two centuries had passed away was it proved that this lake has no other geographical representative than the inundated Savannah, which in the rainy season unites the watershed of the Essequibo with that of the Branco.¹¹ But this point at which the two watersheds are thus in contact formed, as has been shown

⁸ Ribeiro de Sampaio has left a most interesting account of his official journeys up the Amazon and Negro in 1774-5 to the limits of his jurisdiction (Sampaio, *Diário da Viagem*, § cclxxxv). See *British Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Braz. Annexe, iv. 1-88.

⁹ The river which enters the Negro immediately before the Ucayari is called Curicuriau, literally the river of gold.

¹⁰ So called by the Portuguese from its water being white, while that of the Rio Negro was black.

¹¹ Known as the 'Pirara portage.'

elsewhere,¹² the regular traffic route by which the Caribs, the itinerant traders of the north, as the Manoas were of the south, made their way into the basin of the Amazon for purposes of barter. The legend, then, of the golden city of Manoa immediately to the south-west of this 'portage' would seem to show that thus far the Manoas penetrated, bringing with them their golden wares. That this is in accordance with historical fact can be proved by documentary evidence. A despatch of the Dutch director-general in 1767 represents the Manoas as being active in those parts and watched by the Caribs. Another despatch of 1766 represents some Manoas as forming a settlement on the Maho, and again coming into collision with Caribs. It is the same in 1763, in 1751, in 1729, and in 1723.¹³ The two nations seem throughout to have been very jealous of intrusion into their respective spheres of activity, that of the Manoas lying apparently to the west and south-west of the Carib, i.e. Maho-Branco, traffic route.

Reference has already been made to the evidence of Christoval d'Acuña as to the bartering of gold by the Manoas in 1639. The passage deserves to be quoted *in extenso*. The historian of Pedro Teixeira's descent from Quito, after describing the populous tribe of the Curuziraris, whose settlements, beginning 28 leagues below the mouth of the Jurúa, extend uninterruptedly for 80 leagues along the south bank of the Amazon, proceeds—¹⁴

The Portuguese in ascending the river called the first village of these Indians they came to 'the town of gold,'¹⁵ having found and procured some there, which the Indians had in small plates, hanging from their noses and ears. This gold was tested in Quito and found to be twenty-one carats.

Acuña then states that the expedition in ascending the river had been able to learn nothing about this gold, as they did not understand the language of the natives, but now having good interpreters he had been able to ascertain the following facts:—

Opposite this village, a little higher up, on the north side is the mouth of a river called Yurupazi, ascending which and crossing a certain district by land, in three days another river is reached, called Jupura, by which the Yquiari is entered, called also 'the river of gold.' Here, at the foot of a hill, the natives get a great quantity; and this gold is all in grains and lumps of a good size; so that by beating it they make plates, which, as I have said before, they hang to their ears and noses. The natives who communicate with those who extract the gold are called *Managus* [Manoas], and those who live on the river and work

¹² See *ante*, vol. xix. pp. 8-12.

¹³ *British Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Brit. appendix, i. 81-3; *Venezuelan Boundary Arbitr.*, British case, app. i. 253, ii. 222-3.

¹⁴ *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amasons* (Hakluyt Society), pp. 101-3. The translation from Acuña is by Sir Clements R. Markham.

¹⁵ *Aldéa de ouro*.

at the mine are called Yumaguaris . . . Opposite all these settlements [i.e. of the Curuziraris] the land is flat, and so shut in by other rivers, branches of the Caqueta,¹⁶ that great lakes are formed, many leagues long, extending until, mingling with the Rio Negro, they unite with the main stream. Islands are thus formed, which are peopled by many tribes, but that which is the largest and most populous is the island of Zuanas. Fourteen leagues from the village which we called 'golden,' on the north side, is the mouth of the river Jupura, and this is the most certain and direct entrance to reach the hill which so liberally offers its treasures. The mouth of the Jupura is in 2° 30' of latitude, as also is a village which is situated four leagues lower down on the south side, near a great ravine, and off the mouth of a large and clear river which the natives call Tafi.

Here then, exactly fifty years before Father Samuel Fritz wrote the journal of his descent to Pará, at the very same spot the earlier Jesuit father who acted as historiographer to Pedro Teixeira on his return voyage down stream from Quito found the Manoas, acting as intermediaries and traders in conveying gold from the river Ucayari by way of the Jupura to the tribes inhabiting the south bank of the Amazon. The only inference that can be drawn is that these men were continuously trafficking in this manner during the fifty years which elapsed between the voyages of Samuel Fritz and Christoval d'Acuña, and there can be but little doubt that the trade was already in 1639 of ancient origin.

Another most interesting official narrative, from the pen of Sergeant-Major Felipe Mattos, one of Pedro Teixeira's companions, dated 9 Aug. 1645, recounting all that he saw of and heard about this gold traffic during the voyage to Quito, is extant among the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon.¹⁷ This officer writes—

Half-way on our journey from Pará to the source of the river [Amazon] some Indians from neighbouring settlements came out to the canoe in which we were, in order to trade with us, selling us provisions in exchange for the merchandise we had with us. And there we saw them with some crescents and circlets of gold, some of which they gave us in exchange for other merchandise. And upon our asking them from whence came that gold they said that it was got from a river which flowed into that of the Amazons at a distance of four days' journey. And they informed us that gold was got there in such quantities that the inhabitants of those places had abundance of it in pots for the purchase of merchandise, and that there being so much of it they only troubled to look for the large grains, which were worked with the greater ease. And being asked what natives there were in the settlements whence that gold is obtained, and by whom they were governed, they replied that they were all Indians of a brown colour, and that in each settlement there was a governor, who, to distinguish him from the others, wears on his head a crown, which by the shape they gave to it is imperial, and had hanging down

¹⁶ The Caqueta, really the same as the Jupura.

¹⁷ Archivo do Conselho Ultramarino.

from his nostrils a large plate that covered his throat, and others of the same size in his ears, all of gold, which was the only metal they had in those settlements; and that they had no other trade or barter than gold.

In this passage it will be seen that the legend of Paytiti and its king is definitely associated with the Indians, who supplied the gold found among the natives living on the Amazon near the mouths of the Jupura. In other words, the Indians of Paytiti¹⁸ were the Managus of Acuña, the Manivas of Samuel Fritz, the Manaos or Manoas of the Portuguese, the Magnouws or Maganouts of the Dutch records. The inference, then, that has already been drawn from the fact that the golden city on the Lake of Paytiti, the residence of El Dorado, in so many stories derived from various sources, and in connexion with so many different localities, bears the name of Manoa here receives strong confirmation. All available evidence tends to the same conclusion, and it may be asserted with something like confidence that the limits within which these localities are situated coincide with the limits of the trading activity of the Manoas. In other words, the sphere of the Manoas at the height of their power was the quadrilateral area whose angular points roughly coincided with the mouths of the Branco, the Maho, the Jupura, and the Ucayari.

