

**CARIBBEAN AMAZON:
OTHER HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES,
AND SOCIO-CULTURAL AND GEOPOLITICAL
PROCESSES ON THE ISLAND OF GUIANA**

Reginaldo Gomes de Oliveira



**Boa Vista - RR
2022**

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE RORAIMA – UFRR

REITOR José Geraldo Ticianeli	EDITORA DA UFRR Diretor da EDUFRR Fábio Almeida de Carvalho
VICE-REITOR Silvestre Lopes da Nóbrega	

CONSELHO EDITORIAL

Alcir Gursen de Miranda
Anderson dos Santos Paiva
Bianca Jorge Sequeira Costa
Fabio Luiz de Arruda Herrig
Georgia Patrícia Ferko da Silva
Guido Nunes Lopes
José Ivanildo de Lima
José Manuel Flores Lopez
Luiza Câmara Beserra Neta
Núbia Abrantes Gomes
Rafael Assumpção Rocha
Rickson Rios Figueira
Rileuda de Sena Rebouças



Editora da Universidade Federal de Roraima
Campus do Paricarana – Av. Cap. Ene Garcez, 2413,
Aeroporto – CEP: 69.310-000. Boa Vista – RR – Brasil
e-mail: editora@ufrr.br

A Editora da UFRR é filiada à:



Copyright © 2022
Editora da Universidade Federal de Roraima

Todos os direitos reservados ao autor, na forma da Lei.
A reprodução não autorizada desta publicação, no todo ou em parte, constitui violação dos direitos autorais (Lei n. 9.610/98) e é crime estabelecido pelo artigo 184 do Código Penal.

Capa Imagem

Source: courtesy of Professor Lodewijk Hulsmán in 2008. Map drawn by Jodocus Hondius in 1599 based on information from expeditions by Walter Raleigh (1594) and Lawrence Keymis (1596). Drawing on paper, 39.7 x 54.4 cm, 1 map, colour. 1:40,000,000 scale. Available in the Amsterdam City Archive.

Editor

Aldenor Pimentel

Projeto Gráfico e Capa

Camila Valentina Apiscope Perez

Diagramação

Victor dos Santos Mafra

Revisão Ortográfica

Vitor de Araújo

Richard Berkenstat

Dados Internacionais de Catalogação Na Publicação (CIP)
Biblioteca Central da Universidade Federal de Roraima

O48c Oliveira, Reginaldo Gomes de.
Caribbean Amazon : other historical perspectives, and socio-cultural and geopolitical processes on the Island of Guyana / Reginaldo Gomes de Oliveira. – Boa Vista : Editora da UFRR, 2022.
144 p. : il.

Inclui bibliografia.

ISBN: 978-65-5955-031-9

Livro eletrônico.

1 - Amazônia caribenha. 2 - Desenvolvimento histórico e sócio-cultural. 3 - Mudanças geopolíticas. 4 - Povos indígenas e europeus.
I - Título. II - Oliveira, Reginaldo Gomes de. III - Universidade Federal de Roraima.

CDU – 98(81:881)

Ficha Catalográfica elaborada pela: Bibliotecária/Documentalista:

Maria de Fátima Andrade Costa - CRB-11/453 - AM

A exatidão das informações, conceitos e opiniões é de exclusiva responsabilidade dos autores.

O texto deste livro foi avaliado e aprovado por pareceristas *ad hoc*.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADEKUS	Anton de Kom University of Suriname
DWIC	Dutch West-Indische Compagnie
NUPEPA	Department of Electoral and Political Research in the Amazon
RR	State of Roraima
UCAB	Andrés Bello Catholic University
UCV	Central University of Venezuela
UFAC	Federal University of Acre
UFAM	Federal University of Amazonas
UFMA	Federal University of Maranhão
UFRR	Federal University of Roraima
UG	University of Guyana
UnB	University of Brasília
UNIFAP	Federal University of Amapá
UNIR	Federal University of Rondônia
USP	University of São Paulo
UvA	University of Amsterdam
UWI	University of West Indies
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – Dutch East India Company

CONTENTS

PREAMBLE.....	.7
PRESENTATION.....	.8
PREFACE.....	.9
INTRODUCTION.....	.10
THE CARIBBEAN AMAZON: THE FIRST CENTURIES OF CONTACT BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE.....	.17
CARIBBEAN AMAZON, INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, AND EUROPEANS: THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS.....	.29
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND EUROPEANS: A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE FIRST AMAZONIAN EXPEDITIONS.....	.35
CARIBBEAN AMAZON: THE 17TH CENTURY AND ITS GEOPOLITICAL, SOCIO-CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC CHANGES.....	.49
CARIBBEAN AMAZON: 18TH CENTURY AND OTHER HISTORICAL, GEOPOLITICAL AND CULTURAL REPERCUSSIONS.....	.76

CARIBBEAN AMAZON: THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESSES WITH NEW HISTORICAL, GEOPOLITICAL AND CULTURAL REPERCUSSIONS.114
FINAL THOUGHTS.134
REFERENCES.137
NOTES ON THE AUTHOR.144

PREAMBLE

This work reveals distinct historical and sociocultural fragments extremely scarce in Brazilian and Caribbean literature. It addresses various aspects of the colonization process in the so-called island of the Caribbean Amazon, also known as territory of the Island of Guiana, so as to examine the relationship between the five countries that share one land on this Island, located in South America. The author has faced challenges in collecting the data and piecing together different approaches during the advancement of this work, which aims to disseminate the concept of Caribbean Amazon and its historical and cultural developments, as a unique, special region. It highlights common aspects in the history of Roraima and Amapá, Brazilian federated states, as originating from the Portuguese Guiana during the European colonizing process.

In order to achieve the goal of preparing this book, Lodewijk Huslman, a friend and collaborator, was always present to exchange information and share findings, from the first meeting in 2005 at the Federal University of Roraima (UFRR) until his final farewell on 2nd December 2016, the date he passed away. For 11 years, we shared our research, and together we published historical conceptions and methodologies when we approached the historical and sociocultural themes of the Island of Guiana, which we started calling the “Caribbean Amazon”. Pairing up with Lodewijk Huslman, or simply Lô, marked my life as an academic and historian about Guiana. It was in Lô’s company that I valued my belonging as a Caribbean Amazonian person, as a native of the Circum-Roraima. I am very grateful for Lô’s always enriching interventions, which have broadened my knowledge about our region, the Caribbean Amazon, in a Circum-Roraima connection.

I hope you enjoy the read.

The author

PRESENTATION

This book starts by describing the first encounters between the European sailors and the native indigenous Karibs and Arawaks till the violent invasion by the European kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, France, England and Holland and its commercial companies that plundered and looted the region in search of El Dorado.

In a violent process of occupation and royal piracy these European military and commercial powers forged colonial societies, enslaving the native indigenous people, drawing artificial borders in this vast area delimited by the River Orinoco, the Caribbean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, the River Amazon, the River Negro and the Cassiquiare Channel, a natural river path linking the River Orinoco to the River Negro.

The contemporary historiography gives an Eurocentric view of the clashes between the European powers fighting to guarantee their part of the wealth generated by the Drogas do Sertão - Spices of the Backlands, exploited through the appropriation of indigenous traditional knowledge and the commodities produced by the enslaved Africans on the plantations.

Reginaldo presents us with a new approach. By departing his study centered in the Island of Guiana or the Caribbean Amazon, he breaks down colonial borders giving rise to an endogenous and indigenous perspective, analyzing trends within an historical and regional context.

As descendant of the Makuxi Karib people, he patiently analyzed historical documents from Spain, Portugal, Venezuela, Brazil, England, Holland and France, creating a new narrative. It is a first attempt to retell the regional History of the Island of Guiana that certainly will impulse regional cooperation and integration of the Caribbean Amazon.

Rudi van Els

Professor at the University of Brasilia - Brazil (UnB)

Visiting Professor at the University of Suriname (AdeKUS)

Brasília – DF, October 2021

PREFACE

This book *The Caribbean Amazon* is about the historical notes and fragments starting in the colonial period up to the beginning of the 20th century of the Caribbean Amazon that is also known as the island of Guiana. The historical information presented in this book is of immense importance for the actual and future generations of the countries, which are part of the island of Guiana, but also for European countries, which are part of this specific history. The historical information's embedded in this academic production about the Guiana Island are intercultural encounters, the changes in the indigenous life in terms of cultural systems, the routes the indigenous people used for their dislocation but also transformations of the indigenous societies.

This production also proves the existence of common historical and social-cultural characteristics of the indigenous population in the Caribbean Amazon, which can be considered a very specific area of study of the Amazonian history. This book also reveals even so, the development of the island of Guiana based on the Christian geopolitical role of the European countries, which are involved in the Caribbean Amazon history.

Moreover, this book is of an academic enrichment for the world and regional historical narratives about the Caribbean Amazon and its peculiarities. Of extreme relevance is, the narration of the Caribbean Amazon history by Amazon people, who are the best able to make links with the contemporary and past history of their region. The worth of this academic production is its social, historical, cultural and demographic value. Based on the content of this book future development of Caribbean Amazon studies in the field of historical demography can also be executed by researchers of the Guiana Island.

The expectation is that the knowledge presented in this book will be very useful for students studying history or other social sciences and lecturers working in the field of social sciences in the Amazon region. Also for those interested in history and sociological sciences, this academic work is advisable.

*Dr. Andrea Idelga Jubithana-Fernand
Researcher and lecturer*

Anton De Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS)

Paramaribo-Suriname. October 2021

INTRODUCTION

We would like to state, for a start, that this book collects numerous notes from research projects taken up during several meetings with partner researchers, who are present in many Higher Education Institutions in the region of the Guianas. These are historical notes and fragments from colonial times to the beginning of the 20th century, which deal with the peoples and the Island of Guiana, also known as the Caribbean Amazon. All notes were carefully sequenced from 2006 to 2019, according to publications and debates carried out by the aforementioned group of researchers during that period of time.

In the 21st century, Regional Amazonian History has revealed, in close interchange with historical developments between Europe, America and the Caribbean, a historical process of manifold changes that helps historians to analyse the region in a comprehensive manner. Therefore, it has become a challenge to interpret this historical dialogue, considering the myriad of sociocultural and geopolitical processes in the Island of Guiana. This subject is still not mentioned or discussed enough by Amazonian historians. In this regard, the present book addresses the challenge of the Guianas in the Amazonian context through an innovative manner. With that purpose, theoretical investigation and research in published sources were the study method we used to reach our goals. We analysed several historical interpretations about the first encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples of the Karíb¹ and Arawak Language Families, which allows for a retelling of this region's history.

When we broaden our knowledge about intercultural encounters that happened in that singular region of the Amazon, we are able to notice great historical changes for the Amerindian, as well as sociocultural transformations that had been provoked by Europeans since the end of the 15th century. During this intercultural process, the Kingdom of Spain authorized its first group of sailor subjects to propagate the power of the King and of the European sociocultural manifestations in the conquest of the New World. Royal regulations

1 The spelling “Karíb” is part of our linguistic inquiries. The term identifies the Language Family of the native people of that region. The same applies to the term “Arawak”. The term “Caribbean” refers not only to the territory or region by the sea (North Atlantic) with its numerous islands, but also to the regional society.

[T.N] This spelling is an appropriate replacement to “Carib”, as “Karíb” also points to its pronunciation: /ka-ˈrib/.

and strategies that favoured Spain's geopolitical and economic power of changing through interaction and integration based on Europe's evangelism and civility onto the native people of the American and Caribbean.

Those sailors were groups of Europeans who did not know the lands and the peoples of the New World. They represented a European society amidst transformation, parting from Middle Age sociocultural relationships into a Renaissance Europe. However, this European society introduced a new sociocultural system that bound countries together and established order for new relationships and regional geopolitical power. Thus, royal regulations generated a new set of rules in the New World which sought to civilize the "savages" and to eventually control the sociocultural and geopolitical events in the undiscovered region of the Guianas.

In that context, a new kind of cultural system reorganized family relationships and determined family groups, breaking interpretations of collective indigenous kinship in a cosmogonical dialogue. By putting forward matrimonial codes, the Spanish, by means of Christianity, established weddings as sacraments in the family. Those European principles of civilisation terminated a structure of rites, myths and legends, considered impure by Christianity's sociocultural evangelist process, brought from Europe to America and the Caribbean. A sequence of Spanish laws or moral precepts built legal, political and Christian elements into their new land and its inhabitants.

Three aspects stimulated changes in the indigenous life currently present in the New World, as well as a claim over the Atlantic Ocean, and an expansion of routes of commerce and Christian royal power over the Amerindian land: Spain's use of Christian geopolitical power, military conquests, and European colonization. We may say that it was a remarkable moment for Renaissance Europe, which presented historical developments not only in Europe, but also in Africa, America, and the Caribbean during the turn between the 15th and the 16th century, a set of Eurocentric events of the Renaissance that broadened international relationships and unveiled different sociocultural and economic manifestations that involved distinct historical situations experienced by Europeans and indigenous peoples of the America and the Caribbean.

With the first years of the 16th century, the encounter between Europeans and indigenous peoples from the Karib and Arawak language families engendered armed fights and truces in the New World, a temporary suspension of hostility caused by Christian preaching into the Amerindian lifestyle during the first

European exploratory expeditions. Therefore, by introducing the European culture in the indigenous world of the Caribbean Amazon, the Spanish Kingdom took possession of the lands of the new continent, inhabited by Karíb, Arawak and Inca peoples, among other groups of indigenous families. Through an astonishing act, Spanish King Charles V transformed Spain into an Empire of the Atlantic, with monarchic and geopolitical power in Europe, America and the Caribbean.

At that time, a process of modernization started in the history of Europe, America and the Caribbean with a modification of the sociocultural dynamics of the Karíb and Arawak peoples, as well as that of the Europeans who were populating the Spanish America, an action of intercultural nature produced by the movement of exploratory expeditions authorized by King Charles V. These Spanish expeditions were assigned to map economic and geographic potential. Travelers and chroniclers would elaborate extensive knowledge from the information they collected from indigenous peoples. That was a proactive and dynamic work to gather regional geospatial data, which expanded information on cartography and forest produce for the European market. It was a time of transformation in Renaissance Europe, which established Spain as the owner of that region, according to the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494).

Currently, we have no records about the official language that supported the translation and interpretation of the information shared by the Karíb and Arawak peoples to the travellers of the exploratory vessels. However, there are some reports of indigenous people boarding the ships and being taken to Europe. When they returned along with the travellers, they became interpreters.

Thus, European seafarers who would keep records of everything and then elaborate the Travel Reports which were sent to King Charles V. Those European travellers had written that the indigenous peoples would move around by sailing or walking through rivers Orinoco, Essequibo, Corentyne, Suriname, Amazonas, and Negro. Whenever they went further into the Amazon, they would use routes in rivers Branco and Rupununi. In all those waterways of the Island of Guiana, as well as in terrestrial routes, those explorers recorded their encounters with peoples whose language families were Karíb and Arawak and with their traditional cultural manifestations, considered strange and exotic under the European eye.

Those themes have aided us to interpret the first encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples in this singular Amazonian Region, and this subject still arouses curiosity and new research based on historical documents about the Amazon and the Caribbean nowadays, in the 21st Century. Academic

work on that case has not proved easy, as the Brazilian historiographic bibliographical catalogue has minimal publication regarding this period of time of presence of the Iberian Union in the Spanish Amazon (1580-1640). Both Portuguese and Brazilian historical information on colonization by the Portuguese of the Independent State of Maranhão (1621) – which was named Maranhão and Grão-Pará after the War of Restoration (1668) – are not clear concerning the relationship between Portuguese subjects and the Spanish Kings of the Habsburg dynasty.

However, the publication produced by the previously mentioned group of partner researchers from Amazonian and Caribbean universities (CRUZ, HULSMAN, OLIVEIRA, 2014; GAZTAMBIDE-GÉIGEL, 2014, LOUREIRO, OLIVEIRA, DUARTE, 2012; OLIVEIRA; IFILL, 2011; OLIVEIRA; JUBITHANA-FERNAND, 2014) has allowed for a group perspective of the historical and sociocultural process of the region. We reaffirm, in this regard, that this book is similar to a book of notes, in which the author has unrestrainedly narrated distinct aspects of the regional historical construction of the Amazon and the Caribbean in a less strict writing.

For that purpose, we utilized the reflections of authors such as Nádia Farage (1991), Lodewijk Hulsmán (2005, 2007, 2009, 2011), Reginaldo Gomes de Oliveira (2003, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011, 2014), Frank Moya Pons (2007), *Tierra Firme* (2003, p. 21), who presented theoretical thoughts on the Brazilian bibliography in close contact with the Caribbean, Dutch, English, Spanish and French literatures.

In this respect, the group of researchers, led by Reginaldo Oliveira in the Federal University of Roraima (UFRR), has developed specific reflection on the Amazonian-Caribbean region from the 16th to the 21st century. These studies are expanded analyses, through dialogue with the decolonial or post-colonial thought, which suggest a historical review of the Caribbean Amazon, i.e. another historical perspective, one that identifies necessary concepts to analyse decoloniality or the post-colony within that region's historiographic construction from an Eurocentric view (MIGNOLO, 2003, 2007, 2017; REIS; ANDRADE, 2018).

These authors on decoloniality unveiled relevant theoretical-methodological bases that allow rethinking, by means of the contact with current decolonial thought, about historical and sociocultural trajectories that have been colonized. This way of thinking enabled another reading of the regional historical process, distinguished by colonial oppression. Therefore, we emphasise that our intention

is not to create a historiographical rupture, but a complement and a provocation towards a new historical placement of the region in the 21st century.

Based on this historical placement, we would like to clarify that the word “Caribbean Amazon” is a regional division in the shape of an island that comprises an international territory of the Amazon and is placed in northern South America. The island is surrounded by the waters of the North Atlantic Ocean between the deltas of the rivers Orinoco and Amazon. Towards the heart of the land, the Island’s coastline is surrounded by waters from the following rivers: the left bank of the rivers Amazon and Negro; then by the Cassiquiare Canal, which communicates with the rivers Negro and Orinoco; then, by the right bank of the river Orinoco. As previously said, this entire Amazonian-Caribbean territory was a property of the Spanish Crown, according to the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494).

However, in 1648, after the Treaty of Münster was signed, all the territory of the island was acknowledged by Spanish King Philip IV as belonging to the Dutch Republic (Holland). It is noteworthy that the Dutch Republic was instituted in 1581, with the unification of the Seven United Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, which were converted to Christianity under the Reformed Church by Luther and Calvin. For this political act, the Seven Provinces took advantage of a moment of peace between the Netherlands and the Spanish during the so-called 80 Years’ War. In this historical process, the Dutch were part of the Seventeen Unified Provinces of the Low Countries, which were incorporated into the kingdom of Spain by King Charles V in 1517.

Following this historical line of thought, while interconnecting aspects from Europe, South America and the Caribbean, it is relevant to further introduce the King Charles V, who was remarkable during the consolidation of America and the Spanish Caribbean. He was a Dutchman born in 1500 in Ghent, which is currently a city in a Flemish region of Belgium, formerly a region of the Netherlands. He was the son of Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria, and Joan the Madwoman, princess of Castille. In 1517, he took over the kingdom of Spain by inheritance from his maternal grandparents, Ferdinand II of Aragon, and Isabella I of Castille. Consequently, Charles V also inherited from his paternal grandparents, Emperor Maximilian of Augsburg and Mary of Burgundy, the Holy Roman-German Empire.²

2 The Holy Roman-Germanic Empire was composed of several territories in Central and Northern Europe, with multi-ethnic society, distributed in several kingdoms, principalities, duchies, bishoprics, counties, free imperial cities and other domains. The emperor was elected and appointed by the pope. In this imperial context were included the Germanic Kingdom of Austria, Bohemia, Italy, Burgundy, Habsburg.

After the Protestant Reformation was initiated by Martin Luther in 1517, part of the society of the Holy Empire – which had been Roman Catholic – adhered to Orthodox or Protestant Catholic Christianity, expanding the socio-cultural and geopolitical complexity of that Empire. In this confusing formation process of the Spanish Empire, when Charles I reached the age of 20, he was named Spanish King and received the title of Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire. European chroniclers and historians from the 16th century began to address the king of Spain by the name of Charles V, giving greater importance to that supreme title of the Empire. This habit of identifying the Spanish king as Charles V became popular, and historiography did not hesitate to recognize the king of Spain Charles I as Charles V too.

Another interesting fact concerning the historical complexity of Spain in the 16th century was the moment in which Charles V was to take over the throne of Spain but did not speak Spanish; instead, he spoke French, Flemish and Dutch. The king, who was considered a foreigner, brought his Flemish and Dutch advisers from the Netherlands to the Spanish kingdom. This displeased the noble families of Aragon and Castille, which at the time constituted the small Roman Catholic kingdom of Spain, ruled by Ferdinand II and Isabella I since the 15th century. The marriage of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille and Leon resulted in the formation of the Monarchy of Spain, which corresponded to the unification of three kingdoms: Castille, Leon and Aragon. By this sequence of royal acts, Charles V unified the four most important kingdoms in Renaissance Europe: Austria, Habsburg, Castille and Aragon, consolidating and strengthening Spain as a great empire in Europe, America, and the Caribbean.

Historically, the States General of the Netherlands, with its Seventeen Unified Provinces, was part of the Kingdom of Habsburg since medieval age. After the events instituted by the Spanish king, the United Provinces of the Netherlands were incorporated into the kingdom of Spain. In this expanded and unified intercultural and geopolitical Spanish context, with servants of diverse languages and cultures, of Catholic and Protestant religion, King Charles V created rules for the recognition of rights and respect for the different habits of his subjects, who inhabited the extensive empire of the American-Caribbean Spain. In order to boost the development of the Spanish New World, Charles V authorized the representatives of the mercantilist bourgeoisie of the Spanish Netherlands to carry out trade in Guiana and expand the country's cartographic and sociocultural knowledge about the region.

In a Spanish and Dutch historical perspective, by signing the Treaty of Münster (1648), king Philip IV, great-grandson of Charles V, decreed that the people of the Netherlands would expel every foreigner who was currently occupying the Island of Guiana. Extensive orders to the Portuguese who were populating the so-called Capitancy of Cabo Norte, a Guiana territory located on the left bank of the Amazon River Delta. It was a time of conflict between the Spanish and the Portuguese, who fought in armed confrontations during the Portuguese Restoration War (1640-1668), led by the Duke of Bragança, John.

This war caused the end of the Iberian Union and gave political autonomy to the Portuguese kingdom, rule by the Bragança dynasty. Duke Dom João was proclaimed João IV, King of Portugal. The event involving Spain and Portugal unfolded intense disputes over the lands and the indigenous peoples in America, even after the signature of the Treaty and the end of the Restoration War. In this panorama of armed conflicts, after the end of the 80 Years' War (1568-1648) and the 30 Years' War (1618-1648), the Dutch got involved in conflicts with the Portuguese, the English and the French, who would seek power over the commercial routes of the Atlantic and the Amazonian territory. This set of battles between adversaries was not favorable for the Dutch, as they struggled to occupy and defend the Island of Guiana.

Thus, the Caribbean Amazon island experienced significant sociocultural and geopolitical change throughout the 16th and 19th centuries. It was divided and shared between Europeans and indigenous peoples. The many sociocultural, political and physical conflicts in Europe, such as the 80 Years' War, the 30 Years' War, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars, diversified this European-American-Caribbean historical and intercultural process.

All these events of war and revolutionary movements aroused situations that enabled new sociocultural, geopolitical and socioeconomic settings in the immense territory, previously dominated by Spain. Reports of chroniclers and travellers who sailed through the Caribbean Amazon and around the islands of the Caribbean Sea in the 18th and 19th centuries display a clear deconstruction of the Amazonian-Caribbean myths and culture of indigenous peoples. These events were relevant transformations that took place quite quickly and changed the life of the Europeans and that of the Caribbean and Amazonian indigenous peoples.

Hence, this work is comprised of subsections that narrate historical issues built since the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The author does not intend to be exhaustive, but the group of themes addressed allows readers to learn about significant recent knowledge regarding our regional historiography of the Caribbean Amazon.

THE CARIBBEAN AMAZON: THE FIRST CENTURIES OF CONTACT BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

It is a challenging task to study the historical process of the Caribbean Amazon, also known as the Island of Guiana, as it is located in a particular region of South America. The region has been presented in different studies, but we still face many questions and deal with a fragmented knowledge about its historical events, which involve Europeans and indigenous people of America and the Caribbean. Archaeological Studies have pointed out that the socio-cultural trajectory of that region is millenary, integrated, and dynamic. This diverse territory, comprised of rivers, forests, savannahs, hills, all of which are parts of the Guiana Shield, has enabled a geospatial understanding of the Island of Guiana. The socio-cultural identities of both the Island and the Guiana Shield become more complex when we consider the historical and cultural diversity of the Karíb, Arawak, Inca, European, African and Asian peoples, as well as others, which were present in that Amazonian region in the 21st century.

However, we will concentrate on the Karíb and Arawak peoples when we discuss the first encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples, as those two indigenous groups were mentioned in the reports of travellers and chroniclers at the end of the 15th century and during the 16th. These reports identified the Natives as inhabitants of both the Caribbean Islands and the coast of the Island of Guiana. They have distinct languages and cultures but are involved in the Caribbean Amazon trade network with various food products, tools, amulets, hammocks and nets and canoes, which would circulate and consolidate the production of the Amerindian material culture of the Caribbean Amazon.

Thus, the relevance of the River Orinoco region has grown since the first studies about that regional Amazonian-Caribbean context. It was one of the first regions to be visited by Spanish travellers who were searching not only for products for the European market, but also for the unknown El Dorado and for possession of the land. It is a territory that extends into the group of mountains or hills called Pacaraima and Parima, and others that constitute the Guiana Shield, with diverse indigenous families. Because of its wetland areas along the Caribbean coast, which made it hard to connect with dry land areas, this region was described as a wild coast at the beginning of the European contact with the indigenous peoples.

It was in this scenario of a wild and swampy coast that Spanish navigators broadened the knowledge of the River Orinoco, which was a part of the Guiana Shield's water system. The Orinoco became the main route by river to connect the coast and the wilderness, which revealed different connections by river and land to a complex area of socio-cultural, political, and mythical relationships of the Karib and Arawak peoples. By echoing the mythical thought of their ancestors, these indigenous peoples reaffirmed aspects of oral memory and tradition associated with Makunaima, a hero of their cultures. This cosmogonic system was described by the myth and legend present in the historical paths of indigenous peoples that inhabited the territory around Mount Roraima, named Circum-Roraima. Historical processes, cultural paths, and the Natives' cosmogonical world engendered Eurocentric historical transformations in the Island of Guiana (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014). Figure 1 shows the Caribbean Amazon at the end of the 16th century and highlights the Island of Guiana.