The power of the Manoas reached its height during the first decades of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of a great chieftain named Ajuricaba. This remarkable man appears to have been not only the acknowledged head of the entire Manoa nation, but to have acquired the overlordship of many other tribes of the Upper Negro. His history is unique among Indian chiefs, from the deep impression his career left upon the memory of later times. His deeds are recorded by Governor Mendonça Furtado in a despatch dated 4 July 1758¹⁹; by the vicar-general, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha,²⁰ in his account of his visitation of the Rio Negro in 1768; and at considerable length by the chief magistrate of Rio Negro, F. X. Ribeiro de Sampaio, in his diary of his journey up that river in 1775.²¹

Sampaio thus describes the relations between Ajuricaba and the Dutch:—

Ajuricaba was of the Manoa nation and one of its most powerful headmen. Nature had endowed him with a brave, intrepid, and warlike spirit. He made an alliance with the Dutch of Guiana, with whom he

¹⁸ See the comments of La Condamine, *Brit. Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr. prem. mém. du Brés.*, Annexe, v. 23-5.

¹⁹ *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitration*, Brit. appendix, i. 67.

²⁰ *Ibid. prem. mém. du Brés.*, Annexe, i. 184.

²¹ *Ibid.* Brit. appendix, i. 114.

traded by the Rio Branco, of which we have already spoken. The principal article of trade was slaves, to which condition he reduced the Indians of our villages by making formidable raids upon them. He infested the Rio Negro with the greatest freedom, flying the Dutch flag itself upon his canoes, in such a way that he made himself universally feared and was the scourge of the Indians and whites.

After giving an account of his overthrow and death Sampaio proceeds—

What is in truth most striking in the story of Ajuricaba is that all his subjects and the greater part of his nation, who showed him the most faithful love and obedience, harbouring an illusion, which in their fancy seemed based on reason, since it seemed impossible to them that he could die on account of their desire to keep him alive, waited for him as our Sebastianists await the coming of King Sebastian. Throughout the whole course of his life Ajuricaba was certainly a hero among the Indians.

Such a singular position of influence and authority as is here described cannot have been acquired quickly, and it is by no means an unreasonable assumption to place the beginnings of Ajuricaba's career well within the last decade of the seventeenth century. As to his relations of friendship with the Dutch, there is nothing in the records to show that these were of recent standing when they were first discovered by the Portuguese. Everything points to an opposite conclusion, for, as will be shown later, they were probably the natural outcome of a commercial intercourse, which in 1727 had already subsisted for more than a century.

The words of Sampaio have been quoted because they evidently give expression to the current Indian tradition about Ajuricaba. For the facts his statements should only be accepted as authentic in so far as they are supported by contemporary evidence. This, however, is not lacking. The important despatch of Governor João da Maya da Gama,²² 26 Sept. 1727, contains not only an account of the war with Ajuricaba, its causes and its issue, but refers to earlier despatches²³ of 1724 and 1722, in which 'the raids that were carried out by the "Manaus"²⁴ Indians and the friendship which they kept up with the Dutch' were reported. Mention is also made of the efforts of the Jesuit father Joseph de Souza

to come to terms with these savages, especially the disloyal Ajuricaba, a haughty, insolent man, who styled himself governor of all these nations. All the other headmen showed him respect, and all the attacks upon us were committed by this man's orders or persuasion, according to the deposition of many witnesses.

²² *Brit. Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Brit. appendix, vol. i. no. 22.

²³ No longer extant.

²⁴ So spelt in the original.

This Jesuit also testifies to Ajuricaba's use of the Dutch flag.

A despatch from the preceding governor, Bernardo Pereira de Berredo,²⁵ 4 March 1719, carries us three years further back, and informs the council at Lisbon that the captain of the fort of Rio Negro by his order

was going in pursuit of a large convoy of Dutch commodities, which was trafficking with our Indians of the nation of the Manoas in the head waters of the same river.

With regard to this order a significant admission is made by Berredo in a later despatch,²⁶ 20 June 1720.

The Dutch convoy which went to trade with our Indians (he writes) was out of reach of the captain of the fort of Rio Negro.

All this evidence points to a long-established and far-reaching traffic, in which Dutch merchants, acting through local agents, were the principals and the Manoas the intermediaries and purveyors, by whom the goods supplied were carried far and wide along the tributaries of the Upper Negro²⁷ and southward to the Jupura and the Amazon. Earlier than 1719 authentic testimony to this far inland trade and intercourse ceases, for the simple reason that it lay in regions outside the cognisance of Portuguese officials and missionaries, and that though it was carried on by authorised private enterprise, under the aegis of the Dutch flag, the salaried servants of the West India Company took as yet no part in it.

The existence of this traffic along the Upper Negro and in the Jupura delta during what may be styled the epoch of Ajuricaba being thus established, it is now time to show that the commercial connexion of the Dutch with this region (*a*) subsisted after the death of Ajuricaba (*b*) and had its beginnings more than a century before that event.

(*a*) A petition of the year 1732 is extant of a Carmelite priest, Father Frey Joseph de Payva Real,²⁸ who had served for three years as missionary of the *aldeia* of the Jupura. In this petition he complains bitterly of the harm caused to his work by the intrusion into his sphere of a slave troop accompanied by a Jesuit missionary. Amongst other complaints is the following:—

In this way it was that when your petitioner was purposing to enter the

²⁵ The historian of the early colonisation of the Amazon (*Brit. Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Brit. appendix, i. 18).

²⁶ *Ibid.* i. 19.

²⁷ The emissaries of the Dutch in the Parima Savannah, along the Branco itself, and in the districts adjoining, and along the Lower Negro and its tributaries, were Caribs, not Manoas. The interchange of goods probably took place at the mouth of the Branco and those of its western affluents.

²⁸ *Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, Requerimentos MS.*

interior district of the Jumagoary tribe,²⁹ with the object of reducing it to obedience to your majesty's royal laws, as it is situated within the territory of that state, but trades with the Dutch, from which cause it may result that the latter will obtain information about the gold mines that exist in our territories, concerning which the petitioner received news through certain Indians of the same interior district, the said officer in charge of the troop and the said missionary thereof hindered him in this enterprise.

This is an important piece of evidence, from which it is clear that Dutch trading and influence in the Jupura delta were not extinguished by the overthrow of Ajuricaba's power. Five years after the death of the Manoa chief, despite the continuous presence of a Portuguese troop in the Upper Negro, Frey Joseph de Payva Real, advancing up the Jupura, finds that the natives of the Urubaxi *Hinterland* still trade with the Dutch. The communication between the Branco and the Jupura was not yet closed to these daring adventurers.

(b) In the fourth volume of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*³⁰ is preserved an account of the river Marawini, written in 1609 by Captain Unton Fisher, who accompanied his cousin Captain Robert Harcourt in his voyage to Guiana. Fisher derived much of his information from an old Indian, described as

a Yaio, an ancient man who came down from the head of the river Seliname [Suriname] in a little canoe with four others and a boy . . . This Yaio told me of a Mountaine at the head of Dissikeebie [Essequibo] which is called Oraddoo, where is a great rock of white Spar, which hath streams of Gold in it about the breadth of a goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. He also speaketh of a Plaine which is some seven or eight dayes Journey from the Mountaine where is great store of Gold in graines so big as the top of a man's finger, and after the floods be fallen they find them, which Plaine is called Mumpara . . . He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge Rocke under a Mountaines side, which is called Mattuick, that on a Sunshine day, if a man looked on it, it would dazzle his eyes exceedingly. Hee showed mee, before his departure from mee, a piece of metall fashioned like an eagle, and as I ghesse, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces troy weight; it seemed to be gold, or at leastwise two partes Gold and one Copper. I offered him an Axe, but he refused; to which I added foure kniues, but could not get it of him: but I imagine the Dutch at Selinama haue bought it of him, for their only comming was for Axes, as he said, hearing that the Dutch were at Selinama . . . He likewise spake of a very large and faire City in Guiana, which hee called Monooan, which I take to be that which Sir Walter called Manoa, which standeth by a salt lake . . . He further said that after that a man is up at the head of the riuer

²⁹ Spoken of by Acuña, *supra*, pp. 232 *seq.*, as living on the Rio de Ouro, and working the mines from which the Manoas derived their gold; see Delisle's map, 1703. The district spoken of by Father Payva Real was near Lake Marahi and the Urubaxi portage.

³⁰ Ch. xvii. pp. 1284-5.

and some ten days journey within the land, euery childe can tell of the riches of Monocan. Further he addeth, how that onse in euery third yeere all the Cassiques or Lords and Captaines, from seuen days journey from Manocan doe come to a great drinking, which continueth for the space of ten days together . . . Also he affirmeth, that within the Citty at the entring in of their houses they hang Carocoore on the posts, which I take to be images of gold.

In this most interesting passage, amidst the difficulties caused by the change in the names of localities, in a country where each shifting Indian tribe had its own nomenclature, certain facts stand out in clear relief. The route followed by Captain Fisher's 'Yaio' was the well known inland trade route traversed by the Caribs and other Indians, who were thus accustomed to make their way with slaves or articles of barter right across the upper waters of the various streams, from the Marawini to the Suriname, from the Suriname to the Corentyne, from the Corentyne to the Essequibo, from the Essequibo to the Rupununi, and so by the Maho and the Tacutu to the Branco and further westward still. Schomburgk several times refers to this route, as, for instance, when in describing his descent of the Corentyne in 1849 he writes—

While ascending the Rupununi last March I saw at one of the settlements a Carib, who told me he had lately come with others from the lower Marawini, and entered the Corentyne to join their relations at the Rupununi, and that they had left their craft at the place where the path ends from the Corentyne to the Essequibo.³¹

The shining quartz mountains almost certainly belong to the Canuku range, where their presence forms a striking feature of the scenery.³² Through these mountains the river Rupununi passes, and at least two important Indian routes converge upon the point at which the river Mapure enters that stream.³³

The plain of Mumpara, 'where after the floods had fallen they find great store of gold in grains,' is the Parima Savannah. It was in 1609 the general belief that here El Dorado was to be found. The name Mumpara is probably identical with that of the river and mountain of Mapure,³⁴ beyond which, to a traveller from the Upper Essequibo, the plain lay. It has been demonstrated by Humboldt and late explorers that the fabled lake of Parima on which the golden city of Manoa was placed, had no

³¹ *Brit. Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Brit. appendix, iii. 188. See also Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 815.

³² Schomburgk, in *Brit. Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Brit. appendix, iii. 121, and elsewhere.

³³ *Ibid.* Brit. Atlas, map 2.

³⁴ Mumpara may possibly be connected with the Maouperre. The head waters of this river, of the Essequibo, Rupununi, and Tacutu are in close proximity; and here are found the modern representatives of the Jaos—the Woyawais. See map of Coudreau, *ibid.* Braz. Atlas, 86, Brit. Annexe, iii. 39-40.

other representative than the flooded plain, which at the time of inundation connects the watersheds of the Amazon and the Essequibo. The gold ornaments found among the Curuziraris in the Upper Amazon were, according to the personal testimony of Acuña in 1639 and of Fritz in 1691, brought from the Upper Negro across the flooded swamps uniting the Urubaxi and the Jupura as articles of barter by traders of the Manoa tribe. It follows, almost as a corollary, that the golden ornaments seen by Captains Harcourt, Fisher, and others in the possession of Indians near the mouths of Guiana rivers, and which, according to the report of those Indians, came from a city bearing the name of Manoa, situated on a lake, which has been identified with the flooded swamps uniting the Pirara with the Rupununi, had a similar origin.³⁵ In other words, a comparison of the narrative of Captain Fisher's Yaio with that, which occurs in the report of Felipe Mattos³⁶ points unmistakably to the fact that the gold³⁷ in both cases was derived from the same source and convoyed by the same carriers. The narratives of Acuña and Fritz tell us that the carriers were Indians of the Manoa tribe. According to Raleigh, Keymis, De Laet, and others the source of supply was a city named Manoa. Native tradition and report and the testimony of travellers during the seventeenth century all speak of a gold traffic in the far interior of Guiana in the direction of the Upper Negro, and unite in associating it with a particular tribal name.

The most remarkable fact, however, told by Captain Fisher is this. His 'ancient' Yaio was the possessor of a piece of metal, chiefly gold, weighing several ounces troy weight, but he refused to part with it to the Englishman even when Fisher added four knives to his original offer of an axe. And this not because he did not wish to sell or because he was dissatisfied with the wares that were offered, for the Yaio had told him 'their only comming was for axes, hearing the Dutch were at Seliname.' Fisher, therefore, is driven to the conclusion that the refusal was due to the fact that the gold was already bespoken by these Dutchmen. Here, then, we are face to face with evidence of a simple and naïve kind, showing that already in 1609 the Dutch factors residing on the Guiana coast had established intercourse through native agents hailing from the sources of the Essequibo and familiar with the Canukú mountains and the Parima Savannah, with the gold-trading Indians, the original owners of the 'Carocoore'—in other words, the Manoa. This is in entire accordance with what has been shown elsewhere³⁸ to have been the habit and practice of the Dutch at

³⁵ The Manoa came to the Branco by the Caratramani and the Mocañahi.

³⁶ See above, p. 233.

³⁷ Everywhere the native name for gold appears as *caracuru*, or some variety of that word, alike on the Trombétas, the Rupununi, the Upper Negro, and the Amazon.

³⁸ *Ants*, vol. xviii. p. 643.

this early date. They had not as yet founded actual colonies on the Guiana coast, but year by year their ships, laden with barter goods, visited the various river mouths, and now in one place, now in another, set up temporary depôts in charge of factors. These were left behind to traffic in the interior until the vessel returned to replenish the stores and carry home the profits of the trading.

How far inland and with what astonishing enterprise these daring factors carried on their operations has been revealed by the reports of a Peruvian official, Juan Recio de Leon,³⁹ written in 1624 and 1625. This Spanish *maesse de campo* was anxious to open out a route by water from Cuzco to Pará and so to Spain, and thus avoid the necessity of the long voyage from the Pacific sea-board. Starting from Peluchucho he made his way by various streams for 100 leagues into a great river, and in the above-named reports he has given an account of his journey, and of the information he gleaned from the Indians about the country that lay beyond. Out of much that is interesting in what he has to tell the consideration of a few short passages having a direct bearing on the subject matter of this paper must here suffice.