In the 16th-century Dutch map of the Amazon, drawn by the cartographer Hondius, the best-known river waterway is evidently the Orinoco. Several indications of a route into the Amazon supposedly towards the El Dorado are found in the map. Under the guidance of indigenous people, through the main river waterway connecting the North Atlantic coast and the heart of Guiana towards the Andes, explorers found routes by river and land that were connected to each other. The "River of the Amazons" was still technically unknown in the cartography of the 16th century and would only become relevant in the 17th century after the expedition of Pedro Teixeira, a Portuguese traveller.

Figure 1 – map of the Amazon at the end of the 16th century, highlighting the Island of Guiana.



Source: courtesy of professor Lodewijk Hulsmán in 2008. Map drawn by Jodocus Hondius in 1599 based on information from expeditions by Walter Raleigh (1594) and Lawrence Keymis (1596). Drawing on paper, 39.7 x 54.4 cm, 1 map, colour. 1:40,000,000 scale. Available in the Amsterdam City Archive.

The River Amazon, as it is currently called, marked the borders between the State of Maranhão (later called Maranhão e Grão-Pará) and the Caribbean Amazon, limited by the right bank of the River Amazon and River Negro, since the 17th century. The left banks of the River Amazon and River Negro marked the border of the Island of Guiana (or the Caribbean Amazon).

The concept of Caribbean Amazon gained popularity in the 21st century during debates and studies about the Island of Guiana, conducted by researchers of the Department of Electoral and Political Research in the Amazon (NUPEPA/UFRR) from 2006. However, the first Regional History studies originated from discussions at the University of São Paulo (USP) about the history of Colonial Amazon, within the Program of Post-graduate studies in Social History, around

1999. Significant academic contributions stemmed from the time during which professor and researcher Reginaldo Gomes de Oliveira pursued his doctorate degree. These historical discussions expanded curiosity about the Dutch – or rather Dutch-Amazonian – language and culture.

In this historical concept of Guiana as an Amazonian territory, the studies carried out in NUPEPA/UFRR, which were theoretically based on Brazilian historical literature and cartography, started discussions with and be supported by Dutch Historical Studies, introduced at UFRR by historian Lodewijk Hulsman, from the University of Amsterdam (UvA). The study coordinator Reginaldo Oliveira invited Hulsman to join the group of NUPEPA/UFRR researchers. Thus, NUPEPA's academic investigators got acquainted with the Island of Guiana and enabled new cartographical and documental production in the 21st century by means of ethno-historical, geo-historical, archaeological, geopolitical, and anthropological discussions and studies.

In close contact with the thoughts of post-colonial and decolonial intellectuals, the researchers' theoretical and methodological enterprise allowed for a new understanding of the reports written by European travellers who navigated the region from the end of the 15th century to the 19th century. These were travellers with royal missions to catalogue socio-cultural and economic narratives, as well as tensions in their encounters with indigenous peoples. They would improvise cultural exchanges with the objective of broadening their knowledge and expanding regional intercultural dynamism. The travellers created narratives that revealed some aspects of commercial exchange and of the influence of diverse Amazonian and Caribbean customs and traditions. The encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples from the Karib and Arawak language families modified socio-cultural and economic relationships, as they were catalogued and organized, they broadened Europe's knowledge about the Island of Guiana.

On conducting these tasks during their contact with the indigenous peoples, the spelling of the term "Wild Coast" was established as the first European name for the Atlantic coast of the Caribbean Amazon (VAN WALLENBURG et al., 2015). For Spanish travellers, the coast was inhabited by "savages" who started to converse with the sailors of the European ships that opened up Guiana through the River Orinoco and the Caribbean Sea. Historically, the term Wild Coast was established in the Third Voyage of Christopher Columbus (1498), when, while traveling through that Amazonian coast, he met the delta of the rivers Essequibo and Orinoco, producing a report of his encounter with the Karib and Arawak peoples.

For Columbus and his expedition group, those “savages” were the ones using and controlling the coast, as inhabitants of the Wild Coast, but they were also present in the delta of the rivers Essequibo and Orinoco, which are considered the “Lords of Guiana.” Columbus believed that they were the same indigenous peoples who were reported by his crew in 1492 as inhabitants of the Caribbean islands. The term “Caribbean” was publicised in Europe by Columbus’ expedition report, in which he interpreted the region and the inhabitants of the Caribbean Sea (GAZTAMBIDE-GÉIGEL, 2014; PONS, 2007; TIERRA FIRME, 2003, v. 21).

According to reports of the first travellers, the Arawak peoples who received Columbus’ crew in the Caribbean Sea were members of the Taino family. The Taino indigenous peoples were also identified by other Spanish expeditions as those who lived in the delta of the River Suriname and other Caribbean Islands, such as the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola. Today, the island of Hispaniola is occupied by the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

Consequently, the Karíb people known as Warao who were known for their skills in manufacturing and sailing with canoes, were acknowledged by the travellers as habitants of the coast and the delta of those Amazonian-Caribbean rivers. For European navigators, the Warao were Indians of the Karíb language family who controlled some of the Caribbean Amazon’s commercial connections and who traded with indigenous peoples of the islands of the Caribbean Sea. In the regional scenario, indigenous commercial networks were connected throughout the immense Amazonian-Caribbean territory, from the Andes, through the valleys and the coast, into the Caribbean and the south of Florida, in the United States (OLIVEIRA, 2006, 2011).

Around 1499, Dutch and Spanish historical records gave news of the Italian navigator and merchant Amerigo Vespuccio. He was a traveller who participated in Alonso de Ojeda’s Spanish expedition. Vespuccio broadened geopolitical, historical, socio-cultural, and economic knowledge about the territory discovered by Columbus. It was Vespuccio who clarified that the New World was not a part of Asia, but a land unknown to the people of Europe. Europeans considered Europe, Africa, and Asia as the only territories known worldwide. For the Italian navigator, it was a new continent with people who did not wear clothes and manifested their cultural and linguistic actions very differently from the people of Asia (e.g., India, China and Japan). Amerigo Vespuccio’s historical and geopolitical contributions were acknowledged and honoured through the naming of the newly discovered lands: America. In the age of discovery, Vespuccio’s

interpretations of the New World were confirmed and expanded by the Spanish voyage of Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, between 1499-1500.

In 1492, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón participated in Columbus's expedition, which first discovered and contacted the Karíb and Arawak peoples in the North Atlantic. These were the first encounters and intercultural exchanges with the Taino (Arawak) in the islands called the Antilles. According to his report, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón landed on a coast that would later be called Brazil and registered his encounter with the Potiguara indigenous people (in the Northeast of Brazil). While sailing along the coast towards what is known as the Caribbean Sea, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón described the mouth of the River Amazon and named it "Mar Dulce" – the Sweet Sea. As he continued sailing and exploring the coast of Guiana, he broadened cartographic knowledge by accounting for the River Oyapock, and the possibility of commercial routes by means of contact with the Karíb and Arawak indigenous peoples.

After exploring the territory of the Wild Coast in more detail, the seafarers of the exploratory expeditions realised that it was an island. Through intercultural contact, as they developed more dialogue with the indigenous peoples from the banks of the rivers Orinoco and Essequibo, or Suriname, the European travellers interpreted that the identity of the region was implicit in the word "Guyana." Therefore, when the first travellers from Spain and the Netherlands first wrote the expression "Guyana," also spelled "Guayana," to represent an oral manifestation of the native inhabitants, the Europeans borrowed a representation from the language of the Arawak indigenous people. This word was then translated, and its meaning was discovered: "the land of many waters," or "the land of many rivers," a significative territorial area whose geopolitics was relevant to the conquest of the Amazon towards the Andes (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2006, 2008a, 2011).

The movement of indigenous peoples within this diverse Amazonian-Caribbean territory contributed to the formation of a panoramic mosaic of Amerindian families and languages that were in contact with the Europeans in the 16th century. Such panorama and contact are similar to those of the 21st-century Caribbean Amazon, a singular territory with a multicultural and multilingual society that has experienced varied historical and geopolitical transformations from the 16th to the 20th centuries. Those socio-cultural and geopolitical events of Guiana, America and the Caribbean have been incorporated into the world's historical literature.

A complex gathering of people lived in this particular territory of South America, sharing the same intercultural regional context, and working not only through indigenous languages, but also through distinct European national languages. This territory was reviewed by decolonial studies and its historical and socio-cultural processes were accounted for, reinterpreted, and enriched, especially through a new understanding of the disputes among nations, during the delimitation of national borders. Disputes and socio-cultural imposition from Europe originated from a logic of colonial power. These historical, political and legal processes did not consult with the natives, but as if they were products of the lands, the indigenous people were incorporated into the territories and to the national social groups dominated by each European nation (MIGNOLO, 2003, 2007, 2017; OLIVEIRA, 2014; REIS; ANDRADE, 2018).

In the development of this process, and in dialogue with history and culture, the European countries defined each of their territorial areas in the Caribbean Amazon. These definitions were disputed and negotiated between the European settlers who were present in the region. The action can be observed more clearly in the Arbitration Documents, which served as political and legal support for the definition of borders in that unique region of South America (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014). In creating Figure 2, we updated the map from Figure 1 by highlighting the territory occupied by five European nations and their respective colonies in the Caribbean Amazon.

Figure 2 – Map of the Island of Guiana, a.k.a. the Caribbean Amazon Island, with emphasis on its five European colonies: the Portuguese, Spanish, British, Dutch, and French Guianas, in the 19th century.



Source: Guyana (2011). Regional geopolitical update by Reginaldo Oliveira and Maximiliano Valente in 2011.

During the 19th century, with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and with the process of independence in America, Spanish Guiana was integrated into the territory of the Republic of Venezuela, whereas the Portuguese Guiana merged into the Brazilian Empire. Thus, the great territory of Portuguese Guiana was divided into two areas: the coast (Amapá) as an area of the Imperial Province of Pará; and the interior (Roraima) as an area of the Imperial Province of Amazonas¹. This geopolitical dismantling contributed to the disappearance of the Island of Guiana from maps at the end of the 19th century. Therefore, emphasis lies only on the Caribbean coast, with its three European colonies: British Guiana, Dutch Guiana, and French Guiana.

In 1808, after the Portuguese Court arrived in America, the kingdom had four independent states in Portuguese America: Brazil, with headquarters in Rio de

1 This historical event of geopolitical change involving the Portuguese independent states in America and their incorporation into the territory of the Brazilian Empire, was carried out during the reign of Dom Pedro II, after the Cabanagem Insurrection (1835-1840).

Janeiro; Maranhão and Piauí, with headquarters in São Luís; Grão-Pará and Rio Negro, with headquarters in Belém; the Portuguese Guiana, with Administrative Forts ruled by São Luís and, later, by Belém. In this historical process, the present-day states of Amapá (coast) and Roraima (interior) were undivided in Portuguese Guiana. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, the territory of Portuguese Guiana was expanded through Portuguese occupation of French Guiana by order of the Prince Regent Dom João I, between 1809 and 1817. For this action against Napoleonic France in the Amazon, Prince Regent Dom João I was coordinated by the British Kingdom, which supplied warships, military, and financial aid. After the Peace Treaty was signed during the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), the French territory in the Amazon was returned to France.

It was from this historical understanding that the researchers from NUPEPA/UFRR paid tribute to the Karíb indigenous people: by giving prominence to the Island of Guiana in the 21st century with the theoretical and methodological support of post-colonial and decolonial studies that demystified historiographic invention of European dominant class by means of contact with indigenous peoples of the Americas. The Karíb are Amerindians identified as the largest group in that particular region of the Amazon, a group that maintained socio-cultural exchange with the peoples of the Caribbean islands in the North Atlantic. This means that, in the 21st century, the aforementioned study group updated historical interpretations and geopolitics of that region.

By acquiring more information, the region was renamed as Caribbean Amazon Island. That was possible because of discussions and studies based on the historical and cartographical sources previously mentioned.

As already explained, historical, archaeological, ethnohistorical and anthropological studies, with the support of decolonial thinking during the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, has shown the different historical paths, the socio-cultural and economic processes of the new Caribbean-Amazonian society. New readings on the region's historical and cultural transformations were evinced, and so were the peoples who controlled the geopolitics of the Karíb, such as the Pemon, Ingarikó, Patamona, Akawaio, Warao, Makuxi, Wai Wai, Kalina; and the Arawak, such as the Paraviana, Lokono, Wapichana, and Atorai. These groups keep ancestral knowledge and maintain intercultural dialogue in the territorial context of the Circum-Roraima, which sees in Mount Roraima its most significant cultural representation – the cosmogonical representations from the myth and rite of Makunaima.

These indigenous peoples, who inhabited the Caribbean Amazon and transcended the limits of national borders, established exchanges by means of their movements between the countries that constitute the Amazon in the 21st century: Brazil, Venezuela, Guyana,² Suriname and the French Overseas Department (or the Amazonian France).

In the Circum-Roraima context, the Karíb, Arawak, and the peoples from the Yanomami language family defined their cultural borders invisibly through oral narratives. Accordingly, the cultural borders are revealed by the language of each indigenous people. From that ethno-historical point of view, the Pemon people marks its borders with culture and language, unlike the Ingarikó, Patamona, or Akawaio, for example. For the latter, cultural territories and their Circum-Roraima indigenous borders were determined by which language each group of indigenous people spoke. In the National States, besides language and culture, the visible markings are set to delimitate an area of a national border that overlaps with the cultural and linguistic borders set by the indigenous peoples of the Circum-Roraima.

In this international geopolitical context merged with mythical and legendary narratives from Amazonian indigenous peoples, knowledge of Regional History was broadened not only by technical-scientific visits, but also by partnerships and agreements made in congresses and symposiums among higher education institutions and Brazilian embassies. International academic and diplomatic spaces are interlinked both by partnership and a sense of belonging to the territory of the Caribbean Amazon Island. These diplomatic and scientific events favoured new historical and socio-cultural interpretations, by means of studies and exchange of knowledge between the Amazonian specialists.

These Caribbean Amazonian researchers conducted numerous meetings and gatherings. These were solemn events, but they were open and conducive to historical and socio-cultural exchange among academic and governmental institutions. The events were collective actions involving these scholars which brought together common and different perspectives about this new geopolitical context in the Caribbean Amazon: The ancient Island of Guiana. It was in this context of exchange of regional knowledge that the NUPEPA/UFRR

2 Research shows that the term Guiana (or Guyana) refers to the territory of the Island and to the former European colonies in the region. After its independence process, the name British Guiana was changed to Guyana. The Anglo-Germanic term started to identify the Cooperative Republic of Guyana in 1970. Hence, the word “Guyana,” written with an “y,” will only identify the new Republic (OLIVEIRA, 2011).

[T.N] The author uses both “Guiana” and “Island of Guiana” to refer to the same region throughout the text.

group spearheaded and proposed new studies developed by international and Amazonian researchers.

Other approaches by these Amazonian experts, supported by discussions on different subjects in the historical, intercultural, socioeconomic, environmental, and international relations fields, broadened the knowledge on Regional History and consolidated regional and international technical-scientific forums or seminars. The events took place in academic or diplomatic spaces, where scholars interested in increasing regional knowledge of the Caribbean Amazon would gather. Knowledge and discussions were shared by representatives of the five nations: Brazil, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, and the French Overseas Department. As has already been mentioned, these nations are heirs to the European language and culture in the territory of the Caribbean Amazon. All gatherings gave visibility to a multicultural regional context in South America, whose historical and cultural processes are barely known in the 21st century.

Because of the Eurocentric historical construction of the five countries we mentioned, it was not easy to conduct the meetings, as each particular nation had its own interpretations, with no historical or cultural dialogue on a regional level. There were different interpretations in different national languages, but in order to organise an understanding of the discussions, the English language was chosen, which was prevalent during the exchange between participants. However, some events had interpreters of Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, and Spanish, who facilitated the dialogue between the different international participants.

With this setup, the meetings took place in Boa Vista, RR, at the Federal University of Roraima (UFRR); in Caracas, at the Central University of Venezuela (UCV) and at Andrés Bello Catholic University (UCAB); in Georgetown/Guyana, at the University of Guyana (UG); in Paramaribo and at Anton de Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS). After this strategy of comparing the work, the meetings were expanded to other international partner universities, such as the University of Amsterdam (UvA) and Leiden University, in Amsterdam, the Netherlands; the University of Vienna, in Vienna, Austria; the Pitzer College in Claremont, California/USA; and The University of The West Indies (UWI) in Trinidad.

With the development of other approaches to Regional History in the context of the Caribbean Amazon, the academic events gained new perspectives arising from the expansion of discussions, which started to be held at the Federal University of Amazonas (UFAM) in Manaus-AM; at the Federal University of Rondônia (Unir) in Porto Velho, RO; at the Federal University of Acre (UFAC)

in Rio Branco; at the Federal University of Amapá (Unifap) in Macapá; at the Federal University of Maranhao (UFMA) in Sao Luís; University of Sao Paulo (USP) in Sao Paulo-SP; and at the University of Brasilia(UnB) in Brasilia³.

All the events, in the varied academic and diplomatic spaces, took place between 2006 and 2019, when the activities carried out and coordinated by the NUPEPA/UFRR study group were concluded. The published works that resulted from the discussions in those meetings strengthened the partnerships and the experiences that were expanded and shared by an academic and governmental collectiveness. The works consolidated the diverse information, exchange of ideas and experiences regarding the Caribbean Amazonian, proving to be a complex field of knowledge, permeated by different sets of socio-political, economic, legal, and diplomatic interests. A field of knowledge and disputes to coordinate and regularise the different proposals and partnerships, encouraging agreements in the sphere of paradiplomacy.

From this perspective, the legal-diplomatic and socio-political tool of paradiplomacy not only brought the system closer to international or “subnational” relationships in the Caribbean Amazon; but also helped to strengthen technical-scientific cooperation. The support of the diplomatic corps of Brazilian embassies stabilized partnerships between universities and governmental institutions of the countries of that region. Hence, partnerships and agreements were extended, which were intermediated by Brazilian representatives in the Embassies, Consulates and Cultural Centres of the Brazilian Embassies. Therefore, paradiplomacy strengthened this process of knowledge exchange among researchers from the universities involved.

The meetings and gatherings with the Karíb and Arawak peoples at different events held either in indigenous villages or in the capital Boa Vista, RR, were also a key factor in this process of Regional History. Our participation in the assemblies or meetings of the Karíb, Arawak and Yanomami peoples gave the group of scholars from NUPEPA/UFRR significant information about historical paths that are based on oral memory, which were incorporated into the academic discussions. In the events organized by the indigenous peoples, part of their requests is the acknowledgement of indigenous rights to education, culture, and territory. From this point of view, we reaffirm that diversity is part of the socio-cultural and territorial context of the Amazon, which involves various national societies and different native peoples, denizens of the Caribbean Amazon, in a socio-cultural and cosmogonic Circum-Roraima dialogue.

3 According to data from the Reports on Research and Trips written by members of the Nupepa/UFRR study group between 2006 and 2019.

CARIBBEAN AMAZON, INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, AND EUROPEANS: THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

In analysing Brazilian and regional historiography, we cannot clearly identify the beginning of the colonisation process developed by the peoples of Europe in the area called the Caribbean Amazon. In Spanish and Dutch historiography, we identify that the region was first occupied by Spaniards (Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494) and then by bourgeois mercantilist representatives from the Netherlands, or the Dutch⁴. They all received authorisation from the Spanish King Charles V from 1519 onwards. As owner of the region, the King of Spain created royal regulations and acts, based on domination and other strategies, as a set of measures instituted with the aim of conquering and settling in America and the Caribbean, focusing on the economy.

Royal regulations provoked different results during the encounter between the Spanish and the Indians in America and the Caribbean. The two distinct socio-cultural groups engaged in violent struggles, but also conducted dialogues for the establishment of agreements and peace. There were moments of cooperation between the Spanish and the indigenous people, both of whom were able to lead the different services that were necessary for the Europeans to adapt to a new way of living in America and the Spanish Caribbean. Indigenous cuisine and geopolitical knowledge were significant in this process of Spanish occupation in the New World. The documents signed by the King of Spain, with indications of norms and repressive actions against the natives of America and the Caribbean, also mentioned guidelines for possible details on the socio-cultural and commercial relations of the Karib and Arawak peoples, habitants of the islands in the Caribbean Sea and Amazonian lands.

The diverse information interpreted through oral narratives of the indigenous peoples was used in the production of the reports and the regional cartography, which were sent to the Kingdom of Spain. In this context of conquests, King

4 It was previously explained that, in 1581, during a peace interval from the 80 Years' War, the Dutch Republic was established by means of the unification of the Seven Protestant United Provinces of the Netherlands, which had been Spanish. It is important to remember that the seventeen United Provinces of the Netherlands were incorporated into the Spanish kingdom by Charles V (1517). At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, during the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), several peace treaties were signed, and the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic gained independence in this context. Thus, the Netherlands, as one of the United Dutch Provinces, was recognized as a nation.

Charles V hoped to develop occupation and commercial exploitation of the Caribbean Amazon region. The plan was to structure the process of economic exploitation similarly to that being employed in the Andes. A privileged Amazonian location that was being occupied and exploited by military forces and commanders/governors, who were acting on behalf of the Spanish king to conduce mining efforts (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a, 2011).

According to Spanish historiography, the expedition authorised by Charles V and commanded by Don Hernán Cortés waged war and defeated the Aztec Empire around 1521. This Spanish action enabled the Kingdom of Spain to begin a process of occupation and colonisation in the Mesoamerican region. The Spanish began to occupy the sources of Amazonian rivers in the Andes by waging war against and defeating the Inca Empire. It was during this period that the explorers of Spain had contact with the Inca city of Machu Picchu (Peru) and the rich mountain of Potosi (Bolivia), which produced gold and silver for the kingdom of Spain.

At that first moment of encounter between Europeans and the Inca, Karíb, and Arawak peoples, the Spanish and the bourgeoisie of the Netherlands, who followed orders from the Spanish King Charles V, established intercultural events to negotiate with the indigenous people and start a trading process on the islands of the Caribbean Sea and on the coast of what was known as the Island of Guiana. This set of Spanish practices was only possible due to alliances and peace agreements, trade partnerships, and the incorporation of the indigenous people into European troops and expeditions. From this perspective, the process of Spanish occupation in the Andes was increasingly successful, as was for the Dutch in the coast of the Island of Guiana. The Europeans used indigenous labour, military strategies, and partnerships to lead indigenous peoples and consolidate the European settlement in the Amazon through a process of conquest and domination of these native populations.

During the process of settling and centralizing the military and political power of Spain over the Amazon, both dialogue and intercultural partnerships caused groups of Indians to join forces with the Europeans, whose presence was expanding into the immense region of the North Atlantic. They were native groups who mastered important knowledge on the American and Caribbean regions, and who would facilitate European entry along several river paths from the coast into the Amazonian interior. This process triggered other geopolitical and socioeconomic configurations in the region.

For this Spanish conquest, Karib and Arawak Indians became informers, interpreters, cooks, porters, guides, and rowers for the benefit of European explorers. Several indigenous families established a new order and supported the Spanish in their travels, which were distributed in different expeditions from the coast to the valley and the Amazonian Andes. They were long, time-consuming, and tense expeditions, for at many times along the Amazon trajectories, Europeans and indigenous people were in conflict arising from how tasks were organized. As an example, at certain times when the journey paused, indigenous porters would abandon the expedition, feeling dissatisfied with the heavy work and the long hours of slave labour.

In contact with other indigenous settlements in the jungle known as malocas, the Europeans would have the opportunity to negotiate with and hire new indigenous porters with the help of indigenous interpreters. However, the Europeans had moments for brief geological studies focused on mineral rocks on these Amazonian routes, when they collected data to map river paths that were connected with land paths, as well as catalogue the diverse commercial products known as: Drogas do Sertão – Spices of the Backlands.

However, during the 16th century, the entire region was dominated by indigenous peoples despite the efforts of the Spanish king to build forts and settlements in America and the Caribbean. At this time, the French King Francisco I⁵, who disagreed with the validity and the Iberian monopoly in the New World, sent expeditions to the North Atlantic and entered the dispute over both trade routes and land in America and the Caribbean. Around 1522, sailors and soldiers from France captured Spanish ships, which transported Aztec and Inca treasures to Spain, stimulating the actions of other pirate ships in the Caribbean Sea.

With their attention on the region of Mexico and the Andes, Spain did not have enough military contingent to protect both the islands of the Caribbean Sea and the Caribbean Amazon coast. This duty was taken up by men of the Spanish Netherlands, who engaged in armed struggle against French and British forces in the dispute over the Atlantic trade routes and the lands inhabited by the Karib and Arawak peoples in America and the Caribbean. As previously mentioned, the bourgeoisie from the Netherlands, as part of the Kingdom of Spain, had been monopolising the Iberian trade and defence network in America and in

5 The French king Francisco I had been a rival of Charles V since the death of Emperor Maximilian I in 1519, when the Emperor fought for the Imperial Crown against Charles I, King of Spain. The Spanish king earned the Imperial Crown and was appointed as Charles V.

the Caribbean since Charles V's ascension to the throne (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2006, 2008a).

It was in this context of disputes and changes in America and the Caribbean in the course of the 16th century that King Charles V ordered both the rich bourgeoisie from the Netherlands and the Spanish to occupy and defend the immense territory of the North Atlantic on behalf of Spain. These servants and conquerors from Spain were transforming and giving visibility to a new setup for the environmental, socio-cultural, economic, and linguistic Caribbean Amazonian landscape. Indigenous people took part in all these events, seduced by the distinct groups of Europeans, and working towards the interests of the monarchs of Europe.

Furthermore, they introduced the mercantilist system into America by incorporating the peoples living on the islands of the Caribbean Sea, the Caribbean Amazon, and the Andes. The indigenous territory of America and the Caribbean became a modern trading network with Europe, strengthening the North Atlantic routes. Therefore, King Charles V and his Spanish conquistadors and merchants from the Netherlands repressed, made alliances, and turned the different indigenous peoples who lived and settled in Spanish America and the Caribbean into loyal subjects.