The geography of Recio de Leon, like that of all his contemporaries, was extremely misty and vague, but of the streams, which issue from the Andes, in the district through which his journeys lay he probably had a more accurate idea than any other traveller until quite recent times. The great river into which he entered, and to which he gives the name of Apurima, is clearly the Ucayali. Recio de Leon states that it is formed by the junction of the Gaumanga, Abancay, and the Great Paucarmayo, that is also called Apurima, and he then on two occasions says this river Apurima flows towards the Lake of Paytiti. A glance at a good modern map⁴⁰ shows that the streams named are all affluents of the Ucayali, and that the writer extends to the whole of that river the name of its chief tributary in the direction of Cuzco. It was on this river that he held parleys with the natives to the following effect:—⁴¹

Questioning them what they knew of the people that lived further on, and of the course that these rivers took, they brought me three or four Indian chiefs much versed in those voyages, and having asked them they answered that by land or by water they arrived in four days at a great *cocha*—that is to say, great lake—that all these rivers cause, in very flat land, and that there are in it many islands thickly populated with an infinite number of people; and that the lord of all of them is called the Great Paytiti, and that the Indians of these islands are very rich

³⁹ Brit. Museum, 1324 K (6) and Add. MSS. 13977.

⁴⁰ *Brit. Guiana-Brasil Boundary Arbitr.*, Brit. Atlas, no. 1. Comp. No. 9, Fritz, 1691; No. 9, d'Anville, 1748.

⁴¹ 'Breve Relacion,' &c., Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 13977, f. 482.

and asking them from whence they obtain their riches, they said that they likewise had asked this of the Paytites, and that they had replied from the *cocha*. These Indians also gave me information of another large quantity of people that there are, who travel to the north into the folds of a snowy *cordillera* that rises near the Lake of Paytiti, and proceeds to the new kingdom of Granada . . . I asked also what name they gave to this river, that is formed of the junction of these up to the lake that is so vast that one cannot in any wise distinguish land from bank to bank, and they said that it is called Great Parauri—that is to say in Spain, Duero⁴²—that gathers all the waters. . . . Many of the Anamas made a great show of riches, such as bracelets of gold on the wrists and others on the ankles; the women had many gewgaws suspended from their noses and ears.

To any one familiar with the accounts of the Lake of Paytiti in early writers all this is very intelligible. The Apurima is the Ucayali. Its inhabitants, who visit Paytiti, are the Epuremei, who, according to Raleigh and the cartographers and writers who follow him, live to the south-west of Manoa and the golden lake. The Great Parauri, which receives all the waters, is the main stream of the river Solimões,⁴³ which as it spreads out, studded with islands, transforms itself into the Lake Paytiti, 'out of which,' again to quote the words of Recio de Leon, 'other two rivers issue, one of which, as I have said, enters into the Marañon, and the other forms that of the Amazons, Great Parana, whose entrances into the North Sea are so well known.' The name Parauri⁴⁴ long survived as the appellation of the golden village described by Acuña and other companions of Teixeira. The El Dorado towards which adventurer after adventurer directed their steps in the sixteenth century was believed to lie among 'the islands of the Omaguas'⁴⁵—the precise position here assigned to it. Of the rivers which issue from it the Amazon is the stream ordinarily known by that name, the Marañon is the Marañon of Aguirre and of the early writers—i.e. the Negro-Cassiquiari-Orinoco⁴⁶ waterway which enters the North Sea by Trinidad. The river which unites the Marañon with Paytiti-Parauri is the Jupura. The Indians that travel to the north into the folds of a snowy *cordillera* in the direction of the new kingdom of Granada are the Managús of Acuña, the Manaves of Fritz—the purveyors of the gold ornaments with which the

⁴² 'Golden.'

⁴³ The Portuguese name of the Upper Amazon.

⁴⁴ See Sampalo, *Diario da Viagem*, § lxxxix. &c.

⁴⁵ *The Search for Eldorado*, introd., by Sir Clements Markham (Hakluyt Society), pp. xv-xvii.

⁴⁶ Sometimes the Negro-Branco-Essequibo waterway (see Markham, *ibid.* pp. xlvii-xlix, and note on pp. 110-11). Acosta, lib. ii. c. 6, says, 'The great river called by some the river of Amazons, by others Marañon . . . passing by the great plains of Paytiti, Dorado, and the Amazons, in the end falls into the ocean almost right against the islands of Margarita and Trinidad.'

inhabitants of Parauri, the Paytites of Recio de Leon, the Curuziraris of Acuña, adorned themselves.

With this brief exposition of the geography of the *maesse de campo* we proceed to the sequel of his narrative.

The caziques of Velcupiamo and Marana and these Anamas that had accompanied me said that there had entered into the Lake of Paytiti for more than eighteen years some *viracochas bermejós*⁴⁷—that must mean that they are English or Dutch⁴⁸—that every year brought from their land knives, choppers, taffety, and linen, things of which these natives are in need, and with them get in barter very great riches of gold, silver, pearls, and other things of value. And as this news appeared to me difficult and incredible they showed me at once knives and choppers and some taffety brought from the said Paytiti not many days before . . . I enquired whether those iron goods that they were showing me were not some of those that I had given them; and when I saw the great difference that there was between the one and the other I gave credit to their relation. All these Indians say that the majority of them go to Paytiti two or three times a year to traffic and barter, and that is the reason that they have these iron goods in their possession.

In another of these reports⁴⁹ the further information is given that it was from the Dutchmen that these natives learnt their knowledge of the lake, and of the rivers that disembogue from it, and also another fact of some interest. Recio de Leon thus tells it:—

Also, señor, these Indians said that besides the riches these Dutchmen carried away from the barter of the iron goods also much sand of the shore of the lake for the purpose of washing as cargo for their vessels, and when they asked them why they did not complete the washing they replied that in their own land they extracted the gold more easily.

The presence of these Dutch traders, then, on the Upper Amazon among the 'islands of the Omaguas,' above the mouth of the Jupura, during a series of years before 1624 may be taken as proved beyond all reasonable doubt. But if so, whence did they come, and what route did they follow in arriving at Parauri? It is practically certain that they did not come up the Amazon. The Dutch founded a settlement six leagues above Genipape in 1616,⁵⁰ of which an interesting record has survived. But this was at least two months distant by direct voyage from the locality in question, and the settlement had already been abandoned some

⁴⁷ Explained in another passage as meaning 'ruddy foreign people'—*avian visto gente rubia extranjera a quien llamaran elles viracochas bermejós*.

⁴⁸ As the Caribs and other natives had only one name for Dutch and English (*paranaghiri* = people from the sea) this doubt often arises. Fritz speaks of the Dutch traders in these parts in 1692 as English. Recio de Leon in other passages makes it clear that he knew that they were Dutch: *hasta la Laguna, la avian nauegado muchas veces y endo a pescatar de los Olandeses . . . en la forma y nombres dellas que los dichos Olandeses les avian dicho* (f. 473).

⁴⁹ Relation to the king, f. 473.

⁵⁰ See *ante*, vol. xviii. p. 647 seq., 1903.

two years before the date of Recio de Leon's narrative. Moreover, according to contemporary evidence, the trade from Genipape consisted in tobacco, annotto, and speckle wood; there is not a word about gold, the object which, according to Recio de Leon's narrative, led the Hollanders to Paytiti.

This last word gives the key to the direction by which the Dutchmen travelled to Parauri. A close examination of the extracts from the *maesse de campo's* reports will show that the Indians, his informants, though they talk glibly about Paytiti, never pretend to have themselves entered the lake.⁵¹ They state plainly that all they know about it they learnt from the Hollanders. They see the natives (the Curuziraris of Acuña) wearing golden ornaments, and on inquiring whence these were obtained the reply is from the *cocha*, implying clearly a place not close at hand. The talk about the gold-bearing sand is a mere embellishment drawn from the wide-spread legend of El Dorado. A definite indication of its locality is given, i.e. that it lies near a snowy *cordillera* in the direction of the new kingdom of Granada, towards which numerous other Indians travel from Parauri. And, as already stated, a comparison of this narrative with those of Acuña, Fritz, and others locates it upon the river 'Iquiari' or Ucayari.⁵² The route to this gold-producing stream, one of the earliest traditional sites of El Dorado and Paytiti, by the Jupura, the Urubaxi, and the Negro, lay through the heart of the country in which the Manóas, the trading and dominant nation of south-west Guiana, as the Caribs were of the north-west, were most thickly settled.

The close terms of friendship and intimacy which at the beginning of the seventeenth century subsisted between the Dutch and the Caribs has been fully dealt with in earlier articles in this Review.⁵³ By the aid of these agents the Dutch from the mouths of the Essequibo and other rivers pushed their trade in many directions into the far interior, and eventually made the Rio Branco into a highway of intercourse with the Lower Negro and the Lower Amazon. But between the warlike and trading Manóas and the warlike and trading Caribs perennial jealousy existed, and all evidence bearing upon their relations tends to show that the

⁵¹ Acuña writes, 'All this diligence [of the Curuziraris] is caused by their traffic with the other tribes, who, forced by necessity (as these things are not made in their country), come for large cargoes of them, giving in exchange other things which are wanted by the Curuziraris,' and again of the tribes of the Jupura, 'Among these tribes, according to information from the new kingdom of Granada, is the desired "golden lake"' (Markham's translation, pp. 101, 105).

⁵² Now known, from the name of the principal tribe on its banks, as the Uapés. It was to the Uapés that Hutten in 1541 penetrated from Venezuela in his search for El Dorado, and from there to the Omaguas.

⁵³ 'The Dutch in Western Guiana,' vol. xvi. p. 661, 1901; 'The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro,' vol. xix. pp. 14, 15, 1904.

Carib carriers came to the borders of what may be described as the sphere of the Manoas, but did not advance within it.⁵⁴ Such being the case Recio de Leon's reports of the regular frequenting by the Hollanders of the Jupura-Urubaxi trade route seem to imply the presence of resident Dutch factors among the Manoas, and probably the maintenance of some depot of stores in the neighbourhood of the Uapés, suitably placed for keeping up intercourse with the coast by means of the Caribs and with the interior by means of the Manoas.

The scanty records that are available support this supposition. Acuña in his account of what he learnt from the natives near the mouth of the Rio Negro of some tribes who inhabited that river further inland writes, 'They affirm that it is thickly peopled by different nations, the last of whom is clothed and wear hats (*sombreros*), a certain sign of their vicinity to the Spaniards of Peru.'⁵⁵ This statement points to long and close intercourse between some tribe of the Upper Negro and Europeans. Nothing less could have induced Indians of the far interior to wear clothes and hats. One of the best living authorities upon the Indians of Guiana speaks of three stages through which natives in contact with white men pass before clothing is adopted, and he states that even when the clothed stage is reached the garments are only worn in the presence of Europeans, and are thrown off by the Indian with a sigh of relief as soon as he is alone with his fellows.⁵⁶ It may be taken, then, that whatever may have been the origin of the semi-civilised condition of this tribe of clothed Indians mentioned by Acuña, close intercourse between them and European traders must have subsisted throughout the early part of the seventeenth century. Nothing could have appeared to be more unlikely did we not possess the reports of Recio de Leon. Among these clothed Indians may have been one of the depots⁵⁷ of stores lying on the trade route of Recio de Leon's Dutch factors.

Nor does this piece of corroborative evidence stand alone. In the *Roteiro da Viagem*⁵⁸ of Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, written in 1768-9, the following passage occurs:—

The Içana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniba . . . Uerequena, and others. Those of the nation Uerequena, commonly called by corruption of the vowel Arequena, are distinguished by a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ear; in it they place bunches of straw. Among them are to be found many that previously to

⁵⁴ *Venezuelan Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. app. ii. 2, 71, 222-3.

⁵⁵ *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Arbitr.* Brit. app. vol. i. p. 3. Manoel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amasonas*, 1684, p. 131, says this—the wearing of hats, &c.—'is a sign that they come in contact with the Spaniards of some city or that they trade with settlements of Christian Indians.'

⁵⁶ Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 200-1.

⁵⁷ *Logien.*

⁵⁸ *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr., prem. mém. du Brés.* Annexe, vol. i. p. 188.

communication with and knowledge of white men used to have Hebrew names, some pure, others with a little corruption, as Jacob, Joab, Jacobi, Thomé, Thomqui, Davidu, Joanaú, Marianaú. . . . At a distance of a dozen leagues from the bar of the Rio Içana is the settlement of S. João Baptista de Mabi, also inhabited by Indians of the Maniba nation. . . .

Ribeiro de Sampaio, in his *Diario da Viagem*,⁵⁹ written some six years later, follows Noronha but makes some interesting additions to his account. He says:—

Yet further [than the Uapés] comes the river Içana, inhabited by many nations, the chief of which is the Baniba. Here too dwell the Uarequena nation, well known for its intercourse in olden times with Europeans, and for its use of Hebrew names, such as Joab, Jacob, Jacobi. . . . This nation is cannibal [anthropophaga] and is celebrated for its use of writing by means of knotted cords, after the manner of the *quipos* of the ancient Peruvians.

Let it be noted that we are here at the extreme outskirts of the Manoa country. The Banibas or Manibas,⁶⁰ from which Samuel Fritz takes his name for the Manoa trading on the Jupura, are probably the representatives of the earliest settlers of that nation in the Negro basin. In D'Anville's famous map of 1748 the river is identified with this name, being called *Isanna de Manivas*. Immediately below it and running parallel with it is the larger river known as the Uapés or Ucayari. Now this last is, to quote the words of a Portuguese writer slightly earlier in date⁶¹ than Padre Noronha, 'the river which Fathers Christoval d'Acuña, Samuel Fritz, and M. Condamine called Rio de Ouro; it gave rise to the story of the golden lake of Parima and the city of Manoa, the exaggerated magnificence of which seems more like the strange fancies of poets than the serious efforts of historians.'⁶² The Ucayari was not peopled by Manoa; these lived on the Içana, close by, but the name 'Yquiari,' by which it was known to Acuña and Fritz, was a word⁶³ of the Manoa tongue, and those writers learnt it through the medium of the Manoa traders, of whose presence on the Jupura they tell. If, then, the Dutch factors of Recio de Leon's reports were accustomed to travel this same trade route it might be expected that we should find traces of their presence somewhere near the starting point of that route, i.e. the river Içana; and here precisely those traces are found.