In the afterwards of these monarchical, dominant, and mercantilist actions by the Kingdom of Spain, travel and expeditions were intensified along the rivers Orinoco, Pomeroon, Essequibo, Berbice, Corentyne, Suriname, Cayenne, Oyapock, as well as the left bank of the rivers Amazon and Negro. During a few decades, different territories were demarcated and negotiated, and many of them became colonies, scattered around the Caribbean islands and Spanish America. With the process of European fortification and settlement, a large indigenous population contingent from the Caribbean Amazon was dominated and incorporated into the "Eurocentric civilisation". However, another part of the indigenous contingent, involved in war or suffering with disease, was disappearing.

This intercultural context of an encounter between Europeans and indigenous peoples in the Caribbean and in Spanish America, which involved processes of conquest and then settlement, through the use of Indians as slaves or free workers, gave rise to various socio-cultural conflicts. Indigenous peoples revolted against the Spanish, who violently punished and enslaved the Amerindians. Spain's violent colonising process must be mentioned at this point. These events triggered a series of complaints addressed to the Roman Catholic kings in Spain,

provoked by the Dominican Catholic friars — Catholic missionaries at the service of Spain, who were active in the process of evangelisation and organisation of the first colonising settlements and villages.

It was well known that Pope Alexandre VI's Bull *Inter Cætera*, signed in 1493, gave the Spanish kings the right to conquer and evangelize the infidels in the "West Indies" (BRAGATO, 2016). However, the Dominican Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas was one of the priests of the Order of Saint Dominic who advocated for the indigenous peoples, inhabitants of the New World. This movement opened up the possibility for "savages" to be recognized as peoples of the new continent, structured in distinct societies and cultures of Renaissance Europe.

In 1493, Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second trip to the New World. He arrived in Spanish America with the same Eurocentric behaviour and cultural vision as travellers from Spain, which was to exploit the services of the indigenous people and seek riches. At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, along with military forces, took part in fights against the indigenous peoples. He was active in the process of enslaving and organizing the colonisation, especially through catechising the indigenous people and teaching the Spanish language.

However, Bartolomé de Las Casas returned to Europe, where he continued his studies in Rome, concluded in 1507. He then went to Spain and received permission from the Catholic Queen Isabel I of Castille, to return to the New World and carry out the conversion of the indigenous peoples to Christianity. A strong political and religious process was stimulated to consolidate the Kingdom of Spain's ownership of the unknown territory for Fernando II and Isabel I. Upon his return to the Spanish America, Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas resumed his pastoral work among the indigenous people and the colonists. However, in the course of his religious activities, the missionary who helped dismantling the indigenous culture and language by expanding the Spanish territory eventually noticed the disappearance of many indigenous peoples in the violent processes of struggles, slavery, and diseases that came from their encounter with the Spanish.

Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas heard the preaching of the Dominican missionary Friar Antonio de Montesinos around 1511. This Dominican Catholic missionary made eloquent speeches in which he condemned the abuses of the Spanish colonisers against the indigenous population. This friar began to question the geopolitical authority of Spanish America and Caribbean and the power of the Spanish king

over indigenous peoples. For Friar Antonio de Montesinos, they were native peoples with the right to freedom and possession of land, since they were considered the first owners and inhabitants of the New World (LAS CASAS, 2011).

After his meeting with the Catholic missionary Montesinos, Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas prompted his solidarity in support of the indigenous peoples of America and the Caribbean. He campaigned in favour of these peoples and wrote reports to the King of Spain regarding Spanish brutality and violence towards the Indians. He began a peaceful pastoral work involving indigenous people and Spanish colonisers. Las Casas' change of opinion and behaviour, in defence of human rights and relations for the indigenous peoples, caused a series of tense social actions and conflicts in the Caribbean and in the Spanish America. Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas provoked disagreements with other Catholic missionary orders that defended the power of the Kingdom of Spain over native lands and peoples.

Thus, during the 16th century, Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas travelled to Spain several times and wrote reports in defence of the indigenous peoples of America and the Caribbean. He encouraged a heroic campaign for the cause of indigenous people in defence of their life, freedom, and political rights as free peoples. At the time, his campaign in favour of the natives was contested in America and Spain. He courageously advocated for a stop to the violence suffered by these tribal peoples and denounced the Spanish king Charles V, arguing that the King did not own the indigenous peoples or their lands, but was only the ruler of America (LAS CASAS, 2011).

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND EUROPEANS: A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE FIRST AMAZONIAN EXPEDITIONS

Historical sources have described the expeditions led by the Spanish who sailed through the Amazon in search of El Dorado and considered them as the first exploratory voyages of the 16th century. These navigators and military forces made efforts to discover metallic riches in the region, such as gold and silver. The travellers based their hopes on the oral narratives of the indigenous peoples, who reported the existence of precious stones and gold in the region of the Wild Coast, or the Island of Guiana, a place they could access through the River Orinoco.

News spread by the accounts of the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro, who found gold in the Andean lands of the Incas (in Peru) around 1532, intensified the dissemination of the tale of gold. Pizarro's men heard accounts about El Dorado, an indigenous prince of the Inca people, who fled with his subjects to the "Wild Valley". According to information interpreted by the Spanish, El Dorado inhabited a lake called Manoa in the wild forest of the Amazon, also known as Amazonia or Guiana (OLIVEIRA, 2003; 2008a).

The Spanish military explorer Diego de Ordaz was part of the expedition of Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of the Aztec Empire (Mexico). He requested permission from King Charles V to explore part of the Andes towards the Wild Valley, the possible Amazonian territory of the Omagua peoples. Ordaz wanted to confirm stories about El Dorado, which, according to indigenous oral interpretations and Spanish cartography, would be found in a distant valley in the Andean region among the intertwined rivers of the Wild Valley of the Omagua people. Diego de Ordaz began his journey around 1531, leading the exploratory expedition across the North Atlantic towards the "Wilderness".

Historiography is confusing about the route of Ordaz's journey in the Amazon. For some historians, Ordaz journeyed across the sources of the River Amazon (in the Andes) towards the River Negro, crossing an intricacy of rivers and reaching the River Orinoco, heading for the island of Trinidad. He became the first Spaniard to sail the River Orinoco from its inland waters to its mouth at the sea. For other historians, Ordaz's group sailed past the island of Trinidad and entered the River Orinoco towards its inland waters. On this river course, some of his boats sank, men were lost in a shipwreck or in battles with Karib

indigenous people. Everyone agrees that Ordaz's exploratory voyage failed, but the death of the Spanish commander and military man is controversial. Historical records support that Diego de Ordaz died in the River Orinoco region around 1532. Other records report the death of Ordaz in the North Atlantic during a crossing to Spain, when he was poisoned by his own crew (GARCÍA, 1952).

The expedition led by Dom Pedro Maraver da Silva entered the River Orinoco in 1530 and explored the region on behalf of Spain. It has already been mentioned that the Orinoco was the best-known and most frequently navigated river in the Caribbean Amazon during the 16th century. It was supposedly the only river route to El Dorado. Dom Pedro Maraver was the commander of 160 brave warriors who, in the name of Spanish King Charles V, went into battle with the Karíb peoples in the interior of the River Orinoco. The Karíb defeated Dom Pedro's men and, according to Dutch historical data, the only survivor of this expedition was Juan Martinez.

Martinez was captured by the Karíb peoples and taken blindfolded to Lake Manoa, where he had contact with Prince El Dorado. When negotiating his freedom with the Karíb peoples, Martinez was pardoned and left at the River Orinoco, from where he proceeded to the islands of Trinidad and Margarita. There, the only survivor of Don Pedro Maraver's expedition reported his adventure among the Karíb peoples on the River Orinoco, stimulating the imagination of the Europeans. These fantastic narratives were disseminated among travellers who began new incursions along the coast and interior of the Wild Coast (GOSLINGA, 1971; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; 2011).

The Spanish expedition led by Francisco de Orellana between 1539-1542 increased information regarding the legendary stories of El Dorado. Orellana joined the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro, the brother of Francisco Pizarro, a Spanish conquistador who defeated the Inca in Peru. Planning to find El Dorado and the Land of Cinnamon, a particular spice marketed from Asia to Europe, Gonzalo Pizarro was given permission to journey in search of El Dorado from the Andes to the Wild Valley, where he thought was the territory of the Omagua people.

Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition was a difficult trip along steep paths to navigable rivers. They crossed, either on foot or by canoe, an enormous dense forest across mountains and a maze of water ways. On the way to the Valley, Gonzalo's men faced armed struggles with indigenous peoples. Gonzalo and his exhausted warriors, hungry and sick, arrived at an unknown region of the River Napo. The provisions had run out when the men, in tatters, had little supplies

left and tied up some donkeys that had survived. The Spanish expedition group decided to camp in that region and rethink their travel plans.

Commander Gonzalo Pizarro decided to divide the men into two groups, giving Francisco de Orellana command over one of the groups. They built a brigantine (an antique boat with sails and oars), and Pizarro ordered Orellana to continue his journey in the brigantine to search for food for the troops who would remain in the camp on the banks of the River Napo. Friar Gaspar de Carvajal of the Order of Saint Dominic was selected to describe the trip and draw up a report. Commander Orellana and the chronicler Carvajal followed with the small group of about sixty warriors along the River Napo. They sailed through tangled rivers without finding a place with food; they arrived at the River Grande, otherwise called the River of Cinnamon, which would later be named River Amazon. Orellana was amazed at the discovery of such an immense river, so he did not follow the orders of his commander Gonzalo.

Orellana's mission was to acquire help and food for the camp at the River Napo region, where Commander Gonzalo Pizarro was waiting. Hence, the expedition under Orellana's command descended the unknown River Grande in search of El Dorado and The Land of Cinnamon. Orellana traversed a maze of rivers, connected with the River Grande, reaching the River Negro. While navigating the mysterious and unexplored River Negro, Orellana decided to return to the River Grande. The Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal noted everything, commenting on the immense populations of savages that inhabited the region.

For the chronicler Friar Gaspar de Carvajal, some "savage cities" displayed a socio-cultural organisation, but other cities were found where people behaved strangely and had exotic cultures. Among the organised populations, Friar Carvajal recorded the generous reception of the people known as Children of the Sun. Fed by these people, they remained in the town, where they restored their brigantine and built canoes. Friar Carvajal wrote that they had waited for the arrival of Commander Gonzalo Pizarro, but with no success in seeing the commander, they went on downstream (CARVAJAL, 1934).

With the torrential rains, the currents of the River Grande became increasingly rapid. This movement in the volume of the river currents made it impossible for Orellana to return to the Andes in that precarious boat (brigantine). Commander Pizarro and his small group of weary warriors were left behind and had to return to Quito by land, with neither horses nor porters; they faced not only hunger,

but also the steep wild paths of the mountains of the Andean Amazon. Gonzalo Pizarro reported Orellana's betrayal, as Orellana had shown a desire to explore those rivers in the name of the King of Spain and was planning to have the honour of discovering the way to El Dorado himself.

Amidst that maze of rivers, lakes, and streams, Friar Carvajal recorded their encounter with warrior women (Amazonas), skilled in the use of bow and arrow, as well as of the *borduna*, a peculiar indigenous cudgel. In encountering the men of Orellana, the Amazonas engaged in armed combat and expelled them from their territory. As they sailed down the river, Orellana and his small crew (having lost a few men in the fights) reached the immense delta of the River Grande. Orellana and his men did not find the imaginary El Dorado or the Land of Cinnamon, but they still believed in the indigenous narratives that described a lake inhabited by the Inca prince El Dorado, located deep in the forest. After arriving in the North Atlantic, Orellana's small expedition sailed along the Wild Coast (Guiana) and reached the Island of Trinidad (CARVAJAL, 1934; HEMMING, 2007; OLIVEIRA, 2003; 2011).

In the second half of the 16th century, the throne of Spain was occupied by Philip II, son of Charles V, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Spain, and Dona Isabel of Portugal. After the death of Charles V in 1558, tensions between King Philip II and the Netherlands became more violent. Ships of the rich Dutch merchants were attacked by Spanish ships, resulting in various armed fights in the Caribbean and on the coast of Guiana. The commercial success of the Dutch men was visible, with dozens of ships supplying the Caribbean Amazon market with European products and Europe with indigenous products.

At that time, Dom Antonio de Berrio ruled the island of Trinidad; he had a copy of the accounts by Juan Martínez, the only survivor of Dom Pedro Maraver da Silva's Expedition, mentioned earlier. With a view to the legendary tales of Lake Manoa and its inhabitant known as El Dorado, the Spanish governor of Trinidad obtained permission from King Philip II to explore the region of Guiana. Antonio de Berrio was informed by Karib and Arawak Indians that gold and precious stones had been found in the region. With some soldiers, Antonio de Berrio organized and commanded three expeditions along the River Orinoco to confirm the information brought by Juan Martinez, as well as by the indigenous people who maintained peaceful contact.

Thus, the Governor of Trinidad sailed through the region between 1584, 1585 and 1591, and mentioned the River Caroni, an affluent of the River

Orinoco, as a waterway supposedly leading to Lake Manoa, also known as Lake Parima, as was reported by other travellers. According to Governor Antonio de Berrio, in his narratives and interpretations – based on dialogues with indigenous peoples and copies of documents from Juan Martínez’s testimony – the territory of that lake was located near a set of hills (now called Serra de Pacaraima) in lands farther from the right bank of the River Orinoco (GOSLINGA, 1971; OLIVEIRA, 2011).

These regions in the hinterlands of Guiana were comprised of mountains and valleys, and its rivers would lead to the famous lake. For this reason, the lake of Prince El Dorado, located in the centre of the Island of Guiana, near the Equator, was made visible on several maps from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The River Uraricoera, with its source in Serra de Pacaraima, currently marks the frontier territories between Brazil, Guyana, and Venezuela. On Dutch maps, this river was named River Parima, the River Takutu was recognized as its tributary, and the River Negro was displayed as a connection. Therefore, that group of waterways, which were likely connected with the River Rupununi, would be considered as a path to the legendary Lake Manoa, or Parima, located deep in the Island of Guiana.

As the Spanish Governor Antonio de Berrio did not succeed in his expeditions, he wasted a good amount of money on the failed venture. However, around 1589 he built the Fort of Santo Tome de Guayana at the mouth of the River Orinoco. That new venture aimed to strengthen the presence of the Spanish government and inhibit other foreign expedition groups from crossing the river. In addition, the region was inhabited by Karib Indians, who had destroyed and defeated groups of Spanish soldiers, and had previously tried to occupy and populate the place on the delta of the aforementioned river. According to Dutch literature, the Warao people – warriors, skilled sailors and canoe makers –, were one of the many Karib peoples living in the Orinoco delta and the coast of Guiana.

In this sequence of events concerning Spanish travellers, historiography narrated the journey of explorer Walter Raleigh, who followed orders of Queen Elizabeth I of England and sailed across the North Atlantic, trading in slaves and spices. During the British ventures in the New World, Raleigh was accompanied by his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert; together they founded a British colony in North America (now called North Carolina). Tobacco and potatoes were produced for commerce in the colony, but the venture was unsuccessful (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2008a, 2011).

Raleigh learned, around 1594, about the tales of the El Dorado legend, which could be found by sailing through the rivers along the coast of Guiana, especially the River Orinoco. At that time, Spanish King Philip II was involved in the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604), in addition to the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) between the Spanish and the Dutch. King Philip II had little military contingent available to garrison or protect such an immense territory in the Caribbean and Spanish America. It was during these armed events that the British expedition under Raleigh's command arrived on the island of Trinidad.

Military strategy, using the element of surprise, favoured Raleigh's soldiers, who captured Trinidad from Spain and imprisoned the Governor Antonio de Berrio. A group of British militaries then freed the Arawak Indians who had been imprisoned by the Spanish Governor, establishing an alliance with them. The British commander had all documents regarding the El Dorado copied, and then he set off for the River Orinoco, assisted by the Arawak people. In search of the way to El Dorado, Raleigh divided his soldiers into two groups and ordered Captain Jacob Whiddon to command the second group and explore the region in order to collect data on cartography and on the indigenous peoples.

Raleigh's expeditions sailed and walked different paths arounds Guiana and did not find El Dorado. They wrote reports on the Dutch, who were commercially successful with Karib Indians on the coast of Guiana, in a region of the River Pomeroon. Raleigh's information became the first publications on Dutch trade with indigenous peoples on the Island of Guiana (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; SAN MARTIN, 2002).

Another British expedition in the region was led by Lawrence Keymis, a Flemish companion of Sir Walter Raleigh. Keymis' accounts were published in 1596 under the title *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana*. Commander Keymis had been sent by Raleigh to explore the entire coast of Guiana between the delta of the River Orinoco and the River Amazon. For the expedition to succeed, Keymis was supported by an indigenous man who had been taken by Raleigh from Trinidad to England. By accompanying Commander Keymis on his journey along the extensive Wild Coast, this indigenous man enabled the interpretation of information. Keymis' mission was to collect cartographic data on the path to El Dorado and to the products wanted by the European market. With the purpose of information gathering, Keymis' expedition had contact with the Karib and Arawak peoples.

For Commander Keymis, the way to El Dorado could be accessed through sailing either the River Corentyne or the River Essequibo, towards their sources,

located in mountains in the heart of Guiana. In the interior of the island, he would find a river (known today as the Rupununi River) that was connected to one of these two rivers. Then, the sailors would travel along the Rupununi to the lake of El Dorado (known today as Amaku Lake, which lies between the rivers Pirara and Rupununi). As the coast was controlled by the men of the Dutch Republic, Keymis' men were unable to sail the rivers all the way from the coast to the source. This was yet another British venture to fail in finding the El Dorado. However, historiography still makes use of terms that were written by Keymis, such as Cayenne, Oyapock, Marowijne, Suriname, and Berbice (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; VAN'S GRAVESANDE, 1967).

Among Dutch sources, some documents reported that the city of Vlissingen, in Zeeland, which has become one of the most important Dutch ports, was a meeting place for seafarers from the Netherlands, Holland, and Great Britain. During these encounters, sailors exchanged information on sea voyages, so they would be hired and take part in numerous exploratory expeditions.

In this perspective, documents analysed by historians provided data on the report of a sailor named Abraham Cabeliau, who recorded historical information about the Wild Coast during exploration on the Island of Guiana around 1599. Cabeliau was travelling on the cargo ship *Zeeridder* when he revealed the Dutch Republic's strong and prosperous trade in the Caribbean Sea and on the Island of Guiana. During the exploration in Guiana, Cabeliau made use of Keymis' information and hired Indians to assist him on the journey. The Dutch were at war against Spain (The Eighty Years' War), nonetheless, rich men based in Amsterdam, Antwerp and Rotterdam commanded the trade routes and supplied the markets of the Caribbean Amazon and Europe.

At that time, the records of Dutch historian Johannes Laet were also published, and presented data on the region and produced a work entitled: *Nieuwe werel ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indian*, published in Leiden/Netherlands in 1625, which is known today as *History of the New World*. It was in Cabeliau's report, however, that news of the commercial network with the Karíb, Arawak, Shebayo and Yao indigenous peoples were truly disseminated. The Shebayo and Yao are not widely known in historical literature. Nonetheless, Cabeliau has described Trinidad's commercial and urban growth as an important centre for regional Caribbean trade due to the fleets and routes of Dutch cargo ships that sailed between Trinidad and Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or Antwerp (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; VAN'S GRAVESANDE, 1967).

In this context of disputes over information about El Dorado, references were found about the expedition of the Irishman Bernardo O'Brien del Carpio, who worked for the Dutch in the Island of Guiana. He was a collaborator of the Dutch Republic and undertook some incursions into the region with the Dutch. Historical literature has given no news of Irish discontent with the Dutch colonisers. However, around 1637 the Irishman left Guiana and travelled to Madrid. Upon arriving there, Bernardo O'Brien wrote a letter to Spanish King Philip IV and described the commercial activities of the Dutch in Guiana. He denounced it as a very profitable trade that implied the indigenous people as allies in the trade network between European products and the products of the forest (known as Spices of the Backlands).

In the same year, Philip IV created the Captaincy of Cabo Norte on the left delta of the River Amazon (now Amapá), while he was still involved in the Eighty Years' War and in the Thirty Years' War. His idea was to block passage through the River Amazon for the Dutch, British and French, who engaged in those European wars against Spain. In order to rule and to guarantee the River Amazon's geopolitical security, the Spanish king commanded that the Portuguese Governor of Sao Luis, Bento Maciel Parente, would manage and defend the new Captaincy of Cabo Norte. The right bank of the delta of the River Amazon was already being controlled and ruled by the Portuguese, who were authorised by Spain to rule over the State of Maranhao, created by decree of Philip III of Spain in 1621 (HULSMAN, 2005; OLIVEIRA, 2008a).

Europe's agitated intercultural encounter with the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean Amazon in the 16th century and early 17th century was encouraged by the dynamic intricacy of circumstances of exploratory and mercantilist voyages. The North Atlantic and the coast of the Island of Guiana were privileged sites for merchant ships from the Low Countries to trade with the Karib and Arawak Indians. This European and indigenous mercantilist network spread assorted products from the coast to the Amazonian interior. Intense European incursions by way of the rivers of that region broadened cartographic, socio-cultural, and commercial information about the Caribbean Sea and the Island of Guiana towards the Valley and the Andes.

From a theoretical-methodological perspective, the historical sources analysed in comparison with the commercial accounting reports from the first centuries of Dutch mercantilist actions in the Caribbean Amazon revealed that the bourgeois representatives of the Netherlands made a great deal of profit from

their business and alliance with Karíb and Arawak peoples. Such an undertaking was only possible because of the Spanish unification decreed by King Charles V in 1517. On behalf of Spain, capitalists from the Netherlands traded all over the coast of the Island of Guiana, as well as in the whole mercantile network, including the islands of the Caribbean Sea, such as Trinidad and Margarita, which were considered to be the headquarters of the Spanish government in the North Atlantic.

As excellent sailors, knowledgeable of a list of commercial practices in the modern world, the bourgeoisie from the Netherlands knew how to take advantage of contact with indigenous peoples by developing diplomatic relations, expanding the mercantilist network and increasing the number of indigenous partners farthest from the coast of Guiana. Through alliances in the trade network, they have been able to reach the Paraviana people, inhabitants of the Rio Branco, who exchanged European products with the Manao and Tarumã Indians on the River Negro, bringing the merchandise to the territory of the Omagua people. Nowadays, this territory constitutes border areas between Brazil, Colombia and Peru.

Thus, through the mercantilist network, European products were transported from the Caribbean Sea to the most distant territories deep in the Amazonian forest. On the other hand, indigenous peoples supplied the ships anchored off the coast with products extracted from the forest: The Spices of the Backlands. They also transported food products such as fish, game meat, flour, potatoes, various fruits, honey, and turtle eggs (HULSMAN, 2007; OLIVEIRA, 2003; 2008; THOMPSON, 1987).

The city of Rotterdam, in Holland, was one of the main trade centres of the bourgeoisie in the Netherlands, which included the rich Flemish traders (Catholic Low Countries of Flanders) in the trade agreements, motivating both the trade and the exploratory trips in Guiana. As an example, the ship *Zeeridder* was accompanied by smaller ships sailing between the Caribbean Sea and the Netherlands. The *Zeeridder* was one of the most remarkable large vessels from the Netherlands on the North Atlantic and European routes. Thus, in the context of the Atlantic routes, this vessel was one of Europe's most prestigious suppliers of goods to the trading posts on the coast of Guiana and the islands of Trinidad and Margarita.

Anchored in the port of Trinidad, the *Zeeridder* would wait for the forest goods known as Spices of the Backlands, traded with the Karíb and Arawak

peoples by smaller vessels around the rivers Orinoco, Pomeroon, Essequibo, Corentyne, Suriname, Oyapock. As mentioned before, the indigenous peoples increasingly extended the mercantilist network into the forest towards the rivers Rupununi, Branco, Negro, and Amazon (HULSMAN, 2007; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; THOMPSON, 1987). Historical sources recorded that this commercial network would disseminate European products such as machetes, fabrics, enxó (ancient tools in the form of an axe), glass beads, and salt, receiving in return from the indigenous peoples their nets, wood, and dyes such as annatto, as well as other extracted products.

In the commercial network of the Caribbean Amazon, indigenous labour was the most important product that the Europeans were able to use. In this perspective, the work of indigenous peoples – represented in different support services, alliances, and exchange of knowledge – facilitated the European conquest of the region. In this combination of Christian and Eurocentric domination, indigenous people were excellent sources of knowledge, as they granted Europeans with other readings and views about the “Savage” region, carefully recorded in European cartography. In this context of intercultural and mercantilist exchange, there are historical notes about Indians who were taken to Amsterdam by ship, coming into contact with the dazzling Renaissance world of Europe. In the urban context of the Dutch capital, indigenous visitors learned the language and culture of Europe, becoming translators and leaders on Amazonian exploratory voyages, and negotiating on behalf of the mercantile bourgeoisie of the Spanish Netherlands.

In 1581 however, with the growth of the Spanish kingdom after the incorporation of the Portuguese Crown and its territories, the Seven United Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, which were Protestant, founded the Dutch Republic and intensified armed struggles against Spain in the so-called Eighty Years’ War (HULSMAN, 2007; OLIVEIRA, 2006, 2008a). Involved in the armed conflict, the Spanish King Philip II called on the Portuguese allies to occupy and defend the extensive region of the Spanish America. In this setting of Spanish wars, Portuguese and Spanish forces jointly occupied the delta of the River Amazon and the South American interior, with men at the service of expeditions undertaken to access new territory, known as Entradas e Bandeiras, which had already explored uncharted territory in the Central West of Brazil.

Between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, in this perspective of geopolitical power of the Spanish Empire with Portuguese support,

through the Iberian Union, the Spanish-Dutch Eighty Years' War and Thirty Years' War together amplified the armed conflicts in Europe and on the Atlantic routes.

We have already commented that the Holy Roman Empire was composed of several territories in Central and Northern Europe, with a multi-ethnic society, distributed in various kingdoms, principalities, duchies, bishoprics, counties, free imperial cities, and other domains. The Thirty Years' War involved these European territories, which were either Catholic or Protestant Christians. It was a historical period that revealed different processes of armed conflict in Europe, with disputes over mercantile, geopolitical, socio-cultural power on the North Atlantic routes, as well as over the possession of the Indians and their Caribbean Amazon territory. In that period, almost the entire region known as New World was ruled by authorities that represented the king of Spain. Hence, the delta of the River Amazon was a background for bloody armed struggles between Europeans for control of this river, which connected with the Andes, a place in which Spain controlled silver and gold mining.

After the consolidation of Spanish possessions in America, it was necessary to make the vice-kingdom official, as a way to guarantee the possession and protection of the immense Spanish territory. This royal planning had been implemented by Charles V, and continued by Philip II. Initially, the Vice-Kingdoms were as follows: New Spain (now Mexico), New Granada (now Colombia and Ecuador), Peru (now Peru and Bolivia) and Río de la Plata (now Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay). Later, the General Captaincies of Cuba, Guatemala, Chile and Venezuela were installed. A society was in formation in each of these vice-kingdoms; they consisted of a Spanish white minority, but they were men of courage, bravery, and dominators, who commanded and exploited the large indigenous population.

In the beginning, there was a small population of black slaves, whose labour was used mainly in the Caribbean islands. During colonisation, a large African slave contingent arrived to replace indigenous slave labour, which continued, but in a smaller proportion.

Around this historical juncture, the readings and discussions of the NUPEPA/UFRR study group strengthened the studies about the Caribbean Amazon, connected with the History of the Guianas. It was a unique process for Amazonian Regional History and for the History of the current States of Roraima and Amapá (corresponding to the Portuguese Guiana). Such process broadened the complexity of geopolitical, transitory changes in the historical formation of

Spanish America and Caribbean during the Iberian Union (1580-1640), under the Spanish King Philip II.

This theme was constructed and composed by different episodes of Iberian History, interconnected with the History of the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, which involved different historical and socio-cultural processes of America, the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, and Asia. These were significant historical events, and almost no information about them was contemplated in the History of Portuguese or Portuguese-Brazilian America. For a historical interpretation of this complex Caribbean Amazon theme and its developments, the studies of the aforementioned group of UFRR researchers were also theoretically supported by Dutch historical and cartographic documents consulted in the City Archives of Amsterdam and of The Hague, in the Netherlands.

According to Oliveira (2008a, 2014), the decolonial line of thought in dialogue with ethno-historical and cartographic studies, as approached and elaborated by the group of NUPEPA/UFRR, opened discussions for other reasons to explain the diverse indigenous socio-cultural movements in dialogue with nature itself, such as the movement of water, for example. These are indigenous socio-cultural movements, which occupy narratives and memories, linked to the territories in connection with the rivers that are to the north and south of the Equator.

These cosmogonic movements, in an interconnection between man and nature, have provided geopolitical and socio-cultural conceptions, evidencing distinct mythical and legendary connections with the socio-cultural organisation of indigenous peoples. These memories and oral narratives keep interpretations and explanations about how the villages of the indigenous peoples of the Karíb and Arawak language family were occupied and constructed. These native populations are present on the coast, on river and land routes that make up a network for movement in the Caribbean Amazon. For this journey of displacements, in which human and nature are interconnected, memories were recorded, and the existence of multiple historical and socio-cultural paths of the Karíb and Arawak peoples since ancient times are supported by oral narratives.

New interpretations through indigenous and European displacements along the coast and the interior were gaining visibility through chroniclers and travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries. They were different socio-cultural groups, experiencing opposite periods of torrential rain, in which they stimulated prowess, and overcame difficulties of sailing. They were people with the ability to build canoes and sail on different waterways, as well as to walk long paths by

land on the ancient Island of Guiana, in periods of intense heat with no rain. Based on oral interpretations by the indigenous people, European cartography stimulated a redesign of different river and land routes, between the coast and interior of the Amazon.

Europeans were favoured by the knowledge of indigenous guides, who revealed the connections between river routes and land trails, facilitating occupation in the interior of Guiana. Because of the numerous waterfalls, the expedition group was instructed by the indigenous people to alternate between hiking through extensive savannas, mountains, or hills, and sailing on the rivers or creeks during the journey. However, an indigenous settlement could always be found on the way, where the traveller could rest and find support.

With this information in mind, while preparing this theoretical reflection, the aforementioned study group organized meetings and forums at partner university institutions among the countries that make up the Caribbean Amazon (Boa Vista, Caracas, Georgetown, Paramaribo, Trinidad, Macapá). These were moments for exchange of knowledge among the diverse contingent of researchers, so the meetings broadened knowledge in the field and redefined new interpretations of the Eurocentric Caribbean Amazonian historiography, which was made by the colonisers that interpreted the first moments of the Amazonian geopolitical division and not only repressed, but also absorbed different Karib and Arawak indigenous groups into national societies.

Thus, the NUPEPA/UFRR study group tried innovative approaches to the Caribbean Amazon ancestral peoples available, which still revered the most significant area of the region, marked by Mount Roraima, an indigenous geopolitical landmark that symbolizes geo-historical and socio-cultural relationships among indigenous peoples, as well as cosmogonic and territorial dialogue in the Circum-Roraima. Geologically, the mountain is part of the Guiana Shield, where the Pacaraima Hills boast their highest peaks, Mount Roraima itself, revealing a complex set of mythical and ritualistic principles, as well as oral narratives of the Karib peoples, which place remarkable emphasis on the figure of the cultural hero Makunaima.

With the arrival of the first Europeans in the region, the boundaries between the five countries of European culture, which are currently considered to be Caribbean Amazon nations – Brazil, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, and France –, was redrawn. These countries have distinct cultures and languages, but they have been populating, consolidating territories and incorporating indigenous

peoples into the process of colonisation of the so-called European colonies, also known as the Guianas (OLIVEIRA, 2006, 2011, 2014).

In this territorial and socio-cultural context, as shown in figure 3, Mount Roraima is the most expressive geopolitical point of the Caribbean Amazon. It marks the triple border between Brazil, Guyana, and Venezuela. According to indigenous oral tradition, it is home to the legendary Makunaima, which gave birth to the land and all beings.

Figure 3 – Mount Roraima.



Source: Photograph by Daniel José Santos dos Anjos, a courtesy to the book's author.

CARIBBEAN AMAZON: THE 17TH CENTURY AND ITS GEOPOLITICAL, SOCIO-CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC CHANGES

By carefully observing Dutch historiography and comparing it with thoughts from Portuguese-Brazilian historiography, it was found that the Portuguese were authorised by Spanish King Philip II to occupy and populate the delta and the interior of the land of the River Amazon. This was known as the period of Philippine Brazil⁶ (Iberian Union, 1580-1640), in which the Portuguese were granted the benefit, as they were serving Spain, to break political and legal regulations regarding the limits defined by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) between the two Iberian kingdoms.

Thus, in the Philippine Brazil, the Spanish king treated differently the Portuguese inhabitants of the State of Brazil and the State of Maranhao. The former were considered rebels as a result of their loyalty to the former kingdom of Portugal, and the latter was chosen to occupy the State of Maranhao. In the 16th century, Maranhao was an immense Spanish territory in the Spanish Amazon. Its coastal borders were on the east side near Ceará and its west borders were marked by the River Amazon towards the Andes. The Independent State of Maranhao was created in 1621 by the political and legal regulations of the Spanish King Philip III.

As participants of the administration and geopolitical control of the Spanish kingdom, the Portuguese people of the State of Brazil shared their dissatisfaction at the loss of privileges under the Habsburg, King of Spain. During the Portuguese occupation of the Amazon, Portuguese contingents were encouraged to immigrate from Portugal's colonies (the islands of Madeira, Azores, and Cape Verde) to the State of Maranhao.

In the context of Philip III's Spanish Crown, Portuguese immigrants from the state of Maranhao had their privileges constantly challenged by the Portuguese people established in the state of Brazil. The Portuguese of Philippine Brazil were discontent and provoked movements for conflict and tension, creating discomfort for the Spanish King, owner of lands in America and the Caribbean (OLIVEIRA, 2003; 2006, 2008a).

6 The Philippine or Habsburg dynasty ruled Spain during the Iberian Union (1580-1640) and took possession of the entire territory of Portugal and its colonies. Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV were the kings of the extensive Spanish territory. Some historians name Colonial Brazil as "Philippine Brazil" during the period in which the Iberian kingdoms were unified (BOXER, 1961).

From this historical perspective, three hundred Portuguese led by Jerônimo de Albuquerque and the Tabajara Indians of Pernambuco on behalf of Philip's expansionist policy, captured the area of São Luís do Maranhão around 1615, which had been occupied by the French. According to accounts by Heriarte (1874), in that year of armed struggle between the Portuguese and the French, the island of São Luís was inhabited by different indigenous peoples: Tupinambá, Tapuia, Tabajara and Iguarana. The territory had been conquered and occupied by the French in command of Daniel de La Touche, who built the Fort of São Luís in honour of the King of France.

King Philip III was afraid that the French would discover river connections to access the Andean region of Bolivia or Peru, where Spanish mining efforts were active. In that period of the 17th century, as already mentioned, the King of Spain engaged in two major European wars: The Eighty Years' War and the Thirty Years' War.

Therefore, Spain had difficulties in occupying and protecting such an immense territory in America. An indigenous territory occupied by the Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese, but also disputed by the British and French. All of them wanted political and mercantilist control over the area between the River Amazon, the Andes and the Atlantic routes (HERIARTE, 1874; OLIVEIRA, 2008a).

Thus, by following the same expansionist political viewpoint, the Spanish King Philip III authorised the construction of the Fort of the Crib (Forte do Presépio) in Belém in 1616, with Portuguese support from Pernambuco and São Luís do Maranhão. The Portuguese people, unified, and collaborating with the Spanish kingdom, started a process of conquest and occupation in the delta of the River Amazon, and also towards the interior. In this colonising process, they consolidated the Amazon as a territory belonging to Philip III by fighting battles against indigenous peoples and Europeans (Dutch, British and French), who were enemies of Spain and Portugal united, and had occupied and established settlements in various territories in the Amazon.

Historical documentation also revealed that the agreements between the Portuguese subjects and the Spanish king were not always harmonious. Thus, the unified Iberian peoples had some conflicts in the first half of the 17th century, their first moment of armed struggle was the Restoration War (1640-1668) when Portugal gained its independence from Spain.

Before the Restoration War, however, the Dutch had been developing a slow process of European occupation in the Amazon since 1580. Initially, they

established trading posts and a small military garrison on the delta of the River Pomeroon, located between the delta of the rivers Orinoco and Essequibo.

After that, the merchant bourgeoisies of the Dutch Republic extended their commercial network along the coast of Guiana towards the left side of the River Amazon's delta⁷. Despite commercial success on the Atlantic routes, the Dutch Republic was involved in two major wars in Europe: The Eighty Years' War and the Thirty Years' War, which weakened not only the settlement processes on land and at sea, but also the military security of its Atlantic commercial vessels.

Despite Dutch efforts, however, the so-called Wild Coast was still largely occupied and controlled by the Karib and Arawak peoples. As a result of various conflicts with indigenous peoples or between other European populations established in the region, Dutch colonists found several setbacks for the constant development of their settlements. With peace agreements between Europeans and indigenous people, however, agricultural settlements were established both on the coast of Guiana and on the islands of the Caribbean Sea.

Several European colonies gained consolidation with the introduction of slaves, especially African, between 1620 and 1650, traded by the Dutch West India Company (Dutch West-Indische Compagnie – DWIC). Tobacco was the first Dutch entrepreneurial product in the Caribbean and in the Amazon, which caused the modern European economy to be implemented in the trade network of indigenous peoples (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; GOSLINGA, 1971; HULSMAN, 2009).

In the meantime, the price of tobacco went down, and Dutch traders sought alternatives by introducing sugar cane cultivation on the colonial islands and along the coast of Guiana. Around 1650, this Dutch colonisation process was boosted by the Dutch West India Company (DWIC), who increased the numbers of enslaved Africans for farm work, with new patent permits that allowed rich European settlers to exploit the Caribbean Amazon. In all these actions, contribution from indigenous peoples was important.

Through peace agreements, indigenous people helped the settlers to clean the land and plant it, as well as to build residences, public offices, and churches, also relying on African slave labour. Part of the indigenous population was negotiated as slaves, while another part worked as free people. The Dutch,

⁷ As explained previously, the Republic was born from the unification of the Seven United Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, which were Protestant. Thus, in 1581, the Republic was created during an interval from the Eighty Years War and was recognised in 1648 through the signing of the Treaty of Münster, which celebrated the end of that Dutch and Hispanic War.

however, offered certain benefits to enslaved indigenous people, which did not extend to African slaves.

Around 1604, during the phase of the wars in Europe (the Eighty years and Thirty Years), Frenchmen commanded by Captain Daniel de La Touche⁸, even though they possessed a fragile military contingent to provide the Dutch trading posts, invaded and captured the coast of the River Cayenne from the Dutch. With the successful takeover in the coastal Caribbean Amazon, the French King Luis XIII gave orders that the first settlers, who were originally from Normandy, should settle in that area. By consolidating this event, the French set up a peace alliance with the Arawak peoples (Lokono or Palikur), who were former allies of the Dutch. Some Karib families, such as the Kaliña, were incorporated into the European alliances that settled on the coast of Guiana (HULSMAN, 2014; JAGDEW; EGGER, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; OOSTINDIE; ROITMAN, 2014).

By successfully occupying the Cayenne, the French expanded their geopolitical power in the Caribbean Amazon. In 1625, they expelled the Dutch from the coast and delta of the River Suriname. With a contingent of one hundred Frenchmen (both military and colonists), they established a settlement in the delta of that river. In 1626, as they created a small settlement with a fort in Suriname, the French occupied the territory towards the River Corentyne (or Corantijn) in the Saramacca region – one of Suriname's ten districts. For this developmental enterprise, French migration was encouraged, and peace agreements with the Karib and Arawak indigenous peoples strengthened the sugar farms for commercial production. This particular work was carried out by a few African slaves and a large number of indigenous slaves.

From 1640 to 1650, the British, who had occupied the Caribbean island of Barbados, went to war against the French to take over the colony of Suriname. In that struggle, which sometimes favoured the British, sometimes the French, the British defeated the latter and occupied Suriname. There, they restructured the fort and the colony with sugar and tobacco farms. They signed peace agreements with the Karib Indians (Warao and Kaliña), who fought against the Arawak, allies of the French. They began to monopolise the timber trade from Suriname to Barbados.

After the European wars were extended into the Caribbean Amazon, which involved the Indians, political dispute was intensified between indigenous peoples, who fought amongst themselves for the benefits of commercial exchange with

8 Daniel de La Touche, under the title of Lord of La Ravardière, was the same man who commanded the French expedition in the invasion and conquest of Maranhao. When they settled in the region, the French founded the Fort of São Luis in 1612.

the Europeans. In tribal clashes, the defeated indigenous people were enslaved and sold to European settlers.

In 1651, the British Governor of Barbados, Lord Willoughby, strengthened the Suriname colony by sending in British settlers and soldiers. The success of the British in Suriname, however, did not last, as the Dutch settlers organised themselves and went to war against the British established in Suriname. Both groups had indigenous warriors as allies. Three warships with approximately 390 Dutch soldiers, led by the Zeelander commander Abraham Crijnssen, defeated the British by 1667 and expelled them from Suriname.

The defeated British settlers, who did not wish to leave their farms in Suriname, had their rules limited by the Dutch trade administered by the Dutch West India Company (HULSMAN, 2014; JAGDEW; EGGER, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; OOSTINDIE; ROITMAN, 2014).

In 1667, the Peace Treaty of Breda, signed by the British Kingdom and the Netherlands Republic, ended the Anglo-Dutch War, as it was agreed that possession over the conquered territories in the New World should be maintained. Thus, the Suriname colony effectively became a Dutch property, in which alliances with several Arawak indigenous families were carried forward, and peace agreements were extended to the Karib indigenous families. However, conflicts between Karib, Arawak and the Dutch were always present, but they were appeased by the Dutch government installed in Paramaribo, where they built the Fort Zeelandia. Figure 4 shows the ruins of Fort Zeelandia, built in 1667 in Paramaribo, capital of Suriname. The Dutch fort was established on the left bank of the River Suriname.

Figure 4 – Ruins of Fort Zeelandia, in Paramaribo, Suriname.



Source: photograph by the book's author, taken during a trip to Paramaribo/Suriname.

During 1682 the Dutch West India Company transferred the colony of Suriname to a private company in Amsterdam - Sociëteit van Suriname. The merchant bourgeoisies of that society appointed the government of Paramaribo and directors to manage the farms on behalf of the Society of Suriname (HULSMAN, 2014).

Although this region was claimed by the Kingdom of Spain on the basis of the principles of the Treaty of Tordesillas, by sending small patrols along the coast of Guiana, it was not possible for the Spanish king to defend the immense territory occupied by the Dutch, French and British. Despite being an imperial power, Philip III's Spain was not only fighting the enemies involved in the European Eighty- and Thirty Years' Wars, but also reducing tension among the unified Portuguese people.

Other armed clashes took place between the Spanish and the Dutch in the region of the River Orinoco, in which the Dutch looted and set fire to Fort Thomé de la Guayana. The Spanish fort was located on the River Orinoco near the delta of the River Caroni, with the development of Catholic missions and the colonising process between the Karíb and Arawak peoples. It has already been mentioned that the fort was built between 1592 and 1593, during the Spanish government of Antonio de Berrio, who was based in Trinidad (OLIVEIRA, 2008a).

For that reason, the region near the delta of the River Orinoco was populated by some Spanish settlers and a Catholic mission commanded by a Franciscan friar, who were charged with evangelising the Karíb and Arawak peoples on

behalf of Spain at the beginning of the 16th century. Friar De Berrio sent letters to the Council of the Indies denouncing the violent treatment of the Spanish colonisers in their relationship with the indigenous peoples. The Friar commented and acknowledged the strategies of “seduction” towards indigenous peoples, to be allies or servants of Europe, which were carried out by the Spanish and Dutch colonists.

For the Dutch, the arrest of Indians by means of “seduction” was a benefit that Europeans should enjoy, as long as they integrated the Indians into Dutch families or mercantilist networks. For the Spanish, the imprisonment of Indians by means of settlements or *Encomiendas*⁹ was a way of exploiting Indian labour. If an Indian escaped from a settlement, they were hunted, enslaved, and turned into another product to be traded (BOXER, 1961; OLIVEIRA, 2003).

In 1616, the Dutch Republic began to strengthen their military forces and colonise the areas furthest from the coast of Guiana. Private political and economic power became a characteristic of the Republic with the world divided into two hemispheres, where the Dutch maintained its trade route: The East and the West. In 1602, the Dutch Republic traded only in the East (Asia) through the Dutch East India Company – *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC). In 1621, during a truce from the Eighty Years’ War, the Dutch Republic founded the Dutch West India Company, which began to manage business in the West (Europe, the Caribbean and America).

The West and East India Companies were independent businesses, financed by private capital from their Dutch shareholders, which were based in Amsterdam and in the province of Zeeland and held the Republic’s economic and political power during the 17th century. In this context of Dutch business in the Atlantic, Zeeland was responsible for the forts and trading posts in the delta of the River Essequibo and the left delta of the River Amazon. Thus, the first merchants and managers of the Dutch Republic on the coast of the Caribbean Amazon were the people of Zeeland (HULSMAN, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; HULSMAN, 2017).

By strengthening Dutch political and commercial power in the Amazon, the Dutch West India Company authorised the construction of a fort in the

9 A system of political and economic power used by the King of Spain, who transferred to settlers living in America, especially in the region of the River Orinoco, a collection of taxes to be paid by subjects of the Crown, i.e., the Indians. These taxes could be paid in the form of services, which presented a new mechanism for economic power through the enslavement of Indians. “The settler who placed an ‘order’ was obliged to protect, Christianise or ‘civilise’ the Indian”. (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 53).

interior of the River Essequibo. It was the time to ensure greater security in the commercial network with the Karíb and Arawak peoples, which was being connected to more distant indigenous territories (rivers Rupununi and Branco). The River Essequibo began to attract the attention of Spanish, British, and French colonisers as a possible river path to the lake of El Dorado, located in the interior of Guiana.

Fort Kijkoveral was built to this end and offered greater military support to the Dutch expansionist policy, while conserving alliances with the Karíb and Arawak indigenous peoples. The fort was strategically located on a small island at an elevated altitude, which enabled a wide view of the area connected with the rivers Cuyuni (towards the River Orinoco), Mazaruni (in the direction of the Karíb peoples in the Pacaraima mountains) and Essequibo, with an exit to the Atlantic (OLIVEIRA, 2008a; VAN'S GRAVESANDE, 1967).

Jacob Canijin was appointed as an administrator to lead, organise and consolidate both the military garrison of the fort and people for the new settlement. Initially, the Dutch administrator was assisted by a secretary to deal with bureaucratic organisation and military planning. According to Dutch historical data, the fort had twenty soldiers, amongst other officials, to assist in different administrative and military defence tasks. In order to ensure the success of Jacob Canijin's goals, a number of Karíb and Arawak indigenous people were incorporated into the staff, as well as in the military forces, and carried out various services in Kijkoveral, especially in providing food, river transport and guides.

In figure 5, we identify ruins in Fort Kijkoveral, built in 1616. Currently, its location is close to the city of Bartica, in the interior of the River Essequibo.

Figure 5 - Fort Kijkoveral Portal



Source: Photo by the author, taken during boat trips along the rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni and Cuyuni.

With military support from both Kijkoveral and Karíb or Arawak peoples, Dutch patrols expanded geopolitical power towards the River Orinoco. They organised attacks on Spanish missions and on Fort Santo Thomé, where the King of Spain was also supported by Karíb or Arawak indigenous allies. Catholic missionaries of the River Orinoco sent letters to the King of Spain denouncing Dutch armed efforts to occupy the region. The missionaries were outraged at the behaviour of the Dutch, who married Indian women who had “the same status of European wives”. In order to placate the armed confrontations of their representatives in the Caribbean Amazon, the King of Spain and the General Government of the Dutch Republic were always adjusting agreements for political understanding and peace.

The men of the Dutch Republic, under responsibility of the Dutch West India Company, established a second fort after the consolidation of Fort Kijkoveral in 1627 and the beginning of the settlement process on the River Essequibo. The fort was also located in the interior of Guiana, on the River Berbice, and was

named Fort Nassau. For this private venture, the merchant Abraham van Pere de Vlinssigen, one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, was given the patent and permission to lay the foundations of the colony. Thus, the beginning of colonisation in Berbice as a private property was carried out by the Van Pere family of Vlissingen, who began to incorporate peoples of the Karíb or Arawak language families into the colonisation process by seducing them into peace alliances and the commercial network (OLIVEIRA, 2008a; OLIVEIRA; HULSMAN, 2017).

Figure 6 - Fort Nassau, on the banks of the River Berbice.



Source: Image from the Atlas of Mutual Heritage and from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Dutch National Library.

In 1657, under direction of the Dutch West India Company, the first commander was appointed to Fort Kijkoveral, which began to consolidate the settlement in partnership with the Indians on the rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni and Cuyuni. Thus, the Dutch commander by the name of Gromweagle expanded his socio-cultural contacts and established other work and trade partnerships with the indigenous peoples on behalf of the Republic. Historical literature, however, has revealed almost no information about the new commander and his military and administrative policy. Nonetheless, in the historical fragments, we have identified data about Gromweagle as a deserter of Spanish establishments on the River Orinoco. He arrived on the River Essequibo and joined his Dutch compatriots. Gromweagle took his wife, Kaliña, of Karíb ethnicity, and his

son. After a few years, Gromweagle's son was appointed as administrator of a trading post in the Colony of the River Demerara (OLIVEIRA, 2008a; VAN'S GRAVESANDE, 1967).

In this intercultural context, the Dutch initiated a new model for relationships with the native people of the Amazon. They reinvented political, legal, and economic relations by integrating the Indians not only into the European work carried out at the fort, but also to expeditions for assessment and exploration into the forest, expanding contact with the natives in savannah areas.

These were different actions that changed socio-cultural, economic and political processes, bringing the indigenous peoples closer to the Dutch projects. These actions joined similar desires, but also different goals, and transformed Kijkoveral into a place of hybrid culture, which consolidated a population for the fortress that later became the Dutch colony of Essequibo.

Historiography revealed it was not always peaceful and easy for the Karíb or Arawak natives to be in contact among themselves during the implementation of the Dutch project for the Amazon. There were moments of tension and armed conflict. Moreover, indigenous people rebelled and fled to their villages deeper in the forest, leaving the Dutch settlement behind. However, the Dutch were able to exploit the moments of good relations and peace, as they extended their mercantilist network into the interior towards the rivers Rupununi and Branco. Therefore, political and economic power was expanded, strengthening the Dutch field of action into the interior of the Amazonian savannah.

This process caused tobacco, cotton, and ink sticks to gain economic significance, as the products were introduced into the commercial network and exchanged for Dutch manufactured products that seduced the indigenous people to consume European goods. We can say that, by making use of strategies to attract Indians, the Dutch strengthened the European mercantilist policy and reached the rivers Rupununi, Branco, Negro and Amazon. Numerous products circulated around different paths by river and land, through forests, savannahs, and mountains, expanding both the trade route and the profits in favour of the Dutch (BOXER, 1961; OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006, 2008a).

This interactive, intercultural, mercantilist scenario gave power for the people of the Dutch Republic to command the trade market and to dominate the colonisation of the Caribbean Amazon. Karíb and Arawak leaders and Tuxauas (indigenous chiefs) coordinated their efforts in this new network of power controlled by white men. Marriage between Dutch and indigenous women

reaffirmed other ties of kinship, which redesigned socio-cultural organisation in the Caribbean Amazon. Since they involved geopolitics, these marriages were a type of kinship that weakened intertribal relations.

Disputes between indigenous peoples allied to Europeans were aggravated, as the latter participated in wars over both land ownership and the Indians themselves, who were not considered as kin. Rebellious Indians and those defeated in armed confrontations were taken as prisoners and traded as slaves. Indigenous slaves were traded to work on the farms along the coast, as well as on the islands of the Caribbean Sea, where the Dutch owned agricultural property.

In this process of slave labour, African labour was introduced and increased both commercial profits and the number of routes between Africa, Europe, America, and the Caribbean. The monopoly of the trade in slaves from Africa to Guiana and the Caribbean became stronger in the 18th century, when it benefitted from an increasing demand for agricultural products on farms in the Guianas and in the Caribbean (IFILL, 2011; OLIVEIRA, 2008a, 2011; OLIVEIRA; HULSMAN, 2017).