Padre Noronha in his visitation of 1768 found living side by

⁵⁹ *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. app. vol. i. p. 115.

⁶⁰ Two forms of the same word. Raleigh calls them Anebas (p. 88, ed. Schomburgk). They moved south-eastward from the Upper Orinoco to the Negro. Noronha, we have seen, uses both forms.

⁶¹ See above, p. 230.

⁶² 'Synopse de algumas Noticias Geographicas,' &c., MS. Biblioteca Municipal o Oporto, 172, no. 10.

⁶³ Signifying 'white water.'

side with the Manibas on that river a peculiar tribe, called Uerequenas or Arequenas, 'that, previously to communication with and knowledge of white men, used to have Hebrew names, some pure, others with a little corruption, such as Joab, Jacob, Jacobi, Thomé, Thomqui, Davidú, Joannaú, Marianaú.' Now those words, 'previously to communication with and knowledge of white men,' mean before the Portuguese became acquainted with them. Noronha evidently imagined that his countrymen were the first who had intercourse with the natives of the Içana, and the existence among the Arequenas of these Hebrew proper names does not seem to have suggested to him the obvious conclusion, which a few years later they suggested to Ribeiro de Sampaio, 'that this nation had intercourse in olden times with Europeans.' But since the adoption of Hebrew names by the Arequenas came, as it must have come, from early intercourse with white men, those white men can scarcely have been other than Dutch. It is not only that from the end of the sixteenth century onwards Holland was the home of refuge for Jewish refugees from all parts of Europe,⁶⁴ and that these Jews took a large part in the colonisation of Guiana;⁶⁵ but of all European nations Dutchmen more than any others were accustomed to the use of purely Hebrew proper names.⁶⁶ The traditional use of such names among these Arequenas can only be accounted for by the frequent visits to them, if not the residence, for a considerable term of years of Dutch traders. But granting this, the further question naturally arises, why should these traders have selected for special friendship this particular tribe? The answer is that their name Arequena is nothing but a slight corruption of Arecuna; that they belonged to the Arecuna branch of the great Carib race, and that their language, being a Carib dialect, would be intelligible to all Dutchmen (such as these factors in the far interior must have been) experienced in Guiana trading. Noronha and Sampaio note the following characteristic habits of the Arequenas: that they are cannibals; that they wear straw through their ears; that they make use of knotted cords like the *quipus* of the Peruvians as means of communication.

But such habits are also characteristic of the Arecunas. The

⁶⁴ Fruin, *Tien Jaren uit de 80jarigen Oorlog*, pp. 255-7.

⁶⁵ *Ante*, vol. xvi. 1901, pp. 650-1; Netscher, *Les Hollandais au Brésil*, p. 204, note 90.

⁶⁶ The list of directors of the West India Company of the Amsterdam and Zealand Chambers in 1636 contains 6 *Jacobs*, 12 *Johannes*, 7 *Abrahams*, besides the name *Simon*, *Samuel*, *Elias*, *Jonas*, *Jeremias*, *David*, *Daniel*, *Matthias*, *Mattheus*, and *Job* (*De Laet, Jaerlijck Verhael*). In a single letter of the Company to the *commandeur* of Essequibo, dated 24 Aug. 1684, almost every name mentioned is Biblical, i.e. *Abraham*, *Samuel*, and *Daniel* Beeckman, the ship *Abram and Isaac*, *Jacob de Jonge*, *Michiel Gangel*, *Jacobus den Erffer*, *Jacob Nolet*, *Salomon La Roche*, *Isaac Keuvel*, *Rochus Abramsen*, *Thomas Thomassen*, *Samuel Nassy*, *Abram Biscop*, *Pieter Pedecoeur*, *Steven Keuvel* (Hague Archives, 'Copie Bouck van Brieven over Zee,' 1675-1688, ff. 249-55).

words cannibal and Carib were originally synonymous.⁶⁷ When a Spanish or Portuguese writer describes an Indian tribe as *Caribes* he may mean that they belong to the Carib race or he may mean that they are anthropophagous.⁶⁸ Sampaio interpreted the word in the latter sense, but the name of the tribe, and it may perhaps be added the silence of Noronha, make the former far more probable. Again in recent times Mr. Im Thurn mentions the carrying of straw in the ears as a usage of the Carib tribes, and the system of *quipu* writing as common in the uplands of British Guiana.⁶⁹

But, it may be said, the Arecunas live near Mount Roraima, in what is now British territory. Why should a detached portion of them have travelled so far south as the river Içana? A passage of Mr. Im Thurn furnishes the explanation.

The Arecunas (he writes) grow, spin, and distribute most of the cotton which is used by the Macusis and others for hammocks and other articles. The Arecunas also supply all blowpipes; for these are made of the stems of a palm, which growing in and beyond the Venezuelan boundary of their territory, are procured by the Arecunas, doubtless by exchange from the Indians of the native district of that palm.⁷⁰

This palm, or rather gigantic hollow reed, is now known botanically as *Arundinaria Schomburgkii*, from the name of the great explorer who discovered the place where it grew. In 1839 Robert Schomburgk travelled from the district of the Arecunas (Mount Roraima) by the rivers Parima and Merewari to Esmeralda, on the Orinoco, and from thence by the Caçiquiari⁷¹ to the Rio Negro. It was at Esmeralda that he came across the *Arundinaria* and learnt, to use his own words, 'that it is peculiar to the sandstone ridges of the Upper Orinoco, between the rivers Paramu and Mavaca,'⁷² i.e. a district skirting the Caçiquiari, and in direct communication with Rio Negro and the country of the Manos. It would be, therefore, quite easy for a party of Arecunas, who had travelled to the Paramu-Mavaca ridges in search of reeds for blowpipes, to have pushed on further to the Içana with a supply of the finished articles for the Manoas trader; but it yet remains to be shown that it was possible for Dutchmen to be associated with them in such a journey at an early date in the seventeenth century.

We have already seen that the Dutch during the first decades of that century regularly frequented all the river mouths along

⁶⁷ Schomburgk's *Balaigh*, p. 85.

⁶⁸ Thus Recio de Leon, speaking of the Guaragos, writes, *Sõ Caribes, comã carne humana*.

⁶⁹ Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 89, 193, 198, 320.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 272, also p. 800.

⁷¹ The Içana enters the Negro a short distance below the mouth of the Caçiquiari.

⁷² *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. app. vol. iii. p. 69.

what they called 'the wild coast of Guiana,' and before 1609 their factors were already in communication by way of the head waters of the Essequibo with the Manoas, who brought their gold ornaments for barter to the Parima Savannah. This, however, was not the route by which at this date Hollanders can have penetrated to the Içana; they must have made their way to the Caçiquari up the Orinoco.