The Caribbean Amazon became a setting for European disputes over trade routes and geopolitical domination over indigenous populations and their territories. It was also the place where the legendary El Dorado would be found, where mining and easy riches were possible. Different European representations and projects for the exploitation of the Amazon enabled a new order in international relations to emerge, one that incorporated Karib and Arawak people into the region. Multiple peace agreements between the different Europeans and the various indigenous leaders and Tuxauas were intensified. However, every Christian European who settled in the land with the goal to colonise it strengthened Europe's geopolitical game of power in the American Amazon.

In the process of the European encounter with the Indians in the Caribbean Amazon, either incorporated into the European family organisation or hunted as savages, we can say that the European cultural perspective displayed an imagined duality in regard to the Indian people: the Indians seen as collaborators, the “good savages”; or the rebellious Indians, identified as “bad savages”, whereas none of them were considered to have religion, social organisation, or government¹⁰. There was, however, a third group of Indians who were recognised by an image

¹⁰ In reference to the famous 16th-century chronicler formula by Pero de Magalhães Gandavo (1826/2008, p. 65): “[the Indians] have neither Faith, nor Law, nor King;”. Originally, it reads “[...] não têm Fé, nem Lei, nem Rei.”

of “cannibalistic savages” and identified as violent, ahistorical, and lacking both Christianity and civility.

The political and cultural thought of Europeans from the 16th and 17th centuries did not accept other peoples to be different from those of Western culture. It was a European society that was heir of the Ancien Régime, which transformed nature and the native peoples of America into wealth, as the basis of a coloniser State in the Amazon. It was a complex place of multiple socio-cultural identities, pronounced by travellers and experienced by European settlers influenced by Dutch mercantile behaviour and the Christian Iberian, who functioned as dominators of the Caribbean Amazon’s “wild universe”, which received other symbolic and socio-cultural contours (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2011).

Supported by the Portuguese from the state of Maranhão, The Spanish King Philip IV authorised an expedition along the River Amazon in 1637, beginning in the river delta and ending in the Andes, at the Vice-Kingdom of Peru. For the Spanish king, it was a convenient moment to get to know the real route to the Andes along the River Amazon, where his Spanish subjects conducted mining. The Portuguese Pedro Teixeira, who had shown bravery in fighting in the region against enemy nations of the Spanish kingdom, was chosen to command the expedition because the Portuguese were under the dominion of Spain and were considered subjects and faithful allies. That stormy relationship between Portugal and Spain took place in a period on the eve of the Portuguese Restoration War. The war was being planned secretly and it was led by Dom João (Duke of Bragança), who would later be proclaimed as Dom João IV, King of Portugal.

Thus, in this context of uncertain Portuguese-Spanish alliance, the mission of Pedro Teixeira’s expedition was to draw a map of the River Amazon and its tributaries, from the delta to the Vice-Kingdom of Peru, to gather data about female warriors and other native societies, to assess the trade of Dutch enemies with indigenous peoples, and to reorganise information on forest products for European trade.

The journey started from the village of Cameté in October 1637, with a total of 47 large canoes, 70 Portuguese soldiers, and 1,200 indigenous warriors. Pedro Teixeira went up the River Amazon and reached the River Negro, where he left some soldiers. According to reports of the trip, Pedro Teixeira took possession of the land and the natives on behalf of the king of Portugal, although the kingdom of Portugal did not exist, since the Portuguese were ruled by the king of Spain, Philip IV.

During the exploratory voyage, the annatto caught the attention of Portuguese sailors. The product was known and marketed by the Dutch through the indigenous network. Pedro Teixeira's journey was not easy, as he did not have an indigenous guide who was faithful and knew the route to the Andes among such intricate rivers. Along the way, some indigenous people began to defect because they could not bear the heavy work as rowers and porters. However, after a year's journey, Pedro Teixeira's entourage arrived in Quito and was received by the Viceroy of Peru, the Spanish Count of Chinchón (CARVAJAL; ROJAS; ACUÑA, 1941; MATTOS, 2010; OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2008a, 2011).

Pedro Teixeira was surprised to discover the path along the River Amazon to the Andes (Peru), and the Spanish Viceroy of Quito did not approve of his behaviour, since Teixeira expressed enthusiasm on behalf of Portugal. For the Spanish Governor, the kingdom of Portugal did not exist. In the meantime, a royal letter confirmed that the expedition was in service of His Majesty Philip IV, King of Spain, under the Habsburg dynasty. The Viceroy summoned the Jesuit priest Cristóbal de Acuña, a faithful missionary devoted to the Spanish kingdom, to take note and report on Pedro Teixeira's journey back along the River Amazon, as he would take the same river route to the Atlantic Ocean.

On his long way back, as he sailed through the lands of the Omagua people, Acuña described them as displaying good socio-cultural and commercial organisation, a people different from the Tapajós and their renowned warriors, who went into battle against the Portuguese settlers. While navigating down the river, Acuña recorded the existence of the native population as either probable allies or possible enemies. In his account, he gave news of indigenous peoples allied to the Dutch enemies, who were present in the Amazonian interior because of trade. He catalogued the products extracted for the Spanish market, and made notes on the variety of wood, cocoa, cotton, and tobacco, used by indigenous peoples in different daily activities.

For Acuña, on the banks of the Great River Amazon, there were many indigenous villages, some were very extensive, with a dense population. Other indigenous villages were further away from the river, in the interior of the forest. They used wood and straw roofing to build their houses; no stone construction with tile roofing was found. As he continued sailing downriver, Acuña commented on the numerous islands along the Great River of the Amazon. He made notes about the edible roots used by indigenous people, such as varieties of potatoes, cassava, among others, which were baked and served to the men

of the expedition. In addition, there was an abundance of fish, turtles, and fruit which satisfied the men because of their nourishing properties and provided them with more strength to continue their journey.

After approximately ten months, the expedition of Pedro Teixeira arrived in Cametá in December 1639. The Jesuit Acuña continued his journey to the island of Trinidad and from there to Madrid, where he published his report entitled *New Discovery of the Great River of the Amazons* in 1641 (ACUÑA, 1994). Portugal was already at war against Spain (Restoration War, 1640-1668) and did not have access to Acuña's document, but the Portuguese Pedro Teixeira wrote a report on the trip and handed it over to the Portuguese leaders. Based on his account and his journey, the Crown, restored by the Bragança dynasty, claimed ownership of that Amazonian territory, and gave rise to new territorial conflicts between Portugal and Spain in America (ACUÑA, 1994; CARVAJAL; ROJAS; ACUÑA, 1941; OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2008a, 2011).

However, after that episode involving the navigator Pedro Teixeira, the Iberian peoples occupied the interior of the rivers Amazon and Negro, and agreed to an alliance with the indigenous peoples, who also rebelled and amplified the armed conflicts between Europeans and indigenous peoples. In the same geopolitical context of this encounter between European and indigenous people, the Dutch maintained their mercantilist network with the support of the Karíb or Arawak, both on the coast and in the interior of Guiana, intensifying socio-cultural and armed conflicts.

Dutch explorers undertook recognition voyages and expanded The Netherland's mercantile network and diplomatic agreements that consolidated peace with the native peoples of the region. Their voyages along the coast of the Island of Guiana were successful, as well as access to the rivers Suriname, Corentyne, Berbice and Essequibo. They expanded expedition routes and integrated settlements of indigenous peoples towards the interior, along the rivers Rupununi and Branco. When they settled in a savannah region, they incorporated new Karíb and Arawak allies through the expansion of the Dutch mercantile network towards the Andes (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006, 2008a).

Other contributions from historical sources along these lines have been analysed and published by Carrico (2011). According to this author, both the expeditions in which settlement was temporary and the European process of permanent settlement were only possible with the support of the Karíb and Arawak peoples. Thus, not only the alliances with leaders of indigenous people

from these language families, but also the support and control of indigenous slave labour and the distribution of services among free indigenous people, enabled a hierarchical organisation in which everyone had a stake, as well as privileges, in the Dutch mercantile network.

The hierarchy of tasks was made up of numerous services, and included indigenous groups of cooks and planters, rowers, guides, interpreters, and those to point directions for expedition commanders, ensuring European consolidation in the Caribbean Amazon and in the islands.

In this understanding, the food produced by the indigenous population was considered one of the most important businesses in the trade between Europeans and indigenous people in the Caribbean Amazon and in the Islands. It can be said that the business involving indigenous Amazonian cuisine not only enabled Europeans to effectively stay in the region, but also facilitated the process of consolidation of European ownership over the region and the development of their exploratory expeditions. The Dutch were able to take advantage of these strategies and were covered in other narratives of indigenous knowledge, improving their production of knowledge about the Caribbean Amazon.

Little by little, the Arawak Guiana, controlled by the indigenous peoples, were Europeanised with the introduction of settlers, missionaries and military, who were transforming the landscape, culture and language of the natives of Spanish America into a “European Amazonian” language. Lands of the indigenous peoples were divided and occupied by different European colonising societies: Spanish, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and British.

In the food preparations of the Karíb and Arawak, the Dutch who explored Guiana noticed the use of annatto at different moments of indigenous daily life. The production of annatto changed during Dutch ownership, as its seeds were incorporated into the mercantilist network as a new product, with guaranteed profits. Therefore, annatto became an important product of the forest among the other products marketed as Spices of the Backlands. For that reason, annatto was taken through the Atlantic route to Amsterdam, where it was processed in various stages, becoming either fabric dye or food products such as cooking spices or colouring for cheese and butter.

Dutch literature has not made it clear how much annatto was shipped on Dutch ships that sailed the North Atlantic route between the Island of Guiana and Amsterdam or Rotterdam (OLIVEIRA, 2014). However, it was clear that bourgeois traders from The Netherlands, by means of the Dutch West India

Company, reaped substantial profit and loaded their banks with riches in Amsterdam through the production and trade of annatto. Indigenous tomatoes were also successful products brought to Europe, but there are few historical records analysing the tomato trade.

It was previously mentioned that peace agreements with indigenous peoples were a socio-cultural aspect that favoured Dutch permanent settlement in the region. Within a set of political, legal, cultural and economic actions that also favoured settlement, one of the most commonly used instruments was marriage between Dutch and indigenous women, who became part of the family, establishing a European socio-cultural formation in which people communicated bilingually: both Indians and the Dutch were in possession of the territory.

It is worth remembering that this practice of marriage was contested by the Spanish Catholic missionaries living next to the River Orinoco. The missionaries did not agree with the Dutch miscegenation strategy to incorporate women from the indigenous peoples into a white society. It was in this context that the Spanish missionaries wrote letters to the King of Spain to demonstrate their discontent and denounce the Dutch “heretics” and their methods for occupying Guiana by turning the “savage” women into their wives. By doing this, the men of the Dutch Republic, authorised by the Dutch West India Company, established diplomatic functions for the negotiations that were carried out with indigenous people. This approach was also detected among other Europeans, such as Spanish merchants established next to the River Orinoco and Carmelite missionaries in the Aracary Village, next to River Negro (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2014).

It should be noted that in the turbulent and conflicting socio-cultural and mercantile period during the first half of the 17th century, the King of Spain and the Dutch Republic were involved in the Eighty Years’ War and in the Thirty Years’ War. However, the clashes provoked by the war were no obstacle for Dutch merchants, skilled in mercantile diplomacy, involving different socio-cultural groups and interests. As a consequence, the Dutch bourgeoisie planned mercantilist strategies for the success of the trade network in the Caribbean Amazon, with the support of the Karíb or Arawak indigenous peoples. As an example, River Orinoco Spanish merchants would supply horses, taken by indigenous people, to Fort Kijkoveral and to some settlers at the River Essequibo. Some of the horses were used in the Dutch sugar cane mills.

With the permission of the Dutch West India Company, the Dutch were expanding commercial, political and legal negotiations and reaffirming different

rules for the truces from conflicts that happened to arise, such as in peace pacts either among indigenous groups (Karib or Arawak), or between indigenous people and settlers, and the European military. Numerous political, diplomatic, legal, and economic measures proposed conciliation whilst favouring the Dutch, who incorporated the knowledge and geopolitical power to the coastal territories that interconnected the interior of Guiana. It important to mention that those measures also favoured the creation of strategies for finding El Dorado and precious treasures at Lake Manoa, also known as Lake Parima.

With this in mind, we would like to restate that in 1648, when the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War ended, Spain recognised the independence of the Dutch Republic which it was assured by the Treaty of Münster. It is noteworthy that this Treaty weakened the power of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and gave possession of the Island of Guiana to the Dutch, as that territory enabled them to carry out extensive trade with indigenous and European peoples in the New World. This diplomatic and geopolitical act established a reorganisation of new borders in Iberian America. This event broadened other European nations' interest in sharing the Caribbean Amazon and created disputes in the 17th century.

During this period, the Dutch owned the colony of Essequibo, which was governed by the Zeeland Chamber; they also owned the colony of Berbice, which was governed by its hereditary patron, Abraham van Pere, who was also one of the directors of the Zeeland Chamber. These two Dutch colonies in the Caribbean Amazon had similar features: their population was limited to a few dozen Europeans whose main concern was trade with the indigenous population and agricultural production on the first ranches in which indigenous and African slave labour was implemented. There was also one single French colony, which had a stable situation on the coast, it was located on the delta of the River Suriname and was connected to the River Cayenne. This French colony also displayed many of the characteristics of the Dutch colonies (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

Amidst the Restoration War (1640-1668), indigenous, Spanish, and Portuguese people experienced armed conflicts during the occupation of Iberian America. With the break-up of the Portuguese-Spanish alliance, Portugal did not wish to return the entire territory occupied during the phase of the Iberian Union. In order to occupy and conquer the land, both Iberian nations had indigenous alliances, since these people were seduced and incorporated into

the efforts of the Iberian kingdoms. Additionally, this strategy of seducing the indigenous people was also used by other European nations, such as the Dutch and French who were established in Guiana. In this perspective, at the end of the 17th century, the great Indigenous-Spanish America was shared with other nations, which were enemies of Spain, and also made use of the immense Karib and Arawak indigenous workforce.

After the Treaty of Münster (1648), the region's geopolitics was reorganised by the Spanish King Philip IV. A Spanish royal regulation introduced a new configuration for the Amazonian territory. In this case, the Portuguese border of the Independent State of Maranhao was defined by the right bank of the rivers Amazon and Negro. Consequently, it was established that the left bank of these rivers defined the properties of the Dutch Republic, which were considered as the limits of the Island of Guiana in the interior of the Amazon. As part of 17th-century Amazonian geopolitics, Spanish King Philip IV authorised the Dutch to expel the Portuguese inhabitants of Cabo Norte (now Amapá) and limit their access to the state of Maranhao¹¹, which was being disputed by Spanish and Portuguese colonisers (OLIVEIRA, 2008a, 2014).

According to information about the Iberian historical process in America, the Captancy of Cabo Norte was created by Philip IV of Spain in 1637. It was a tense and conflicting moment resulting from the Eighty Years' War against the Netherlands, whose men occupied and traded in the Caribbean Amazon. That was also the year in which Spain authorised the expedition led by Pedro Teixeira to explore the River Amazon from the delta to the Andes. In that year, the Irishman Bernardo O'Brien del Carpio wrote a report for the Spanish King Philip IV accounting for the large profits reaped by the Netherlands through their trade in the network of indigenous exchanges in the Caribbean Amazon.

Therefore, the year 1637 was quite hectic in the Spanish Court because Dutch, French, and British efforts were being expended against the Iberians during the dispute for the control of the left delta of the River Amazon, a river route that was not sufficiently known by the Portuguese inhabitants of Fort Presépio, a fort located on the right bank of the delta of that same river.

11 As previously mentioned, the State of Maranhao was created during the Iberian Union by the Spanish King Philip III in 1621. However, in 1654, during the Restoration War, the Portuguese people who inhabited the region renamed the State as Maranhao and Grão-Pará. As a result of the policies of the Marquis of Pombal in the 18th century, it was again renamed to State of Grão-Pará and Maranhao in 1751. Between 1772-1774, the territory of this Portuguese State was divided into two independent National States: Maranhao and Piauí (capital in São Luís); Grão-Pará and Rio Negro (capital in Belém).

Evidently, this Amazonian territory had been a field of wars and disputes over economical and geopolitical power in the North Atlantic, as well as over the delta of the “River of the Amazons.” In the face of such circumstances, the Spanish king was left no choice but to command that the defence and administration of the new Captaincy, located in the left delta of the River Amazon, should come under Bento Maciel Parente, governor of São Luís, the capital of Maranhao. This Portuguese governor and military man had shown bravery on behalf of Spain by conquering and defending the territory of Maranhao, with the French expulsion in 1615, during the reign of Philip III.

In this line of thought, when the Europeans arrived in the New World, considered an unknown region occupied by “savages”, they claimed the right to turn that new land – seen for the first time – into their property. In this action to take possession, the Indian was seen as part of the “wild” land and was one more asset to be exploited by the Europeans. In this interpretation, the Iberian kingdoms took possession of a magical, gifted land of the Caribbean Amazon, but did not acknowledge that it was inhabited by different peoples, Karíb, Arawak or Inca, who had cultural demonstrations and languages different than the European. After occupying the region, the Europeans collected taxes from the indigenous peoples and stole their women, as they were unmarried when they arrived in the New World. Because of this kind of conflict, violent approaches against indigenous women provoked during the Spanish attacks on the Arawak (Taino) and Karíb peoples resulted in the emergence of the first generations of hybrid socio-cultural groups in the New World: European and indigenous, Arawak, Karíb and Inca (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006, 2008a).

Consequently, the entire area of the so-called Wild Coast, between the delta of the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, enabled encounters and dialogue between love and hate, experienced and shared by Europeans and indigenous people. Colonisation, however, revealed other aspects of this encounter, such as the lack of socio-cultural understanding by the Europeans in regard of the peoples of the New World.

However, by making use of leadership strategies, the Europeans incorporated the “savages” into their territorial domain and were commanded by Catholic missionaries to “civilise” the Indians through evangelisation. This was a process of Christian and socio-cultural purification that transformed a “savage” into a real servant and enabled him to be reborn as a worker for the kingdoms of Europe. Ideas of religious and philosophical change in the field of the humanities, of

post-renaissance vision, provoked by a European society emerging from a crisis from the Middle Ages. That society gave rise to new strategies for geopolitical and economic power in the modern world, incorporated in the routes of the Atlantic Ocean that interconnected Europe, Africa, Asia, America, and the Caribbean.

The River Orinoco was the most coveted river path for sailors heading towards the interior of the Caribbean Amazon in the 17th century. With Modern Europe's Renaissance spirit, the North Atlantic routes towards the River Orinoco were the scene of constant clashes between Europeans, which involved the Arawak or Karíb indigenous people by means of alliances.

It should again be pointed out that after the signing of the Treaty of Münster (1648), the right bank of the River Orinoco became a property of the Dutch Republic in the Caribbean Amazon. Thus, the Spaniards installed in Fort Santo Thomé de la Guayana, tried to block the Dutch and other Europeans from accessing the River Orinoco. This Spanish political and military procedure caused the Dutch to engage in various armed conflicts against Spanish military forces, settlers, and Catholic missionaries living in the region. A comparable situation occurred on the left bank of the delta of the River Amazon, occupied by and controlled by the Dutch. As a result, they were experiencing constant armed struggles against French, Portuguese, and British forces who wished to enter the River Amazon through the left bank of its delta.

Between 1620 and 1650, the territories of the Caribbean Amazon and the islands of the Caribbean Sea received more colonial settlers from Europe. This process of settlement and Christian evangelisation incorporated Arawak and Karíb indigenous peoples into numerous services. The Dutch West India Company marketed products from the region and from Europe; they also offered slave labour brought in from Africa (men, women, youths, and children). This arrangement transformed the region into an important market and encouraged the emergence of another Caribbean Amazonian economy.

It was in this venture, caused by the new European immigration contingent, that the region was economically stimulated, and mercantilism strengthened the production of old and new agriculture, such as cotton, tobacco, sugar, coffee, renewing the settlement and European colonisation of the conquered territory (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

As a result, the Dutch, who were involved in the clashes against other Europeans seeking to occupy the land of the Caribbean Amazon, were losing strength and their geopolitical dominance was being weakened in the region.

Events provoked by Europeans who always had the support of the Arawak and Karib, either as warriors in the clashes or as agricultural workers in the settlements. We also pointed out that seducing indigenous peoples through the use of a peace alliance, marriage, or trade was a successful method of colonisation. However, as everything happened quickly and ephemerally, it was in this regional panorama of European disputes that Fort Kijkoveral was captured by the British who colonised the Caribbean island of Barbados.

It was 1666 when ships with British military, inhabitants of Barbados, in alliance with the natives, sailed down the River Essequibo towards the interior. By using the element of surprise, the British arrived at Fort Kijkoveral and engaged in armed struggle against the military and settlers in the fortress of the Dutch Republic. However, the Dutch soldiers who survived the British fight fled to Fort Nassau on the River Berbice and disseminated the story. The Dutch commander of Fort Nassau, with support from the Arawak Indians and Dutch soldiers, assembled a large military contingent. Then, by using the element of surprise, he attacked the British forces, who were still commemorating their victory over the Dutch at the Essequibo. In this armed action, the Dutch overcame the British by taking over the Kijkoveral and establishing peace in the region, which benefited the Dutch Republic (HULSMAN, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2008a, 2011).

To that end, the Dutchmen from the province of Zeeland, who were responsible for this fort in Essequibo, reorganised its administrative and safety structure. Around 1670, the colony was ruled by Commander Hendrix Roll, who expanded the alliance with the Karib and Arawak peoples, attracting new settlers to the Essequibo region. In this expansionist and developmental action, the commander of the fort, through the Dutch West India Company, authorised the Dutch to establish settlements and increased migrant settlers and patents for the merchants of the plantation farms: sugar cane, tobacco, cotton and coffee.

In this circumstance, cultivating coffee as colonisation process gained popularity on the Island of Guiana and on the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Coffee plantations were introduced by the Dutch in the second half of the 17th century, when they brought coffee seedlings from their colony in Asia to America and the Caribbean. With a plan to develop the agricultural system, coffee plantations were taken to the lands of the Caribbean Amazon and to the islands of the Caribbean Sea, where the Dutch had political and economic dominance. Thus, the banks and islands of the River Essequibo were occupied by the initiative of private merchants and their farms, which strengthened the

Dutch presence towards both the interior and the Delta of the River Essequibo. New settlers and indigenous and African slaves diversified the business and the plantation system (HULSMAN, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; 2011).

Throughout the second half of the 17th century, however, England and the Dutch Republic continued to engage in wars over commercial power in the Atlantic and on the Island of Guiana. The rivalry between the British and Dutch Trading Companies was violent, contributing to the financial weakening of the Dutch, who monopolised the mercantile geopolitics between America, the Caribbean, and Europe. At times, the British and the Dutch signed peace agreements, allowing not only for a pause in conflicts regarding the network of goods, but also for development in the production of Caribbean Amazonian farms. However, the agreements were generally not honoured, and they engaged in war again.

In this context of power struggles, the British began to refine their naval fleet by introducing warships into the merchant fleet. With the unified maritime fleet, the British increased their profits in the context of international business.

Dutch historiography has reported that in all international and socio-cultural relations in the Caribbean Amazon and the islands of the Caribbean Sea, the presence of Jewish merchants, and later their families, made significant contributions to the historical formation of a Caribbean regional history. This topic needs further historical analysis, but it is known that the Jewish merchants contributed to the implementation of economic and geopolitical power in favour of the Dutch Republic in the region. The different Jewish ways of doing business made it possible that Dutch regional trade would expand successfully. These Jewish merchants were in the vanguard of 17th century European settlers, carrying out diverse negotiations and establishing other socio-economic and cultural orders in the Caribbean Amazon.

Around 1652, the French on the island of Cayenne had difficulty in stabilising their colonisation efforts. There were internal intrigues among the French settlers who differed over economic interests and the occupation of the land on behalf of the King of France, Louis XIV (the Sun King), and his main minister, Cardinal Julis Mazarin. There were peace alliances with the Karib peoples, like the Galibi, but there were also violent conflicts between the French and the indigenous peoples. The different political and economic interests within the French settlers developed a war against the Galibi Indians. In the face of these events, the French were expelled, and the territory of the island and the River Cayenne became disputed by other Europeans.

After going to war against the Portuguese and Indians in the Brazilian conquest of Pernambuco, the Dutch Republic lost an armed conflict and was expelled from the Brazilian northeast coast in 1654. This historic milestone caused the Dutch West India Company to consider restating its interest in establishing colonies in the Caribbean Amazon. The Dutch-Portuguese war in Pernambuco brought the company to the brink of bankruptcy. This forced the Dutch chambers to turn to private investors to promote their economic plans in America and the Caribbean.

In this case, Jan Claes Langendijck, a merchant from Amsterdam, was authorised, in 1656, by the Company to settle on the island and at the mouth of the River Cayenne near the ruins of Fort Cépérou, which had been built by a French expedition in 1643. The fort was made of wood, located on a hill with a privileged view to the mouth of the River Cayenne. The merchant managed to establish friendly relationships with the Karíb, who helped the Dutchman to rebuild the houses for him and his settlers, also to clear the land for planting. Therefore, Langendijck received financial incentive for his colony through a patron of the General States (in Dutch, Staten-Generaal), mediated by the chamber of the Dutch West India Company of Amsterdam. This venture in the Caribbean Amazon was conceived in 1634 when the Company granted permission to David de Vries for a plantation in the aforementioned region of the Cayenne. However, after constant armed attacks between the Dutch, French, and British forces, this territory of Cayenne was always being recolonised (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

By analysing these historical events from the seventeenth century, we noticed that the Portuguese inhabitants of the Independent State of Maranhao and Grão-Pará gradually developed the occupation in the Amazon, becoming Lord of the Great River and its valley between forests. For this purpose, he had to wait for the end of the Restoration War, marked by the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668, signed by Spanish King Charles II and Portuguese King Afonso VI, recognizing Portugal's independence.

Thus, the Kingdom of Portugal, favoured by the rivers, sailed freely from the delta of the River Amazon towards the Andes on the rivers Negro and Solimões. Portugal's dream was to take possession of the Andean Spanish mining and the Dutch Caribbean Amazon commercial network. The myths of El Dorado (mining) and the kingdom of cinnamon (spice trading) permeated the minds of the Iberians as well as those of other Europeans in this early phase from

the 16th to the 19th centuries (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006, 2011).

However, still in the 17th century, after the end of the Restoration War (1668), the Portuguese had their administration and political power temporarily exercised either in São Luís or in Belém. It was not an easy task for the Portuguese administrator to militarily protect the delta of the River Amazon, because of the set of islands spread over a large river surface, between its banks. There are immense distances between the right and left delta of the river, not to mention the distance between the Amazon and the city of Lisbon, which increased the complexity of the Portuguese administration in Northern South America. This complexity was the result of the lack of knowledge about territorial and socio-cultural dimensions, as well as the distance from the central monarchic power.

In this scenario, the Portuguese subjects worked arduously on managing two immense territories in America, with two separate governments, on behalf of the king of Portugal. The aftermath of the Iberian Union revealed difficult political and economic links between the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and the State of Brazil.

In this situation, the Portuguese inhabitants of São Luís and Belém had no idea of how extensive the Amazonian territory was, and did not consider that it was not an empty space, but was inhabited by different indigenous and European families who were enemies of Portugal. This Amazonian group of Portuguese subjects did not have a large military contingent or a fleet to sail easily, which were necessary to defend and populate the almost unknown region of Maranhão and Grão-Pará in the course of the 17th century. A subject of the King of Portugal maintained a fragile administration based on little regional geopolitical knowledge, as well as on the lack of clarity about the Portuguese domains and its borders with the other Europeans dwelling on the riversides of the Amazon.

In an attempt to resolve this situation of resistance and struggle on behalf of the Portuguese king, there was always migration from the Azores and Madeira to that region, but the white population was always considered small, a frustrating situation for the Portuguese Amazon.

When Father Antônio Vieira visited the aforementioned Portuguese Amazonian state, he denounced this situation of regional penury. He was impressed by the effort and the complicated accomplishment of the Portuguese work, which was supported by the indigenous workforce. He wrote news on Indians with “strained tongues” (either Karíb or Arawak), distinct from the

Tupi or Guarani already known in the State of Brazil. For Father Vieira, these unknown Indians had good relations with the enemy nations of Portugal (The Netherlands and France). Thus, around 1654, when writing reports to the King of Portugal, Dom João IV, wrote a letter about the armed conflicts experienced by the Portuguese Amazonians, who were facing wars against the Europeans and the indigenous peoples who were Portugal's enemies. He also sent a warning to the king when he mentioned that the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará was not only a "conquest per se", but also "a land where Your Majesty is named, but not obeyed" (VIEIRA, 1997, t. I, p. 406 apud RODRIGUES, 2015, p. 5).

In the colonial game of power of the Portuguese Crown, Maranhão and Grão-Pará was a state whose economic provision was distinct from that of the state of Brazil, whereas the latter sent to Lisbon the profits from all the mining carried out in Minas Gerais and Goiás. The state of Maranhão and Grão-Pará was experiencing financial difficulties, and lacked qualified staff for bureaucratic and military service, as well as African slave labour to expand agriculture. Belém, as the most important urban nucleus at the entrance of the Portuguese Amazon, was impoverished and weakened politically and economically in the face of the Spanish, Dutch, British and French opponents, who began to populate and trade in the Amazon region (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006; RODRIGUES, 2015).

In these Iberian confrontations of occupation and incorporation of the Indian into the project of settlement in the Amazon, we have news of other denunciations to the Spanish king sent by a missionary of the Czech Republic, the Jesuit Samuel Fritz, at the service of Spain in the region of the rivers Napo, Solimões, and Negro. He was an important catechist of the indigenous peoples and organized Christian villages and education. These were strategies to seduce the Indians into a project of extending the royal power of Spain, as well as of making the Spanish Kingdom recognized in the region of the Amazon valley towards its delta in the Atlantic.

During his missionary work among the Omagua peoples, Fritz was one of several great critics against the Portuguese expansion around the River Amazon region, especially occupying land towards the rivers Negro and Solimões. For the Jesuit Fritz, the entire region was Spanish, according to the Treaty of Tordesillas. During difficult times of the Iberian Union, the Spanish king had commanded that the Portuguese settlers should administrate and defend that region on behalf of Spain. The denunciations of the Spanish missionary were discussed by the Jesuit missionaries at the service of the Portuguese in Belém. Around 1689,

Samuel Fritz fell ill and was taken by boat down the river to the city of Belém, inhabited by the Portuguese enemies.

In the city of Belém, the missionary at the service of Spain received medical treatment. This episode concerning the Fritz's visit to the Portuguese city of Belém is unclear in Historiography, as no information about medical treatment or reasons for the visit were deemed certain. When he got sick and went up the river, the priest's treatment was closer among the Spanish, but he preferred the longest route down the river, where he reached an enemy village.

According to Portuguese administrators, the missionary Fritz undertook this trip to collect data and map the region as a representative of the kingdom of Spain. However, as there were no more precise data about the visit of the missionary to Belém, news was found in the historiography of the priest's arrest at the Jesuit College, and he was only released in 1691, when he was authorised to return to his missions in the heart of the Amazon. Upon arriving at the Vice-Kingdom of Peru, he delivered a report describing the actions of the Portuguese invasion in the Amazon and drew a map that broadened knowledge about the area between the Great River of the Amazons and the Atlantic Ocean. He reported on the small group of wealthy Portuguese who exercised political power in the city of Belém, monopolizing strategic decisions. They were white men, considered masters of the River Amazon, possessors of social and economic privileges, who controlled a great part of a society constituted by poor settlers, besides black and indigenous people (GARCIA, 2006).

CARIBBEAN AMAZON: 18TH CENTURY AND OTHER HISTORICAL, GEOPOLITICAL AND CULTURAL REPERCUSSIONS

The 18th century arrived and revealed an expansion in sea transport of new populations from Europe, Africa and Asia that disembarked at Caribbean Amazon ports and Caribbean islands. Dutch historiography revealed the region profoundly changing, and its socio-cultural, economic and environmental configuration, mixed with distinct socio-cultural aspects of the indigenous population, took other civilisation and Christian directions. America and the Caribbean experienced new changes in their economic base of indigenous culture through innovative technologies and scientific knowledge in the 18th century, a historic period of development of philosophical and intellectual thinking, which was already being propagated in the second half of the 17th century in Europe, especially in France.

The 18th was considered the century of enlightenment and bourgeoisie, breaking socio-cultural aspects of the old regime. We can say that it was the moment to improve strategies and process forestry products from the New World in favour of modern Europe. Agricultural expansion and cattle raising were necessary for the socio-cultural consumption to increase in the Amazon and Caribbean regions, and in Europe. Economic profit for the conquistadors, manipulators of mysticism and culture of the Karíb and Arawak people for being Eurocentric in the period of the new 18th century (CRUZ, HULSMAN, OLIVEIRA, 2014; GAZTAMBIDE-GÉIGEL, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2011, 2014; PONS, 2007; TIERRA FIRME, 2003, v. 21).

Therefore, with the advent of the year 1700, the Dutch Republic underwent a political and economic transformation. The Province of Holland, with its headquarters in Amsterdam, won more political power because it had a greater participation in the economic administration of the Republic. Perhaps for this fact, in Brazilian literature, Holland¹² is cited as if it was the Dutch Republic.

In the Caribbean Amazon territory, the Dutch administration was private, conducted by the Dutch East India Company, which also experienced political

¹² It is worth pointing out that the Dutch Republic was a federation of seven protestant provinces of the Low Countries, signatories of the Union of Utrecht in 1580. The province of Holland was one of the united provinces and won independence at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, with the signing of the Congress of Vienna Peace Treaty (1814-1815).

and economic conflicts, among its shareholders, residents of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Flanders, and Zeeland. The former colonies in the interior of the rivers Essequibo and Berbice were being transferred to the coast. In 1750, the colony of the river Demerara, administered by the Dutch East India Company, was in full development and attracting new settlers authorised by the Company to start plantations.

The expansion of the market and the strengthening economy in Guiana and the Caribbean were being well exploited by the Dutch, who had a small military contingent to protect their colonies as the 17th century became the 18th century. The socio-cultural and economic relationships between the Dutch colonies in the Guianas and the Caribbean islands were consolidated in the 18th century, with a greater number of African slaves in the agricultural and cattle raising settlements. As mentioned, it was a period of population growth within the various European settlements in the region, with a considerable increase in white migration and African slave trafficking for agricultural and cattle raising farms (GOSLINGA, 1971; OLIVEIRA, 2011, 2014; THOMPSON, 1987; VAN GRAVESANDE, 1967).

Despite the Dutch efforts to expand agriculture and cattle raising, among the agricultural colonies the real force was the British who settled on the island of Jamaica and the French who exploited Saint-Domingue, now known as Haiti. It could be said that there were around 45,000 African slaves in Jamaica in the year 1700, and by 1800 the number of African slaves had increased to more than 300,000. Around the year 1700 the French colony in Saint-Domingue had 9,000 African slaves, and by 1788 this slave population had grown to 405,464.

In this scenario the Lesser Antilles were also disputed by the Europeans and, from the end of the 17th century, had population growth (white and African) and newly established agricultural settlements (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

Dutch literature gave another contribution when it showed that between 1770 and the first decades of 1800, the Dutch colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, which was being administered by the Dutch East India Company, had their development strengthened by means of agreements signed between the local government and the Arawak and Karib people. There was a relationship with periods of tension because of defiance by indigenous families who were against the heavy work they undertook for the settlers and the Dutch military. The local government and the indigenous leaders (Tuxaus) knew this. Therefore, peace was always discussed and renegotiated in the Councils established by the settlers.

Probably, because of these alliances, the socio-cultural and economic relationship between the indigenous people and the Dutch was prolonged in an apparently harmonious manner. It should be remembered that, in this scenario, there was support and an alliance between the indigenous people with the Dutch against attacks by the Spanish forces from the river Orinoco, who also had an alliance with the Arawak or Karíb indigenous families.

In the geopolitical power between Guiana and the Caribbean Islands, the Dutch favoured the island of Curaçao as an important commercial port in the region. Between 1675 and 1775, more than 100,000 African slaves were traded in Curaçao for the agricultural plantations established on the Caribbean islands and the Caribbean Amazon (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; GOSLINGA, 1971). However, the development of the market between the Caribbean Sea, South America, Europe, Africa and Asia began to be disputed by the British and French, who went to war against the Dutch. Because of this, the 18th century was a period of violence between the European powers in a fight for geopolitical power and market monopoly in the Caribbean Amazon region interlinked with the Atlantic routes.

In these armed confrontations, the British took a Spanish settlement in the Caribbean Sea and established the trading of African slaves in the region. With the British as their competitors, the Dutch traders on Curaçao were adversely affected, weakening the trading of African slaves brought by the ships of the Dutch East India Company. The directors of the company's support chamber of commerce decided to transfer the commercial port from Curaçao to Guiana.

Therefore, around 1700, the colony of Suriname, with its administrative headquarters in Paramaribo, was chosen to be the principal Dutch commercial port in the Caribbean Amazon. At the end of the 17th century and the start of the 18th century, the colony of Suriname, which was administered by a private company called Sociëteit van Suriname, made large economic and demographic development (white, indigenous, African, and mixed race). This is noticeable in Dutch historical data, according to which, in 1700, Suriname had around nine hundred Europeans and a little more than 5,000 African slaves, without including the indigenous slaves (men, women, youths and children).

In 1744, the colony of Suriname had 2,129 European inhabitants and 25,135 African slaves. In this total it is not clear how many indigenous slaves there were. This growth in population can also be noticed in other Dutch colonies on Guiana and the colonies on the islands of the Caribbean Sea. With the trading of slaves

brought from Africa, with the arrival of new Europeans in search of easy riches, with slave and free labour of the indigenous people, the interests of the society which formed between the Caribbean and South America became diversified. A socio-cultural hybrid group was formed, with a mixture of Africans, and Arawak or Karib Indians, mixed also with the Europeans, increased the intercultural diversity. However, the political, economic and socio-cultural power lay with the European minority, in comparison to the number of Africans and indigenous people in the region (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

It was in this regional context of Guiana and the Caribbean that the river Suriname colony, administered by a private company, gained political and economic relevance, passing the colonies of Essequibo and Berbice. Therefore, the capital Paramaribo became an important Dutch trading centre, with business involving the trading of African and indigenous slaves, as well as agricultural products and cattle raising which fell into the mercantile network, increasing financial profits. Everything was marketed with the merchants on the Caribbean islands, the Caribbean Amazon and in Amsterdam.

The Suriname Society, by means of the Dutch East Indies Company, encouraged the arrival of new immigrant merchants and supplied Military Officers, giving authorisation for the colonisation of the region. This political and economic action stimulated activity in the colony and encouraged the Governor-General of Suriname to authorise expeditions into the interior of Guiana in the direction of the unknown rivers Rupununi, Branco and Negro.

Consequently, establishing and increasing colonial interaction between the Dutch, the indigenous people and the Africans, the four Republican Colonies strengthened the presence of the Dutch in the Caribbean Amazon. However, because of the conflict involving different European monarchies in the war of Spanish Succession (1701-1714)¹³, some events occurred in the colony of Berbice, which belonged to the Van Pere family. French corsairs attacked the colony of Berbice, and the Van Pere family was defeated. The French occupied the colony and threatened the Van Pere family with the payment of a letter of credit for the corsairs. According to the French corsairs, with the payment the Van Pere family could return to the colony. Without money the Van Pere family lost the Colony, which was sold by the corsairs to the rich merchants in Amsterdam in 1713.

13 Various monarchies disputed the right to the Spanish throne after the death of King Charles II, who left no heirs. A family branch of the Habsburgs in Austria, and another family branch of the Bourbons in France were fighting for the throne. The British, who wished to monopolise the commercial and Atlantic routes, looked with concern at the union between these powerful dynasties and Spain. This triggered a war involving all the European interested parties.

In Amsterdam, the merchants who owned Berbice decided to form a private company and they became shareholders. Under the name of *Sociëteit van Berbice*, it had a political and economic model similar to that already being used by the Company in Suriname. In this instance the Dutch East Indies Company managed the Essequibo and Demerara colonies, and the Private Companies administered the Suriname and Berbice colonies.

With the founding made official in 1720, the Berbice Company named the Governor to command the colony and directors to administer the plantations purchased in the region. The directors started an inventory of the Company's assets in Berbice, which included sugar, cocoa, coffee, cotton and indigo plantations. Additionally, there were two forts: Fort Nassau and a smaller fort, both with armaments. This inventory also registered the possession of barrels containing annatto. Considered one of the most valuable indigenous products in Amsterdam, as well as indigenous hammocks which were much sought after in Dutch trading (HULSMAN, 2016; OLIVEIRA; HULSMAN, 2017).

It was in this colonisation dynamic, in the second half of the 18th century, that the Portuguese arrived at River Branco in the interior of the Island of Guiana or the Caribbean Amazon. The changes in the Amazon geopolitics provoked turbulence in the Portuguese kingdom, King Dom Jose I, took the Portuguese throne. To guarantee the successful political and socioeconomic reorganisation of the Portuguese empire, King Dom Jose I invited The Marquis of Pombal, Sebastiao Jose de Carvalho e Melo to be his Principal Minister. The Marquis of Pombal had the support of his half-brother as Governor of Maranhao and Grao-Para, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado. Therefore, the Portuguese King consolidated his lands in what was called Portuguese Amazon. After the end of the Portuguese-Spanish conflicts disputing Amazon territories in America, the Portuguese king successfully occupied the region, principally after signing the Treaty of Madrid (1750).

This treaty allowed the possibility for the Portuguese kingdom to roughly define geographical frontiers in America with the vice-kingdoms of Spain. This treaty annulled the Treaty of Tordesillas and the Iberian kingdoms turned to legal and political means to overturn the Treaty of Munster (1648), which gave ownership of the Island of Guiana to the Dutch Republic.

With the use of the legal provision *uti possidetis*, which is a principle in international law that recognised in fact the right of the occupant of the land, the Iberian kingdoms were settling almost the entire region, expelling the British,

French and Dutch. The disputes and the game of geopolitical power in the Amazon led to complications in European socio-cultural relations, leaving the indigenous people involved in European interests without a clear understanding of the business, in which they were a part as one of the products of the unified commerce linked to the disputed territory.

Contrary to the fragile Portuguese commerce in the Amazon, the Dutch merchants in Suriname increased and streamlined the North Atlantic commercial routes with products such as sugar cane, cocoa, and coffee from the plantations sold on the export market. Unlike the first agricultural plantations in the 17th century, with the owners and their families living on the plantation, the new group of Dutch agricultural plantations of the 18th century were administered by directors chosen by the owners resident in Europe with their families. The Dutch owners knew their properties in the Caribbean Amazon by means of accounting and inventories prepared by the plantation's directors.

Consequently, the agricultural plantations and cattle breeding farms in Suriname followed this system whereby the Company's shareholders lived in Amsterdam. To aid the work of the plantation's directors, there was a group of employees also chosen by the Company's shareholders in Amsterdam. There were different employees qualified to perform such tasks as accounting, inspection, slave mastery, diplomatic and commercial relations, among other roles, which made the severe Dutch colonial environment hierarchical and standardised.

Because the coastal areas of the Island of Guiana were below sea level, and swampy, the Dutch started their agricultural settlements further into the interior of the river Suriname delta. In this process of settling on the delta for the coast of Guiana, the Dutch were recovering swampy land using dykes and canals. Techniques brought from the Dutch Republic in Europe, which helped transform the swamps into fertile and productive land.

Since the second half of the 17th century the enslaved indigenous people established an alliance with the African slaves they worked with on the agricultural plantations or cattle raising farms. This action provoked many rebellions of the enslaved people against the representatives of the plantations in Suriname. It was in this context that the first settlements of escaped slaves, known as quilombos, were set up. Its inhabitants were known as Maroons, escaped slaves.

In the 18th century, the quilombo settlements of the Maroon people became prominent as they started to develop a Maroon mercantile culture in the interior of Suriname, with the support of the indigenous people. The Maroons developed

strategies to incorporate into the quilombos new African slaves, fugitives from the plantations. The growing number of quilombos in Suriname threatened the safety of the plantations, with attacks and robberies by the Maroons looking for food and arms to survive in the Suriname jungle. The farm owners complained to the local government, in Paramaribo, which introduced methods to capture the African fugitives from the quilombos. However, the searches were not successful (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

The 18th century revealed the Spanish established in a colony on the river Orinoco. Although consolidated in the Andes, the Spanish were occupying the forests and rivers of the great Amazon Valley in the direction of the coast. They were extending their domains, missionary and settler towns to the rivers Solimões, Negro, Orinoco, Uraricoera and Branco. They were developing trade by means of agricultural plantations and cattle breeding farms, as well as maintaining an important post for horse trading in the Orinoco.

To streamline this process, the Spanish counted on the help of Catholic missionaries, who were responsible for “civilising” of the Karib and Arawak people in the region. One of their objectives was to transform the indigenous people in to subjects of Spain, integrating them into the Spanish Amazonian society. The clashes between Spain, the Dutch Republic, France, Portugal and Britain continued in a violent manner, with the involvement of indigenous fighters who allied themselves to the European nations in the conquest of territory in the Caribbean Amazon.

Another socio-cultural characteristic of the Suriname colony was the presence of a large contingent of Jews. Portuguese and German Jews lived in the capital Paramaribo. Some others lived on the Plantations. With the arrival of the year 1718, the Jewish merchant Gerrit Jacobsz, a denizen of Paramaribo, received authorisation from the Governor-General of Suriname, Lord Johan Coutier, to lead an expedition from Suriname to the interior of Guiana (rivers Rupununi and Branco). Therefore, around December 1718 Gerrit Jacobsz started his journey in canoes rowed by Indians, bearing letters of authorisation to trade with the leaders and the indigenous Tuxauas in the interior, both for forest products and for slaves to work on the plantations located at the coast.

In his report of the journey, Jacobsz gave news of precious metals in the mountains located at the sources of the river Corentyne. For Jacobsz, the river Corentyne was one of the principal routes to the savannas, where the rivers Rupununi and Branco, as well as their possible precious metals were located. On

arriving at the river Parima, which later was named by the Portuguese as River Branco, Jacobsz wrote that the river route could reach the Vice-Kingdom of Peru inhabited by Spanish settlers. He described an abundance of fish, turtles and a variety of potatoes and fruits.

On widening his conversations with the Indians of the River Branco (Parima), Jacobsz received information that, close by, the River Branco had a connection with a large river which he presumed to be the river Amazon. However, Jacobsz was warned by the indigenous people not to pass the River Negro in the direction of the Amazon, because boats with military or Portuguese Catholic missionaries sailed in those waters and claimed them as their property. According to the indigenous people, the missionaries were more violent than the military and punished those who would not accept conversion to Christianity.

To avoid conflicts with the Portuguese, Jacobsz's expedition returned along the River Branco (Parima) to the colony of Suriname. After negotiating with the indigenous people, Jacobsz reached Paramaribo in February 1720, recounting the adventures between sailing on the rivers and the trails on land in the interior of the savannas; as well as the peace agreements with the indigenous Karib and Arawak people who inhabited the rivers Rupununi and Branco (HULSMAN, 2011).

Installed in Cayenne, the French extended the frontier of their colony in the direction of Suriname up to the river Marowijne or Maroni. The local Suriname government contested this French frontier. In this period of the 18th century, the colony of French Guiana was small if compared to Suriname. For example, in 1739, French Guiana had a white population of 566 inhabitants, with a large contingent of African slaves of around 4,653, as well as 44 dark-skinned inhabitants who were free to work. The French commercial products were the production of sugar and cocoa, but they also streamlined the marketing of annatto, considered to be a special indigenous product with diverse changes for marketing in Europe (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; HULSMAN, 2016).

In the year 1738, Commandant Gelskerke was Governor of the Essequibo colony, whereas Laurens Storm van Gravesande was secretary and organised all the administration and authorisation for exploratory expeditions in the name of the Dutch colony. The Secretary and his team were finalising a project to construct a fort in the colony's headquarters, which would be transferred from Kijkoveral to the delta of the river Essequibo on what was called The Island of the Flag (Ilha da Bandeira)¹⁴.

¹⁴ The name was due to the enormous Dutch flag erected on the island, which blew with the wind and guided the boats which sailed on the river between the coast and the interior.

It was in this period that the Secretary Van Gravesande authorised an expedition by the German, Nicholas Horstman at the service of the Dutch colony, to explore the region of the rivers Rupununi and Branco. There he was to install a commercial colony in the region with the support of the indigenous people in the name of the Dutch Republic. Horstman departed sailing along the river Essequibo, in the direction of Rupununi, with some African slaves and indigenous people who would help in the venture.

Around 1739, Governor Gelskerke died, and the Secretary Van Gravesande was authorised by the Dutch East Indies Company to assume command and the government of the colony of Essequibo. Therefore, Van Gravesande reorganised the colony's administration, expanding the agricultural and commercial policy, paid attention to the educational process for the settlers, regulated standards to improve the lives of the settler merchants in the region. Established a Policy and Justice Council, convened and nominated settlers and indigenous leaders as members of the Council over which he presided. Requested from the general administration of the Dutch East Indies Company investment to mount a mining company in the colony and invested in mineralogical research in the region, including the rivers Rupununi, Branco and Uraricoera by means of the services of Horstman, who inhabited the interior region (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006, 2011).

The Governor and Commander of Fort Kijkoveral, Van Gravesande, transferred the colony's headquarters to Bandeira island, next to the delta of the river Essequibo. He began construction of the Fort at the new headquarters, which was a large structure, allowing the possibility of the Essequibo colony to increase its political and economic power in the region, driving colonisation to the interior of Guiana, where Horstman was working in the name of the Dutch. Around 1744, the new fort was inaugurated and received the name Zeeland, in honour of the directors of the Dutch East India Company from Zeeland, responsible for the region in the name of the republic.

Figure 7 – The ruins of Fort Zeeland, located on Bandeira island in the river Essequibo in Guiana.



Source: Photo by the author, taken during a boat voyage on the river Essequibo.

Governor Van Gravesande received news from the inner parts of Guiana through letters written by Horstman, recounting the mineralogical studies of the rivers Rupununi and Branco. He commented on the journey to the source of the river Essequibo and meeting with the Arawak (Paraviana, Wapichana and Atorai) and Karib (Makuxi, Patamona and Wai Wai) Indians. He explained the trading with the indigenous people and the Portuguese Carmelite Missionaries who were in a village called Aracary at the River Negro. Horstman was increasing his knowledge on and drawing maps of the region, which would be sent to the headquarters of the Essequibo colony. The Governor Van Gravesande had plans to strengthen socio-cultural and economic relations, populating the region with help from the Arawak and Karib people, inhabitants of Guiana's interior savannas.

However, the project planned by Horstman and the Governor Van Gravesande was not successful. Around 1741, news came out that Horstman had mysteriously disappeared. The Governor Van Gravesande wrote many letters but without answer. However, it became known that Horstman had been captured in Aracary by the Portuguese and taken to Belém, headquarters of the

state of Maranhao and Grao-Para. More news was given to the Governor of Essequibo, on one hand they informed him that Horstman had deserted and was working in Belém for the Portuguese, while on the other hand news arrived in Essequibo saying that Horstman had been killed by African slaves, who sold his belongings and fled.

After this event on the River Branco, Dutch literature gave notice of Dutch withdrawal from the neighbouring region of the River Negro and left the River Branco. Therefore, by means of a regional expansionist strategy, the Portuguese took possession of the river and started a process of settling the indigenous people in villages. There, the Portuguese began their colonisation based on this system of villages, administered by Carmelite Missionaries, who also carried out evangelism and taught the Portuguese language.

Making use of this same policy of villages, the Carmelite Missionaries had already dominated the indigenous people on the River Negro (FARAGE, 1991; OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2006, 2011). While this was occurring in the interior of Guiana, the French coastal region also suffered because of conflicts. Because of the divergence between the French settlers themselves, the city of Cayenne did not attract rich investors, unlike the colony of Suriname. However, it was a location in the Caribbean Amazon preferred by the French Corsairs.

In this political and economic context, with the diversion of funds from the colonies, Brazilian historical literature recorded complaints about the financial investments of missionaries of the Carmo Order in the interior of the Portuguese Amazon. Some missionaries, far from the fiscal surveillance of the Portuguese Crown, defended the economic interests of their own religious order and not that of the King of Portugal. The Carmelite Missionaries of the rivers Negro and Solimões, extending to the River Branco, were the only ones responsible for providing indigenous people to work in the administrative headquarters and on the properties of Portuguese settlers.