The despatches of the Spanish governors throw much light upon the ubiquity and daring of the Dutch traders of this period. Alonzo Mendes de Castro, 16 Jan. 1599, reports, 'An immense swarm of Dutch ships enter the various islands and ports of the mainland, and finding them unprovided with cloth, which is not sent from Spain, they sell it to them cheap.'⁷³ In 1605 we find a whole series of references to Dutchmen trading inland up the Orinoco and residing in the interior. Andres de Rojas y Guzman, writing from Margarita, enlarges upon the Dutch contraband trade at Cumanagoto, saying 'it is like a fair, and they [the Dutch traders] communicate with one another up to Peru,' while a royal letter of the same date to the governor of Peru comments thus on the subject:—

I have been informed that in the said provinces [of Peru] reside many persons natives of the rebel islands of Holland and Zeeland, and other Flemish who hold intercourse with them, and through whose means they have dealings and entrance into the ports and information of everything, and it is a great inconvenience to allow them to remain in their places.⁷⁴

The order⁷⁵ was given to expel all these intruders unless they had been naturalised, but such an order was sure to remain to a considerable extent a dead letter, partly from lack of power to execute it, partly because the trading capacity of these Dutchmen was useful to the Spaniards themselves. There are recorded instances in which Dutch traders of special skill and experience in dealing with the natives were retained for years in the Spanish service on the Orinoco. One of these was none other than that Aert Adriaansz Groenewegen who was the founder of the colony of Essequibo.

In his 'Description of Guiana' Major John Scott tells us that the sixth colonie was undertaken by one Captain Gromwedge, a Dutchman that had served the Spaniard in Oranoke, but understanding a companie of merchants of Zeeland had before undertaken a voyage to Guiana and attempted a settlement there, he deserted the Spanish service, and tendred himself to his owne countrey, which was accepted, and he despatched from Zeeland, anno 1616, with two ships and a galliote, and was the first man that took firme foteing on Guiana by the good likeing

⁷³ Arch. Gen. de Indias, Sevilla, press 54, case 4, bundle 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* press 141, case 1, bundle 5.

⁷⁵ 29 Sept. 1605 and 27 Sept. 1606.

of the natives, whose humours the gent' perfectly understood. He erected a fort on a small island thirty leagues up the river Disseekeeb, which looked into two great branches of that famous river. All his time the colonie flourished: he managed a great trade with the Spaniards by the Indians with great secrecy.

It is needless to repeat here the account which has been given in the *English Historical Review*⁷⁶ of this man's forty-eight years of service in Essequibo, and of the extraordinary influence which he exercised over the Caribs⁷⁷ and other native tribes. It is sufficient to point out that any such systematic trading in the far interior as is revealed in the reports of Recio de Leon must have been known⁷⁸ to him while still in the Spanish service, and that such knowledge was not likely to be neglected by him when he became the head of a Dutch establishment on the Essequibo. If he had not himself voyaged down to the Negro it is at least highly probable that he had been to a greater or less extent a fellow worker with those who did thus carry on commerce with the Manoaas of the south. Of the actual steps that he took to open out trade routes to the interior during the period between 1616 and 1689 no details have reached us, but that his Caribs had been accustomed before 1689, passing by the Pirara portage into the Rio Branco, to supply the tribes inhabiting the delta between the mouths of the Negro and the Amazon with Dutch iron ware is established by the testimony of Acuña. In passing down the Branco the Carib agents would skirt the sphere of the Manoaas,⁷⁹ their southern rivals as commercial travellers, and at the mouths of its various western affluents and at its junction with the Negro would be able to transact dealings of barter with them. There is also evidence to show that communication with the Upper Orinoco was likewise kept up by means of parties of Caribs,⁸⁰ who penetrating inland in this direction would thus be enabled to maintain intercourse with the Manoaas from the other side.

In the period after 1689 this intercourse and traffic in the far south no longer rests in any way upon hypothesis and inference. The meeting of Major John Scott in 1665 with Jan Hendrickson and Matthias Matteson, two factors then in the service of the colony of Essequibo, whom he describes 'as the two greatest travellers that ever were in Guiana of Christians,' is told by him in his 'Description of Guiana.' They became prisoners of war to him, as the commander of an English expeditionary force, and

⁷⁶ *Aids*, vol. xvi. 1901, pp. 651 *seq.* Scott asserts that his information was derived from memoranda written by Groenewegen himself. 'He had the good fortune to meet with some ingenious observations of the former governor [Groenewegen] of what had been transacted in Guiana in his time, to whome the world is obliged for many particulars of this story.'

⁷⁷ He married a Carib. ⁷⁸ Possibly he organised it. ⁷⁹ *Supra*, pp. 243 *seq.*

⁸⁰ *Venes. Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. app. vol. i. pp. 88, 94-120.

from them he learnt much that was of great interest concerning the country.⁸¹ Hendrickson, who was a Swiss, had been, says Scott, in the service of some Dutch merchants,⁸² as 'a Factor with the upland Indians of Guiana,' twenty-seven years. In another passage these upland Indians are defined by the same writer as 'the Occowyes, Shawhauns, and Semicorals, great and powerful nations that live . . . either under the line or in south latitude . . . and over a vast tract of land to the west and north, extending themselves to Rio Negro . . .' Of these the Occowyes are the well known Accuways, a tribe of the Carib race, living chiefly in the forest country between the Upper Essequibo and Mazaruni. Under the name 'Shawhauns' may be recognised the 'Suanes,' a people described by Acuña as inhabiting the northern bank of the Amazon below the mouth of the Jupura. Their name may be found in Delisle's map of 1700⁸³ between two sites marked as *village d'or* and *mines d'or*. The 'Semicorals' are most likely the Chamicurus⁸⁴ of the mouth of the Ucayali. The 'Shawhauns' and 'Semicorals,' then, with whom Hendrickson traded are thus identified with tribes lying on the trade route of Fritz's Manaves, of Acuña's Managus, of the Hollanders of Recio de Leon.

Of Matthias Matteson, through various notices in the Scott manuscripts, much is known.⁸⁵ Early in life in the Dutch service, he was captured by the Portuguese, acted as captain of Pedro Teixeira's vessel in the voyage to Quito in 1638, and at some later date⁸⁶ passed from the Portuguese to the Spaniards. He then, like Groenewegen before him, 'managed a trade 22 years for the Spaniard from ye citty of S^t Thomé in Oranoque,' after which in 1661 he transferred his services to the Dutch colony of Essequibo, still under the direction of the veteran Groenewegen. This man likewise is described as trading with the 'Shahones' and others, 'whose habitations are 200 leagues south-east from S^t Thomé, neare the mountains of the sun, where they have great riches.' Scott tells us further that from the stories of the natives and the concurrent testimony of these two men he is assured that two branches of the Amazon and Orinoco, and only two, 'agree and meet.' Here we are presented with the first recorded witness of white men to the existence of the river Caçiquiari. It is remarkable that these two men, as Dutch officials, should at the same time have been prisoners to Scott. Further, it is worthy of remark that Scott gives no hint of there having been any rivalry between them of a hostile character

⁸¹ *Ante*, vol. xvi. 1901, p. 641; *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. Annexe, vol. i. pp. 4-5.

⁸² *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr.* Venezuelan Atlas, no. 86.

⁸³ See Fritz's map, *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. Atlas, no. 6.