This situation, which guaranteed the Carmelite Missionaries the monopoly of the indigenous people, increased the civilisation crisis of the indigenous people among the Portuguese. The missionaries were ambivalent between evangelising and trading the Indians, with a chance to participate in the interior trade routes, with some clandestine trading routes connecting with the Dutch route (OLIVEIRA, 2003; REIS, 1989). Another event of political power and socio-cultural confrontations at the River Negro involving the Dutch, Portuguese and the Manao Indians was revealed around 1723. The event known

as the Guerra Justa¹⁵ (Just War) was an armed confrontation of the Portuguese against the Manao people, inhabitants of the River Negro, whose leader was Tuxaua Ajuricaba. The Manao leader was held in reverence by his people, as a brave warrior, son of Huiuibéu, considered one of the greatest Tuxauas of the Manao people, grandson of Caboquena, who was the most devoted in his hatred for the Portuguese who arrived at the River Negro.

Between the different interest in play for the ownership of the lives of the indigenous people and land in the Amazon, the Governor of Maranhao and Grao-Para,¹⁶ with headquarters in Belém, Joao da Maia da Gama, received news that in the River Negro region, close to the River Branco, there was a territory belonging to Manao Indians, who were preventing conversion to Christianity. These indigenous people were denounced as cannibals who practised incest. He was told that the chief called Ajuricaba flew the flag of the Dutch Republic (Holland) on his canoe.

For the Governor of Grao-Para, these Indians fought the Portuguese, attacking the missions of the River Negro and taking prisoner those Indians placed in villages by the Portuguese. In accordance with the news arriving in Belém, the violent Manao Indians were heretical, they were armed and were allies of the Dutch, inhabitants of the Essequibo region. They were Indians who attacked the Catholic Missionaries and were trading intensely in indigenous slaves and tropical products with the Dutch (OLIVEIRA, 2003; REIS, 1989).

In the letters from the Dutch to the Dutch East Indies Company, written by the Commander and Governor of the Essequibo colony, Laurens Storm van Gravesande (1967), we find references about this event concerning the Manao and the Portuguese. In one of the letters, Van Gravesande said he did not know of the event involving the Tuxaua Ajuricaba and his canoe with the Dutch flag, when questioned by the Portuguese from Belém. However, Van Gravesande mentioned another incident which involved the Manao people in Essequibo, which took place in 1714. Van Gravesande said that the Manao Indians arrived at the Essequibo colony, where they participated in negotiations between the Karib and Arawak people. The Manao told a story of a voyage from the River Negro

15 Mechanism employed to justify the war against the Indians, enemies of the Portuguese Crown, which prevented the missionary from catechizing the natives. Any Indian who resisted compulsory labour, acculturation and the occupation of his lands was considered an enemy. The Portuguese troops against the enemies were formed by settlers and Indians incorporated into the army.

16 State of Maranhao in 1621, State of Maranhao and Grao-Pará in 1654, State of Grao-Pará and Maranhao in 1751.

to the river Essequibo but did not mention the presence of Ajuricaba among the young warriors in the Manao delegation.

This theme is still a gap in the regional historiography, despite the fact that Brazilian literature judges the religiosity, violence and cannibalism of the Manao, denounced by the Portuguese at the start the 18th century (OLIVEIRA, 2003). To resolve this issue in the context of the interior of the Caribbean Amazon, the religious Catholics and the Governor of Maranhao and Grao-Para made up a legal-political group in favour of military combat against the Manao, considered to be allies of their Dutch enemies. They sent a request for a Guerra Justa (Just War) and financial resources to the Portuguese king.

The state of Maranhao and Grao-Para did not have a large military contingent nor sufficient arms to face a war against the Manao Indians. The king of Portugal, Dom Joao V, was in favour of the war, but claimed a shortage of money and suggested that the inhabitants of the Portuguese state assumed the expenses for the Guerra Justa. The king argued that the settlers were interested in the profit from the forest, with which they could pay for their defence and safety (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

The Governor of Maranhao and Grao-Para divided the responsibility for the Guerra Justa with the “Junta das Missões,” a group of civil and religious authorities, declaring an armed fight against Ajuricaba and his people. The Portuguese defeated the Manao warriors. In the confrontation Tuxaua Ajuricaba was captured and taken to Belém by canoe. However, during the voyage he started a rebellion with the support of the captured Indians travelling in the canoe. However, the conflict was soon controlled by the Portuguese military. Ajuricaba had his feet chained in heavy irons; during the resistance, he jumped into the river and disappeared. With this heroic act, the Manao created a legend about the return of Ajuricaba who had disappeared in the river.

So, the Guerra Justa against the Manao was favourable for the Portuguese of Belém. After this war, the Portuguese consolidated their presence on the River Negro, advancing along the river in the direction of the River Branco, which was free. While in Belém, with orders from the king of Portugal Dom Joao V, the Governor of the state of Maranhao and Grao-Para started a plan to install settlements and villages favourable to the Portuguese project of conquering and settling the region between the rivers Amazon and Negro, in the direction of the River Branco, the former river Parima, under the control of the Dutch Republic.

In this conception, King Dom Joao V's project was consolidated by his son and successor to the throne Dom Jose I, who governed Portugal from

1750 to 1777. His reign was marked by the policies of the Marquis of Pombal, who transformed the Portuguese kingdom into a modern empire. For this, the planning of the Marquis of Pombal was for establishing villages on the River Branco, which were important to mark the presence of the Portuguese government in the remote and almost unknown interior territory of Guiana. At a later time after the villages, the Fort Sao Joaquim was built and cattle raising farms were established, strengthening the presence of King Dom José I in the region neighbouring the Spanish and Dutch (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

In the first half of the 18th century, the Dutch colony of Suriname and other Dutch colonies in Guiana had a very hybrid socio-cultural structure, with crossbreeding between the indigenous people, Africans and Europeans. Despite this, the white community remained small but monopolised political and economic power. In this complex socio-cultural crossbreeding, there were some people of colour, and considered free, offering their services to the settlers. The Portuguese and German Jews who had played a key role in the founding of the colonies in the 17th century, made up a significant part of Dutch white society in the Caribbean Amazon.

In this period, other poor European immigrants arrived who aligned themselves to the Jewish group, in such a way that the local government of the Dutch colonies began to require financial guarantees. In this structural and economic framework, the majority of the African slave population were on the plantations or cattle farms, however there was a considerable number of African slaves working in the capital, Paramaribo. In the interior of Guiana there was a different situation, where the Portuguese of the River Branco made use of slave labour by the indigenous people, and almost no African slaves.

It was at this time of socio-cultural and economic growth that, in the second half of the 18th century, the Caribbean Amazon lived through one of the most important rebellions of African slaves. This occurred with the growing number of Africans becoming target of slavery, as well as because of the little effort made by the owners of the Dutch farms towards planning to improve the miserable living conditions of the Africans. All of these events effecting the African slaves resulted in confrontations or small rebellions on some Dutch farms.

Living with severe discipline and hard hours of work, with brutal punishments by the farm foremen, small groups of slaves began a demonstration of insubordination. There were African slaves on the farms who challenged and did not comply with the foremen's orders. Meanwhile, other groups of African slaves

fled to the quilombos in the interior of Suriname. When the Dutch authorities managed to recapture the fugitive African slaves, they suffered a horrible death as an example for the others not to escape.

The Dutch scenario in the Caribbean Amazon became a battleground, comprising many armed clashes between European slave owners and African slaves. Around 1762, there was a rebellion by thirty-six male and female slaves in the Dutch colony of Berbice. The Governor of the colony, Van Hoogenheim, with a strong military force from the Fort Nassau defeated the rebel slaves. Some of the slaves managed to escape to the quilombos, others were executed. The farmers continued with repressive techniques, stirring up the dissatisfaction of the African slaves, who demonstrated against their physical and psychological mistreatment. In this context of rebellion and dissatisfaction, some indigenous slaves took the opportunity to escape to the interior of Guiana (THOMPSON, 1999).

In Dutch and Caribbean historical literature, the revolt of the African slaves in Berbice was considered to be a significant explosion of dissatisfaction by the Africans, showing it to be different from other Maroon (run-away slaves and inhabitants of quilombos) rebellions in the history of slavery in the Caribbean Amazon and the Caribbean islands. In this sense, it was a revolt which began on the farms of the river Canje, a tributary of the river Berbice, where the Dutch also had trading posts. A rebellion started in a small territorial area in Berbice, but for Caribbean history, it was considered a revolt of great proportions and destruction, with many deaths; a significant slave revolt in the Caribbean Amazon, similar to those that occurred on Caribbean islands such as St. John in 1733, Antigua in 1736, Jamaica in 1760 and 1831, Barbados in 1816 and Demerara in 1823. Perhaps only the revolt in Haiti in 1791 was larger.

This understanding of the historical ramifications, the rebellions started by the Maroons on the Dutch farms, which founded the first quilombos in the interior of the Suriname colony, inspired African slaves and indigenous Karib and Arawak people, dissatisfied with the power of the dominant slave-owners. There were multiple rebellions which accelerated the growing movement of revolt among the African slaves in the Berbice colony, culminating on 23 February 1763.¹⁷ Therefore, African slaves with the support of indigenous slaves led this

17 This was the date in which the country of Guyana chose to commemorate Republic Day, proclaimed in 1970 by President Forbes Burnham. This was a way of honouring the leader Koffi (or Cuffy) and the African rebels who participated in the Berbice Revolt. At Revolution Square in Georgetown figures a monument in honour of the hero Koffi. Guyana's National Day is celebrated with a festival called Mashramani, a celebration of the culture of the indigenous people.

rebellion, which became known as the Berbice Slave Rebellion, 1763-1764. The number of men, women, youths and children who died in this uprising in search of freedom from European domination in the Caribbean Amazon is unknown.

We can point out that it all started on a farm owned by a widow Madame Vernesobre, located on the river Canje. There the slaves united and killed the farm manager and the carpenter; then set fire to the owners' house and went in the direction of the river Corentyne to other Dutch farms. They would call other slaves from neighbouring farms to join them and attack the farm owners.

During the organisation of the rebellion, it was decided that it would be led by an African leader named Koffi. He was brought to be a slave when still a child for a Dutch farm in the colony of Berbice in the river Canje region. Koffi was a domestic slave but had certain privileges and received training from his owner called Barkey. Rapidly Koffi organised the rebel slaves with armed combat strategies.

Consequently, Dutch literature revealed that the revolt began on private farms in the river Canje region, but soon spread to private farms belonging to shareholders in the River Berbice Society. In this period, the Berbice colony had a total of 346 white people (including women and children) and a contingent of 3,833 African slaves.

This register, however, did not account for the number of indigenous slaves. There were a group of free mulattos, who formed part of the colony's population, and during the revolt supported white bourgeois society, for which they benefitted by selling their services. As the rebels, led by Koffi, attacked the farms and incorporated new groups of African or indigenous slaves into the revolt, the movement gained force, and marched in the direction of the capital of Berbice, Fort Nassau. In the clashes with the farm owners, the rebels took control of arms and gunpowder from the slave owners (THOMPSON, 1999).

During the violent armed combat, the frightened white population fled to the five Dutch merchant ships anchored in the port of the river Berbice. Other owners, with their families, fled to Fort Nassau or another smaller fort called Fort St. Andries on the shore of the river Berbice. Disorientated by the growth and the violence of the revolt, many Europeans went to the forest in the direction of the farms of the river Demerara.

The slave revolt revealed a Dutch bourgeois society feeling insecure and desperate. The feeling of fear and disillusion affected all of this white colonial population of Berbice. For some Caribbean historians, this feeling affected the

farm owners due to complete disunity among the white slave owners, who were cowardly and did not organise for a fight against the rebel slaves.

During the clashes, the Governor of the colony, Van Hoogenheim, received correspondence saying that the rebel slaves had taken four farms, killed all the white owners, looted and burned the homes, choosing one of the farms as headquarters of the rebellion.

Van Hoogenheim got together a brave group of soldiers from Fort Nassau and organised strategies to combat the rebel Africans. In some clashes, some of the rebels were defeated, but in other confrontations the soldiers from the fort were overpowered and killed. Because of the harsh punishments imposed by the managers and foremen of the farms, the rebel Africans showed no mercy. After killing the owners of one farm, Koffi took as his wife the oldest daughter of the white family killed by the rebels.

In this situation of armed conflict, the leader Koffi name an African called Akara as vice-leader and, together, they planned battle strategy and organised the rebel Africans. Victorious, the group of rebel Africans lead by Koffi and Akara went to Fort Nassau. The fort was full of white people, farm owners who had fled in search of protection, therefore there was not enough living space nor food and drinking water. The military contingent was short of arms and ammunition. With little support, the Governor Van Hoogenheim wrote a letter to the Governor of the Suriname colony requesting urgent help to put an end to this revolt.

While awaiting help from Suriname, Governor Van Hoogenheim received a letter from Koffi, the rebel leader. In the letter Koffi advised the Governor to leave Fort Nassau and take all the whites to the merchant ships anchored in the port and leave the colony. Koffi did not want more armed conflicts between the farm owners and the Africans. If the Governor did not comply with the rebel's suggestion, they would be attacked. Koffi and his followers had an advantage in the quantity of arms and in numbers over the military in the fort.

After a meeting presided over by the Governor with members of the Tribunal of Justice, all the whites left Fort Nassau and embarked on the vessels. The vessels went to other Dutch farms, which still had some security close to Fort St. Andries, to continue awaiting help from Suriname. After the white slave owners and the Governor left Fort Nassau, the rebel Africans burnt the main fort and the capital of Berbice (THOMPSON, 1999).

Within this period of time, during the armed clashes of 1763, the leader Koffi appointed himself Governor of Berbice, and his companion, Akara,

began a dispute for political and military control over the rebel Africans. This rivalry between the leaders weakened the freedom movement with some rebels in favour of Koffi and others of Akara. At some point, Akara did not comply with Koffi's orders, and attacked farms without his authorisation. In these clashes, the rebels led by Akara entered in to armed conflict with Koffi's rebels, but both fought against the slave owners of Berbice's farms. Governor Van Hoogenheim received military aid from Suriname and also from English and French settlers, who organised and completely defeated the rebel African slaves, establishing peace in the region.

Dutch and Caribbean historiography, however, is not clear about the disappearance of Koffi and Akara. According to some historians, during the fight between Koffi's and Akara's rebels, Akara won the confrontation, and Koffi committed suicide; others claim that Koffi was killed during the Dutch military intervention against the African rebels (THOMPSON, 1999).

At this same time in the interior of the Caribbean Amazon other events occurred involving the indigenous Karíb and Arawak, the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese. The Dutch expedition from the Essequibo colony, coordinated by Nicholas Horstman, as already mentioned, arrived at the rivers Rupununi and Branco around 1738. On arrival, they were confronted by Spaniards who had started a settlement and the construction of a fort in the Uraricoera region, called the river Parima by the Dutch.¹⁸ Horstman managed to expel the Spanish with the help of the indigenous people and started commerce and studies about the trading possibilities in the interior of the Island of Guiana. Between the years 1740-1741, Horstman mysteriously disappeared with all his effects. The Governor of Essequibo, Storm van Gravesande, without this important collaborator between the rivers Rupununi and Branco, saw his plans for Dutch settlements in the region unsuccessful (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2008a, 2011).

Here we highlight, again, that, after the year 1750, with the death of the King Dom Joao V, Portugal was governed by the King Dom José I, with the help of the minister Marquis of Pombal, who planned development to the State of Brazil and the State of Maranhao and Grao-Para, making use of a different political and economic strategy. It should be clarified that King Dom José I, was the third son of King Dom Joao V, and his wife Queen Maria Ana of Austria.

¹⁸ For the Dutch. The rivers Uraricoera and Branco were one single river they called Parima. The River Takutu was a tributary of the River Parima. Later, the Portuguese changed the geopolitics of the River Parima, now called Uraricoera from its river source to where it meets the River Takutu; at this junction, the River Branco is formed, in the direction of the river Negro.

Therefore, marked by the policies of the Marquis of Pombal, transformed by royal legislation of the new Portuguese government, the River Branco region (the former river Parima) was settled with the organisation of villages by the evangelical missionaries of the Carmelite priests.

We emphasise that these missionaries applied strategies for attracting the indigenous people, who were guided to the missionary villages leaving their traditional homes. Using this system in favour of the kingdom of Portugal, at first, on the River Negro, the Carmelite missionaries had villages for the Manao Indians, who had survived the Guerra Justa. The Manao Indians in the villages received Christian and Portuguese language teaching, turning them in to subjects of the Portuguese kingdom.

In this same evangelical and European type civilisation model, the Carmelite missionaries were placing the Wapichana (Arawak) people into villages, which turned them in to Portuguese allies against the Paraviana (Arawak) Indians, collaborators with the Dutch protestants. Therefore, the catholic missionaries were occupying the River Branco and arrived at the rivers Takutu and Uraricoera, contacting the Karíb, Makuxi, Patamona and Ingarikó people. It is a part of the Amazon interconnected with savannah, forests, mountains, rivers, waterfalls and lakes, which previously was commanded by Horstman in the name of the Dutch.

In 1755 the Captaincy of Sao José de Rio Negro was created in the interior of the River Negro by order of a royal letter from King Dom José I. The headquarters of the new Captaincy was installed in the indigenous village of Muriua and was elevated to the category of town with the name Barcelos in 1758. The administration of the Captaincy was subordinate to the government of the state of Maranhao and Grao-Para, with headquarters in at times in Belém and at others in Sao Luís. With the policy of the Governor of the Portuguese state in the Amazon, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, half- brother of the Marquis of Pombal, the Captaincy of Rio Negro became responsible for an immense area between the rivers Amazon/Solimões, Negro and Branco. In 1757, the Governor Mendonça Furtado named his nephew, infantry Colonel Joaquim de Melo e Póvoas, as Governor of the Captaincy of Sao José de Rio Negro (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

In the Brazilian historiography, we find historic fragments that tell us of the impressions of the Carmelite missionaries on encountering the Arawak and Karíb indigenous people, in the name of the King of Portugal in the interior of Guiana. The missionaries, registering the meeting with the Arawak

and Karíb people, in the case of the Wapichana, commented that they had greater representation in the River Branco region. According to the Carmelite missionaries, they were indigenous people with greater power of organisation, considering the Wapichana superior even to the Tupi-Guarani and the Karíb, as these indigenous people maintained governmental power over other Arawak people, such as the Atorai.

The missionaries gave other details, saying the Wapichana were excellent warriors, making use of various combat strategies and destroyed enemy groups such as the Paraviana. On defeating an enemy indigenous group, the Wapichana killed all the men and incorporated the women and children into their victorious group, turning them in to Wapichana (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

In the discussion of the history of the River Branco, however, there were catholic missionaries who praised the Karíb people. They commented that they were isolated indigenous people, but experienced navigators and warriors. There were people who understood the cartography of Guiana, easily finding their way, walking or navigating the regions between the rivers Negro, Orinoco, Uraricoera, Branco, Takutu, Rupununi and Essequibo. They were people skilled in commercial exchanges and were active in the Dutch trading networks. The Makuxi, Patamona and Ingarikó, for example, formed an alliance with other Karíb families, inhabitants of the Caribbean Amazon coastal region, to break the monopoly of the Arawak in the region.

In the history of the indigenous people, we can say that the conflicts or wars between the indigenous Karíb and Arawak people themselves, were a political tool well utilised by the Europeans, who knew how to manipulate the tensions and armed intertribal clashes in favour of the European colonisation project.

However, in the middle of the 18th century, there were complaints registered against the Carmelite missionary Friar Jerônimo, who, in partnership with the chief of the Indian Rescue Troops, Francisco Ferreira, was trading indigenous families as slaves from the Carmelite village of Aracary on the River Negro. It was said that the two, together, would recruit indigenous people for this village, then sell them, violating the Portuguese standards for treating Indian people. The indigenous legislation only recognised Indian slaves who had been imprisoned in the Guerra Justa or recruited by troops as rebels against the Portuguese.

In this regional scenario the village of Aracary became an anchor for political and religious power, in which the political and economic interests of the Carmelite missionaries were more important than the evangelisation of the

indigenous people in the name of the King of Portugal Dom Joao V or Dom José I. So, there appeared another scenario of clashes in the interior of Guiana, as Friar Jerônimo and his partner Francisco Ferreira, far from central power and Portuguese royal fiscal inspection, started, at the mission of Aracary, a company for collecting cocoa, making canoes and hammocks, textiles and turtle butter. The trading network of Friar Jerônimo had a close connection with the village of Muriua (Barcelos), where Friar José de Magdalena managed the trading, also, of enslaved Indians. So, the political-religious-economic power increased and entered the connection of the Dutch trading network, allowing their products to arrive at the Essequibo colony via the trading network of the Dutch protestants, considered enemies of the Portuguese (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

It should be highlighted that Dutch trading with the Carmelite missionaries from the village of Aracary was commanded by Nicholas Horstman. The Commander and Governor of the Essequibo colony had sent Horstman on a Dutch colonisation mission to the interior of Guiana. So, as a Dutch representative, who arrived in 1738 and installed himself in the savannas between the rivers Rupununi and Branco, he strengthened regional trading.

It can be identified in historic Dutch and Brazilian literature that the Carmelite missionaries of the Aracary village, waited a long time for the “Dutch” river to fill, so they could arrive at the missionary village and exchange products. The meeting of the River Branco with the River Negro is marked by different periods of floods. When the rivers above the line of the equator are full, those below the equator, such as the rivers Negro and Amazon, are dry. So, the period of navigation between the River Branco and the River Negro occurs during the River Negro’s ebb tide and the River Branco’s flood tide; that is between the months of April and July, considered a brief period to navigate between the rivers Amazon and Negro to the River Branco.

In the face of this set of business in the interior of the Amazon, indigenous reform for the State of Grao-Para and Maranhao, prepared by the Marquis of Pombal in the second half the 18th century, revealed royal guiding principles to do away with the culture of self-privilege. Specifically, actions for advantages, valid only for the dominant social group, which were executed by the former town, indigenous village, and Rescue Troops administrators.

Consequently, the Marquis proposed royal standards to collect financial resources that should be sent to the Kingdom of Portugal. Resources on royal service taxes and commercialisation of forest products, which were levied on the

settlers. Therefore, the standardisation of the Marquis of Pombal overthrew the monopoly and political and economic power of the former local administrators in his favour, and not in the favour of the Portuguese crown.

This political and economic policy from the Marquis of Pombal, implemented by his half-brother Governor Mendonça Furtado, was not well accepted by the local administrators of the local towns, indigenous villages and Rescue Troops, involved in the clandestine culture of indigenous slave trafficking and products known as Spices of the Backlands (*Drogas do Sertão*), these settlers, considered representatives of the Portuguese Court, had developed a contraband network for products from the forest, for their own financial interests.

On the other hand, despite having the influence of enlightened thinking of the 18th century, the Marquis of Pombal managed the Amazon project as an Absolutist State economically, imposing limits on the local commerce, in order to increase profits for Portugal.

At that moment in time, in 1755, during the reign of Dom José I, Lisbon, as headquarters of the Portuguese government, suffered a devastating earthquake, with immense destructive power in the kingdom's capital. It was in this destructive event that the figure of the Marquis of Pombal gained historical prominence. The Marquis reconstructed the city with finance generated from the profits of gold mining in the State of Brazil, which was from the Minas Gerais region. Therefore, the Marquis of Pombal's project for the Portuguese Amazon was focused on increasing Portugal's finances by means of trading.

In the meantime, the Marquis of Pombal turned the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) into enemies of Portugal, considered one of the most important religious orders in the context of the reform of the Catholic Church back in the 16th century. In the 18th century, the Jesuit missionaries were present in all Portuguese territories. The religious and economic growth of the Jesuits, the many villages with rigid protection of the Amazon indigenous people, troubled Dom José I's minister, who expelled the Jesuits from the Portuguese kingdom.

The Marquis was informed of a plot of Portuguese clandestine negotiations being developed at the rivers Negro, Branco, Amazonas/Solimões. They were subjects of Portugal who had created a commercial network outside what was legal in royal Portugal. It was a network of diverse and clandestine commerce, which also reached traders of Belém and São Luís, giving complexity to the clandestine commerce which was parallel to the official commerce in favour of the Portuguese King.

In this tangle of personal interests, mixed with the interests of the State of Grao-Para and Maranhao, the collectors of the Spices of the Backlands had their voyages financed with the support of the merchants. The cost of the voyage defined the financing and the trading of the products brought by the collectors. The royal (corrupt) administrators permitted the collectors' expeditions to trade indigenous workers to the Amazon settlers. Actions and different economic interests that had the collusion of the corrupt administrators, representatives of the Portuguese Crown in Belém, Sao Luís and Captaincy of Rio Negro extending to the River Branco.

The Marquis of Pombal created legal and political mechanisms with the Law of 7 June 1755 (Indigenous Reform) regulating the power over the indigenous people in villages. He introduced the Rules of Procedure and called a "free" Indian, considered subject of the Portuguese king Dom José I, to administer the villages instead of the Catholic Missionaries. This Indian administrator was named "Principal." So, after substituting the religious missionary administering the village, the Father's function was only as chaplain to the Indians in the village.

In this manner the reforms of the Marquis of Pombal took away from the missionaries the guardianship of the village, becoming subordinate to the "Principal," who exercised between the indigenous people distinct administrative and political functions in the name of the King of Portugal. By means of this Reform, the "free" Indian, considered "civilised and a subject," was protected by the Portuguese State.

In the Marquis of Pombal's new political model, the indigenous people were out from the control of the religious missionaries and did not have their former status of Amazon native. The Marquis' new model incorporated the indigenous people into the project of interest of Portuguese colonists and eliminated all difference. In this manner, the reform project denied recognition of the culture and social organisation of these village people, who became attracted by the European way of life and culture (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

It should be emphasised that, during the reign of Dom Jose I and the government of the Marquis of Pombal, the political and legal principles were full of economic and socio-cultural aspirations, markedly to the advantage of the Portuguese kingdom. For this purpose, Minister Pombal governed with an iron fist. So, for the Marquis, any individual who positioned themselves against the royal orders, could be imprisoned with the justification of being against or a traitor to the Portuguese kingdom. It was under these circumstances that a duel arose

between Pombal and the Jesuits, culminating in the expulsion of all Jesuits from the Portuguese kingdom. Faced with the Marquis of Pombal's new indigenous legislation, the missionary responsible for the missions of the Captainty of Rio Negro, Friar José de Magdalena,¹⁹ sent a report to the Governor of Grao-Para and Maranhao,²⁰ with headquarters in Belém, denouncing the Dutch power on the River Branco, and requesting special attention for this matter. The religious missionary denounced the constant Dutch presence in the River Branco region where it came in contact with the River Negro, where they received support from the indigenous people.