⁸⁴ *Ante*, vol. xviii. 1903, p. 654; *Brit. Guiana-Bras. Boundary Arbitr.* Brit. app. vol. i. pp. 4-6.

⁸⁵ He probably did not return with Teixeira from Quito.

in their common exploitation of the same 'Manoa country.' The Dutchman, under whatever flag for his own profit he nominally served, was first and foremost a trader, whose one object was to find new avenues and fresh markets for the sale of Dutch commodities. It is, indeed, highly probable in the case of Hendrickson and Matteson that in the twenty-two years these men trafficked in the *Hinterland* of Guiana they came into not infrequent contact, and that though each had his own special sphere of action there were outlying districts, like that of the Upper Negro, in which from time to time they may have joined in common enterprises.

During the next two decades the records are silent about the presence of Hollanders in the extreme south-west of Guiana. The report of a Spanish missionary of his experiences among the Omaguas during the years 1680-2⁸⁷ records, however, an assault made in 1681 upon a village of the Omaguas by a body of hostile Indians led by white men, who carried off some of the inhabitants for slaves. The invaders were pursued by the Omaguas, who coming upon them suddenly at night succeeded not only in liberating their friends but in capturing two white men. Of the nationality of these the missionary at the time of writing was doubtful, as they had refused to answer any questions, but he was strongly inclined to think that they are 'Hollanders from the coast of the north.'⁸⁸ The supposition is in itself a proof that Dutchmen at this date were not unknown among 'the islands of the Omaguas.' This reference to the Dutch in 1681 brings us within eight years of the time when Samuel Fritz inserted in his journal the interesting information about the Manoa traders and the route by which they found their way into the Upper Amazon, with the consideration of which this paper began. The preceding investigation has shown the high probability that these 'Manaves' of Fritz in the last decade of the seventeenth century had commercial intercourse with the Dutch, and that 'the alliance' between the two people, which reached its climax in the days of the powerful chief Ajuricaba, was really of old standing. It only remains to strengthen this high probability by two further pieces of contemporary evidence, the examination of which has been purposely deferred until the end. They furnish additional links to our chain of testimony at perhaps its most important point.

In Fritz's journal there is a further reference to the 'Manaves' and their traffic in gold. In October 1692 he writes—

The Portuguese, after they had started, went to Guaputate,⁸⁹ and stopped

⁸⁷ Printed at full length two years later by Manoel Rodrigues, *El Marañon y Amazonas*, 1684, pp. 378-96.

⁸⁸ P. 395. '*Olandeses de la costa al norte.*' '*Crueldad de barbaros u Hereges parece fus esta no de Lusitanos Catholicos.*'

⁸⁹ Almost opposite the mouth of the Yurua and but a short distance from the Jupura.

ten days opposite the village, pulling sarsaparilla on the mainland. They also made a clearing there on the south side, saying they were coming to settle there, and I do not doubt they would do so, on account of their great desire to obtain the Indians from this side upwards for slaves, besides which they make out that through here they can find the gate to enter the El Dorado, which they imagine is not far off. What I ascertained from the Yurimaguas is that those mines of gold which I mentioned above when speaking of the Manaves Indians are watched over visibly by a man like a Spaniard, who, according to the signs, cannot be any other than the infernal dragon, who in that form is guarding the golden apples.

Here is surely a distorted version of what has been suggested above as the explanation of the presence of a colony of Arcunas among the Manivas of the river Içana, distinguished by their bearing Dutch-Hebrew proper names. They formed, as it were, a kind of Carib bodyguard to a resident Dutch factor, who thus found himself advantageously posted among that portion of the Manivas or Manoas who lived nearest to the river Ucayari, the River of Gold, and with communication down the Rio Negro to the Branco or the Jupura, or up the Caçiquari to the Orinoco.

That this is not a purely imaginative interpretation of Fritz's words can be shown by comparing the passage from the journal with some extracts from a letter of Francisco de Menezes, governor of Trinidad, to the king of Spain, dated 29 Aug. 1694.⁹⁰ The governor reports—

I now proceed to inform your majesty that I have received news from the city of Guiana and from the auditor thereof that the Indians of the Carib nation had come with a number of vessels from the head waters of the Orinoco and the Rio del Airico, which is where El Dorado is by tradition known to be, and that they proceeded to the settlements of the Dutch, in order to ascend with them to the said head waters.

Having heard this Menezes sent two officers up the Orinoco as far as the mouth of the Caura to meet the Caribs and make inquiries as to the facts, with the following result:—

They brought me tidings that it was certain the said Indians had ascended for the said discovery, whence, although already close to it, they had returned, on account of some of their companions having been drowned and their lack of boats, but that in prosecution of the said discovery they had left one boat and a captain and such companions as were necessary in order to push on as far as a settlement of Indians of the same nation, which is close to El Dorado, which is the house of the man owner of the gold, as they call him.

Here, then, is the Orinoco version of the same story that Fritz heard upon the Amazon. It is the same El Dorado, i.e. the river Ucayari, that hovers before the eyes of the Indians of the mouth of

⁹⁰ Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

the Jupura and those of the head waters of the Orinoco, and both⁹¹ believe that it lies at no great distance from them. Their actual knowledge, however, is of the vaguest, except in the remarkable particular that the control of the gold lies in the hands of an individual who is a white man. The statement of the Yurimaguas that 'the mines of gold are watched over visibly by a man like a Spaniard' finds its exact counterpart in that of the Caribs that 'El Dorado is the house of the man owner of the gold, as they call him.' It should also be noted that in his account of the interview with the Caribs the governor of Trinidad reports that 'they wished to push on as far as a settlement of Indians of the same nation which is close to El Dorado.'

In the light that is thrown upon the meaning of these words, by what has been said above about the settlement of Arecunas upon the river Içana, they acquire a significance they would not otherwise possess. The hypothesis of the residence of a European factor among the Arecunas on the Içana thus receives considerable, because entirely fortuitous and undesigned, support. But if so, he must have been a Dutchman, for yet another quotation must be made before the evidential value of this letter of Menezes is exhausted.

I cannot refrain (he writes) from submitting to your majesty's royal consideration the paucity of men, arms, and ammunition that there is in this province for the purpose of being able to resist any attack that might be made by the nations by whom the Orinoco is so infested, wherein there are four settlements of Dutch, fortified with forts and artillery, the one in the river of Berbice, the other in that of Essequibo, the other in that of Bauruma (Pomeroon), and the other in that of Surinam, all affluents of the Orinoco; they have penetrated a good way into the interior of the country, and I have very trustworthy information that they have even forges for smelting metals established in the interior of the country, a matter which gives food for consideration taken together with the reports of the said Caribs, for they said they were going in search of the Dutch at Berbice, in order to go up with them on their discovery.

With this examination of documents belonging to the close of the seventeenth century we have reached the epoch of Ajuricaba, with which we began, and may claim to have established the high probability of continuous relations of commerce and friendship between the Dutch itinerant traders and the Manoa Indians of the far interior of south-west Guiana and of the Amazon-Negro delta during the whole period lying between 1606 and 1732.

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

⁹¹ Yurimaguas and Carib explorers.