For Friar José de Magdalena, the Dutch were denounced as men of various businesses, among them the trafficking of indigenous slaves for the settlements on the Guiana coast. In this respect, it was a trading practice which gave the Dutch political and economic power over the indigenous people of the region. To do this, the Friar requested strong measures from the Governor to fight and expel the Dutch from the River Branco before they declared themselves the "masters" of those lands that should belong to the Portuguese kingdom.

Still in the second half of the 18th century, between the years 1774 and 1775, the Ombudsman and Chief Executive Officer Francisco Xavier Ribeiro Sampaio undertook a voyage to the interior of the Amazon in the name of the king Dom José I. His voyage was taken at a time of geopolitical and economic transformations, implemented by the Marquis of Pombal, for the Portuguese Amazon.

In order to detail information about the interior of the Amazon, the Ombudsman Ribeiro Sampaio sailed to the Captainty de Sao José do Rio Negro. It was necessary to collect data about the immense region, as it was time to recognise the Iberian frontiers and those of neighbouring European habitants of Guiana.

On this occasion the traveller Ribeiro Sampaio collected data on the region's economic potential and the indigenous populations to work in favour of the Portuguese. He sought to map the region and discuss in Belém the demarcation

19 The Carmelite Friar José de Magdalena was a partner in the clandestine trading of the Carmelite missionary from the Aracary village, Friar Jerônimo Coelho. With Pombal's reforms they lost political and economic power over the indigenous villages.

20 It was already stated that the State of Maranhao was created by the Spanish king Felipe III in 1621. During the Restoration War, while disputing not only the independence and the dominion of the territory administered in the name of the Habsburg or Philippine dynasty, the Portuguese government named the former Spanish State as Maranhao and Grao-Pará, with headquarters sometimes in Sao Luís, sometimes in Belém in 1654. With the government of Dom José I, the Portuguese state was renamed as State of Grao-Pará and Maranhao in 1751.

of the frontiers, one of the Portuguese governments worries in ensuring the immense territory for the Portuguese kingdom.

At the Captancy of Rio Negro, Ribeiro Sampaio was informed of the Dutch attacks in the River Branco, with the support of the indigenous people. With the objective of getting to know the hinterland of the region, he sailed the River Branco and collected other information. On his way to the hinterland of Portuguese Guiana, Ribeiro Sampaio collected data and detailed information to prove the presence of Portugal in the River Branco region, which was linked with the river Rupununi by way of the river Pirara.

Ribeiro Sampaio was impressed by the large contingent of the indigenous Arawak and Karib people in the villages along the River Branco. Therefore, he made notes about the large indigenous population and the advantages of exploring for mineral resources, which could be sold in the name of the Portuguese Crown, with the support of the indigenous populations.

In his diary, however, the Ombudsman commented that the Portuguese kingdom could use the different economic resources produced by nature and also indigenous labour, but it would be necessary to build a fort in this place so far from the Captancy of Rio Negro. This way, the Portuguese kingdom would officialise its presence through military and administrative presence, helping and supporting the Captancy of Rio Negro and also, to a lesser extent, the State of Grao-Para (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

It was in this context of complaint and threat about the presence of the Dutch reaching the River Negro, that a Royal Charter of 1775, signed by the king Dom José I, gave authorisation to the government of Grao-Para and River Negro²¹ for the construction of a fortress on the Rio Branco, which was named the Fort of Sao Joaquim do Rio Branco. The new fort, as a military administrative extension of the Captancy of Rio Negro, expanded the geopolitical, economic and military power in the Amazon savannah region, integrating the interior of Guiana into the kingdom of Portugal. Luso-Brazilian historiography does not give details about the date of the construction of the aforementioned fort. However, it is assumed that, between the years 1776 and 1778, with the use of indigenous labour, the Fort Sao Joaquim was built at the meeting of the rivers Takutu and Uraricoera.

21 It should be noted that in 1772, during the Marquis de Pombal's Reforms, the State of Grao-Pará and Maranhao had its immense territory divided into two Independent States: (1) Maranhao and Piauí, with headquarters in Sao Luís; and (2) Grao-Pará and Rio Negro, with headquarters in Belém.

According to the Marquis of Pombal’s policy of planning for the fortification of the Portuguese Amazon, the fort was located on the left bank of the river Takutu’s delta where it meets the river Uraricoera, which is the origin of the River Branco. Around 1778,²² the fort was completed, and there was a neighbouring village for support and maintenance of the Portuguese fort on the River Branco. The German Felipe Sturn was responsible for the construction of the fort at the service of the Portuguese kingdom. As Captain, Sturn was the fort’s first commander and expelled the Spaniards who were established in this region of the interior of Guiana.

The indigenous village, for support to the commander was given the name Sao Felipe and was also located on the left bank of the river Takutu’s delta. The indigenous Makuxi or Wapichana developed different tasks in the fort, from domestic to field work, from rowing, guiding, interpreting to doing military and other work by royal obligation; in other words, they were used as slaves despite that the Marquis of Pombal’s indigenous legislation considered them “free subjects” of the Portuguese Crown (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

Figure 8 – Fort of Sao Joaquim do Rio Branco. Engraving of the French Expedition, by Henry Coudreau on the River Branco, in 1886.



Source: Collection of the Interinstitutional Project Roraima Somos Assim, in Boa Vista-RR.

22 Dona Maria I was Queen of Portugal from 1777, after the death of her father the King Dom José I. She dismissed the Marquis of Pombal, and many of his reform projects were abandoned, such as the Commercial Company of Maranhao and Grao-Pará created in 1757. Some forts had their conclusion delayed.

In 1788, in the process of taking possession of the River Branco, on assuming the Captaincy Sao José do River Negro, Manuel da Gama Lobo d'Almada began a series of social, political and economic transformations. In this expansion of political and military power in the Portuguese Amazon, it should be highlighted that the Portuguese military and geographer, in the post of Sargeant-Major, Lobo d'Almada was commander of the Fort of Sao José de Macapa around 1769-1771. On being promoted to the rank of Brigadier, he assumed command and government of the Captaincy of Sao José and started a series of changes in the political and economic structure of the River Negro region, extending to the River Branco. In 1791, he transferred the capital of Mariua (Barcelos) to the Lugar da Barra (Manaus), with a privileged geographic location on the confluence of the rivers Negro and Amazon, which ended up making the defence and trade of the Captaincy easier. In the new headquarters, public buildings were erected: in place of the old Nossa Senhora da Conceição church, built in 1695, he had a temple built; constructed a Governors' Palace, Barracks and Public Prison.

In Luso-Brazilian historical literature, we find more information about the military serviceman and Governor Lobo d'Almada who prepared an economic plan, gave significant importance to industry and expanded the primary sector in the extensive River Negro region. He was a pioneer in investing in cattle and horse raising on the savannas (ploughed) or in the Rio Branco Valley, now the state of Roraima.

It is noted that Lobo d'Almada planned and constructed a cotton textile factory, a hammock factory and a boat builders' yard. He installed a gunpowder store, pottery, a sugar cane crusher and a cachaça factory. In all of the necessary services to develop the economic plan, Lobo d'Almada also used indigenous labour.

These projects were inspired by the programme of the Marquis of Pombal, who had already been removed from duty and exiled by Queen Dona Maria I in 1777. As a deeply devoted catholic, Dona Maria I rejected the Marquis of Pombal. She did not forgive the persecution of the Jesuits and the violent treatment in the case of the Tavora family. With the reign of Dona Maria I, the Portuguese Amazon received little attention, giving the State of Brazil a headquarters in Rio de Janeiro.²³

As a result of this, Lobo d'Almada had been able to take advantage and undertake development in the region. In 1785 The Queen of Portugal,

23 Still in the reign of Dom José I, since 1763, the city of Rio de Janeiro became the capital of Brazil, taking the post from Salvador, Bahia. Because of the mining conducted in the regions of Minas, Goiás and Mato Grosso, the bureaucracy and inspection was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, with the main port for the export of gold to Lisbon.

Dona Maria I, promulgated a charter turning heavy restrictions on industrial processes in Portuguese America mandatory. In other words, the Portuguese Queen prohibited the fabrication of textiles and other products in the colonies. However, shaken by the unfolding French Revolution (1789-1799), Dona Maria I's mental health was fragile, with the impact of the aforementioned revolution on the European continent and the violent actions against absolute monarchies.

In this scenario of intense political and social revolt in France, the distant region of the rivers Negro and Branco was led by Lobo d'Almada with diplomacy. Therefore, Lobo d'Almada, in the name of the Portuguese kingdom, with flexible commercial legislation, implemented distinct businesses and cattle raising, which had the advantage that the proposals for the development of the Amazon did not receive much attention from Queen Dona Maria I.

In 1792, with the end of the Minas Gerais conspiracy against Brazil, involving Tiradentes – Joaquim José da Silva Xavier –, the Portuguese government was handed to the Prince Regent Dom Joao, son of Dona Maria I. In the troubled revolutionary times, the Portuguese queen had been considered mentally unstable, brought about by political, social and economic instability in Europe, America and the Caribbean. The insurrection led by Tiradentes, born in 1746 on the Pombal plantation, in Minas Gerais, belonging to the Portuguese Kingdom, had shaken the state of health of Dona Maria I, and her mental health worsened. However, she signed a death sentence on Tiradentes; then, unable to govern its colonies overseas, the kingdom became administered by Dom Joao.

These events in the State of Brazil had little influence on the lives of the Portuguese in Grao-Para and Rio Negro. They were Portuguese who governed and colonised the independent State of Grao-Para and Rio Negro, extending to the Fort of Sao Joaquim do Rio Branco, with little inspection by the Portuguese king. In the last decades of the 18th century, living in the fragile context of political and economic tensions in Europe, the Amazon Portuguese were subjects considered faithful to the kingdom of Portugal. There were subjects who had direct contact with queen Dona Maria I and after with the Prince Regent Dom Joao in Lisbon.

In this fleeting historical panorama, between European and Amazon relations, around 1787-1790, the Governor of the Captaincy of Sao José do Rio Negro, Lobo d'Almada, continued the development of the River Branco region, encouraging livestock farms. It can be highlighted that it was a commercial enterprise with significant impact on the conquest and Portuguese colonisation

in the valley of the River Branco. A territory in the interior of Guiana, also disputed by the enemies of Portugal, the Spanish inhabiting the river Orinoco and the Dutch of the river Essequibo colony. This Portuguese colonisation enterprise used slave labour of the Karíb people: Makuxi, Ingarikó, Patamona or Arawak: Paraviana, Atorai, Wapichana (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2011, 2014).

In the regional economic development project, the livestock farms in the fields of the River Branco served the government of Grao-Para and Rio Negro's purpose of colonisation. It was a project which valorised the land, guaranteed colonisation, military defence and food: dried meat which was taken to the headquarters of Captaincy of Rio Negro, the harvesting of cocoa and taxing of livestock, generated profits for the Portuguese government in Grao-Para. They were actions that used indigenous forced labour, with tasks divided between the services in the fort, or with the missionaries or settlers. This caused a network of political, administrative and religious power, with diverse work developed by the Karíb and Arawak indigenous people. So, the Portuguese colonisation in the River Branco valley started with the introduction of livestock farms, settlers and the military, that were firming up the socio-cultural and economic aspect of the European vision in the region, incorporating the Arawak and Karíb indigenous people (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2008a, 2011).

It was not an effortless process for the Portuguese, as the contact between Indians and non-Indians became tense because of the violence used against the indigenous people. By means of slavery and the trafficking of the indigenous people, it was possible for the Portuguese to take advantage of that and manage to introduce the Indians to agricultural culture, assuming distinct tasks in livestock culture, in particular, the cowherd services, easily assimilated by the young indigenous people.

Lobo d'Almada, the Portuguese strategist, introduced the first farm in River Branco, called Sao Bento. Following the same model, the Commander of the Sao Joaquim Fort, Sa Sarmento, installed a second large farm called Sao Marcos, located on the left bank of the river Uraricoera delta, close to the fort. At the same time, a rich merchant from the River Negro, Captain José Antônio Évora, who also commanded the fort, founded the Sao José Farm. In this agricultural context, small settlers arrived in the region, also involved into the place's livestock culture, and established agricultural production, some heads of cattle, and horses.

The three large private farms constituted the most important economic scenario in the interior of the Caribbean Amazon, contributing to establish

Portuguese geopolitical power in the region. However, this situation, which provided bargaining between the royal power in the Captaincy of Rio Negro, did not allow the possibility of the farmers having financial autonomy, depending on the Captaincy of the Sao José do Rio Negro market.

For this, they needed efficient river transport, especially when navigation was difficult, between the months of August and the first half of April. In addition, they needed the indigenous people to do the different tasks in the colonising process by livestock farming. All this required a certain socioeconomic and cultural balance between the inhabitants of the River Branco, but it was not always possible due to the breakdown of peace and non-compliance with agreements between the settlers, the religious men, the military and the indigenous Karib or Arawak people (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2011).

The “Socioeconomic Pact” as an imperative and necessary measure for the small group of white people to dominate the sovereign power in the region, was the indication of the headquarters of the farm as a place for meetings or gatherings, with constant negotiations. There were meetings between the farmers and the indigenous (Tuxauas) leaders to take decisions about the development of the region.

In this multicultural scenario, the livestock farm owner and the small regional white society monopolised the economic, socio-cultural, legal and political privileges without much inspection by the Portuguese government in Belém. In this way, the small military, commercial and agricultural bourgeoisie and religious missionaries influenced the civilizing process of a Eurocentric vision on the River Branco.

It was a process of socio-cultural change in favour of the Portuguese kingdom which transformed the Indians into an abundant source of either slave labour or that with low financial assistance. Another factor which caused socio-cultural “disorganisation” was the lack of white women in the region. Similar to the Dutch, the Portuguese of the River Branco took indigenous women as wives, leading to socio-cultural hybridity in the region. Such relationships with indigenous women made polygamy by white men possible, widening the process of crossbreeding and territorial occupation in favour of Portugal.

In this process of political development introduced by Lobo d’Almada, the purpose was to make it possible for Indians to be released from slavery, but that did not happen in the process of colonisation. The Indian was incorporated into the white family in a submissive condition and strengthened the image of

“living frontiers” with socio-cultural reorganization that had the support of religious missionaries.

Therefore, Lobo d’Almada’s planning followed decisions from the Governor of Grao-Para and Rio Negro, General Pereira Caldas, who sought to protect Portugal’s interests in the region. Therefore, the following principles were standardised:

- a) to persuade the Indians of the advantages of the Portuguese way of life and therefore “support them, dress them, not tire them” etc.
- b) to give what is promised and pay them “promptly and without usury”
- c) to let them grow their own crops and feed themselves according to their customs
- d) not to compel them in to forced labour
- e) not to “forcibly take” the children and women from Indian families
- f) to promote marriage between soldiers and Indians, even encouraging them with donations of cows, seeds and tools (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

Consequently, Lobo d’Almada’s project transformed the indigenous space of the River Branco, which in the 19th century was extended to the region of the river Rupununi among the relatives of the Karib and Arawak indigenous people. In the second half of the 19th century, the extension of cattle farming between the savannas of the river Rupununi and the River Branco gave rise to a socio-cultural hybridity involving the different indigenous, Portuguese and British families, who mixed by marriage or friendship; in addition to the Africans who were part of the groups helping to load cargoes with the indigenous people.

In this way, it could be said that the white men, representing the Portuguese kingdom, started the process of livestock farming, organised farm space, managed the work of the indigenous and non-indigenous employees (free and slaves), in accordance with political and economic guidance from the Portuguese government established in the headquarters of the Captaincy of Rio Negro or Grao-Para.

It should be remembered that this was not an easy administrative activity for the Portuguese government in Belém, or for their representative in the Captaincy of Rio Negro, because of the geographical distance and the difficulty of communication and navigation to the River Branco. Various political, diplomatic, economic and socio-cultural actions were planned, which needed to be constantly negotiated between the Luso-Brazilians and the indigenous Karib,

Arawak and Manao people, among other indigenous people. In these actions, the Catholic Missionaries were of immense importance as mediators of the intercultural negotiations and evangelising for the Portuguese.

It should be reiterated that the territory in the interior of the Island of Guiana, such as the area of the Circum-Roraima people, is inhabited by different indigenous Arawak and Karib people, which, were gradually incorporated into the context of livestock farming between the rivers Branco and Rupununi. They are indigenous and non-indigenous peoples who were living in a degree of relatedness, as hybrid family groups, in the process of socio-cultural amalgamation.

The regional panorama, in the interior of Guiana, was transformed with the presence of family members of the livestock farm owners. Settler families considered pioneers, who mixed with indigenous families, became one large family in a territory far from Belém and the Guiana coast.

From this point of view, it can be said that, far from central Portuguese and British power, the region allowed the strengthening of the figure of the farm owner. The farm headquarters became the place for meetings between farm owners for planning business and local political power, which means that it was a space for making decisions about the administrative process of the small hybrid territory which considered a farm owner as a leader of different socio-cultural groups. Communication took place in various languages, whereas Portuguese and English dominated communication among settlers in the region. Thus, in this socio-cultural panorama, everyone was incorporated into the farmer's family, which maintained political, economic and legal power in the region between the two rivers. It was in this context of livestock farming that weddings took place, or else became part of relationships. For that reason, the headquarters of the farms were places for debates and decision-making. Decisions were shared and influenced both the administration and the power to decide who was to be the commander of Fort Sao Joaquim.

It should be pointed out again that owners of livestock farms were lords of their land and of their working relatives. He had the power of patriarchal command and managed orders for work to be done on his land. New owners began to arrive in the first decades of the 19th century, bringing their families and closest friends, forming a migration network, and making up regional/local society.

It is shown that, in the course of this process, people were interconnected by marriage or by friendship. Therefore, the families of the early-established farm owners and commanders of Fort Sao Joaquim were considered "traditional

families,” and the royal regulations of Grao-Para, and later of Rio de Janeiro, were not always complied with (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

As already mentioned, the indigenous Karíb and Arawak families were integrated into this hybrid social group, which was formed in the River Branco region, extending to the river Rupununi. Within this union between the different social groups, a mixed-race social group of cowboys and livestock handlers in the savannah (ploughed) was emerging. It also gave visibility to the work of “silent” and somewhat “wild” women, who were mixed race indigenous people who were not talkative but were skilled in domestic work performed on farms and in the ploughs. The young mixed-race indigenous people, for example, became particularly good cowherds, adept at driving cattle from horseback. They were all identified as white and as pioneers in the region (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

It was in this process started in the second half of the 18th century that the Portuguese kingdom, under the government of the Prince Regent Dom Joao, represented by the government of Grao-Para and Rio Negro, did not benefit from the agricultural businesses on the Rio Branco. Despite the incentives from the Governor of the Captainty of Rio Negro and the geopolitical power in Belém, the expected economic development in the River Branco region did not ensue. Luso-Brazilian literature described that commercial transactions were always fragile and were always dependant on the Captainty of Rio Negro or the headquarters of the State of Grao-Para; that is, an economic culture dependent on the city. Another factor which Luso-Brazilian historical literature pointed out as making little progress in the regional development project, was the difficulty of river communication between the River Branco and Belém, headquarters of Grao-Para.

Consequently, the small socio-cultural group living on the River Branco, with its few financial resources, was engaged in breeding cattle, horses, pigs, chickens and in agriculture. For all services, they relied on the work force of the indigenous Karíb (Makuxi, Patamo or Ingarikó) or Arawak (Wapichana, Atorai) families and the poor settlers and their families which began to arrive in search of work on the cattle farms. Generally, all employees were paid for their contracted services in a system called “Fourth”. Because of the lack of currency in the region, this form of paying salaries was much used until the 20th century. In the process known as “luck or Fourth” the employed cowherd received a quarter of the calves born during the year (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

However, it must be said that this scenario was not so harmonious and without conflict between the indigenous people, the Portuguese settlers and

the Brazilians. The military administrator, the religious missionaries and the cattle farm owners had disagreed about sharing geopolitical, economic and legal power over indigenous peoples and their territories. In the development project suggested and carried out by Lobo d'Almada, the Portuguese government and the pioneer settlers introduced forms of socio-cultural and economic power, which were legitimised by the Portuguese kingdom, making the land and the Indians their property. It was a policy of Portuguese expansion in the Amazon which originated with the Rescue Troops and the Indian villages.

Luso-Portuguese historical literature also refers not only to the rebel Indians held prisoner in the Fort Sao Joaquim, but also to the reasons for displays of dissatisfaction: indigenous people not complying with the instructions given by Portuguese royal colonisers (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

This monopolising action of the Portuguese kingdom triggered a conspiratorial movement by the indigenous people against the Portuguese on the River Branco. For some Karib and Arawak families, this colonising process in the 18th century and start of the 19th century provoked friction in the socio-cultural organisation, with the violent process of settlement and Eurocentric vision cattle farms; leaving aside or eliminating the indigenous families which rebelled against the process of civilisation by means of evangelising missionaries. This region already carried historical marks of other European contacts, such as the Dutch commercial network with the participation of the indigenous people. It was a colonising process with other socio-cultural and economic treatment involving Dutch traders and Indian dealers, in which everyone benefitted from the business transacted.

In this set of geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural interests, the Portuguese colonisation standards had very severe legislation against the indigenous population, especially indigenous groups which rebelled against the Portuguese project. It was this set of events that, at the end of the 18th century, led to a violent revolt of the indigenous peoples against the Portuguese of the River Branco or the interior of Guiana. In the year 1790 a bloody battle was fought between the Portuguese military and the indigenous villagers on the River Branco. Luso-Brazilian literature hardly mentioned this event, however said that the reason for the armed clash was not duly clarified.

It was reported that a Principal Makuxi, named Parajuijamari, had murdered a soldier in the Fort of Sao Joaquim. The soldier was taking the prisoner, Principal Makuxi from the Sao Felipe village close to the fort to the village of

Sao Martinho, located on the River Branco in the direction of the River Negro. After being released in the Sao Martinho village, Parajuijamari returned to the Sao Felipe village and killed the military administrator of Fort Sao Joaquim. This action by the Makuxi Indian triggered a movement of revolt among several indigenous villagers, who began to organize themselves and ambush Portuguese soldiers, killing them. After this violent event against the representatives of the Portuguese Crown, all the indigenous people fled to the mountain regions, where the indigenous Patamona and Ingarikó lived.

When the Governor of the Captaincy of Rio Negro received news of the indigenous rebellion, he sent troops to the River Branco with a mission to capture fugitive Indians and bring them to the village to face trial. This Portuguese military action surrounded the Makuxi people's territory, which triggered armed struggle against the Portuguese military. In the clash, the Makuxi Parajuijamari was killed, increasing the violence between the rebel indigenous and the Portuguese soldiers. This rebellious event was called the Praia de Sangue Revolt – the Bloody Beach Revolt –, for it spread to all the villages of River Branco, with fires and deaths on both sides at war. The banks of the River Branco became a stage for bloody battles, and, in the end the indigenous were almost completely decimated (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

Much of Brazilian and regional historiography, when it relates to the history of this region, in general, exalts the figure of the “pioneer” Portuguese heroes, who conquered and cleared the wilderness, with the expulsion of other European intruders, who wished to take the Amazon territory from the Portuguese. In the accounts of 18th century travellers who undertook expeditions on behalf of Portugal, we find no clear information on the indigenous ethnic groups present at the River Branco. The chroniclers wrote confusing accounts about the “Karib” Indians, who were also called “cannibals,” traded with the Makuxi or Paraviana people and with the “Dutch,”²⁴ between the rivers Branco and Essequibo.

Furthermore, Marquis of Pombal's legislation itself was also not clear when he explained the function of “Principal” to the Indians who administered the indigenous villages. Indigenous peoples were told they were “free Indians” and subjects of the king, but at the same time they had no rights to property. On the

24 They were from the Netherlands. Holland, as a United Province of the Dutch Republic, only became independent with the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the signing of the Congress of Vienna Peace Treaties (1814-1815).

contrary, the Indian appointed as Principal and the other indigenous villagers were considered property of the Portuguese kingdom, i.e., slaves.

In this setting of Portuguese colonisation on the River Branco, and of socio-cultural transfiguration of the indigenous peoples into Portuguese settlers, using authoritarian government action, the different indigenous families were appeased, with peace agreements and with the help of missionaries, to defend Eurocentric civilising colonisation. In this way, different Makuxi (Karíb) families were assuming Luso-Brazilian culture, also agreeing peace agreements with the Wapichana and Atorai (Arawak) families. These events were celebrated with weddings and trade, and were sponsored by the farmers, merchants or by the fort commander. In some indigenous villages, some families were called “Makuxi-Wapichana” and vice versa. (OLIVEIRA, 1991).

In the second half of the 18th century, the Portuguese were also in clashes with the French in the Caribbean. Around 1777 to 1783, the French inhabitants of Cayenne continued to try to extend their dominion to the left delta of the Amazon (today Amapa). Various forts were constructed from the river Oyapock to the left delta of the river Amazon, known as Cabo Norte.

Despite all the efforts of the Marquis of Pombal, with the construction of the fort known as Sao José de Macapa, the Portuguese geopolitical power did not extend past the land of Cabo Norte. A region with intense clashes and conflicts between the indigenous Karíb, Arawak and the Europeans since the end of the 16th century, with the Dutch occupation in the region. That was a place of refuge for the Tupi or Guarani people fleeing from the Portuguese civilisation process, like the Waiapi.

Despite the clashes between the Europeans and the indigenous people, the region of the Caribbean Amazon was redrawn and occupied by settlers, who conducted peace agreements with the indigenous people and incorporated them into the European colonisation project for the Amazon and the Caribbean (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

At the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, the Caribbean Amazon underwent distinct historical events, with geopolitical changes to the territory, involving different inhabitants: European settlers, African slaves and the indigenous Karíb and Arawak. At a similar time, between 1780 and 1783, the Dutch colonies were involved in an Anglo-Dutch war, which resulted in the United States War of Independence.

In this sense, the British colonies in North America, which declared independence in 1776, went to war against the British government. The motive was the subjugation by force used by the British in their colonies. In this context of insurrection, in 1778, the king of France recognised the United States as an independent republic. The Dutch republic remained neutral in this struggle of interests and turned its colony on the Caribbean island known as Santo Eustaquio, into one of the main centres for resupplying North Americans rebels.

However, in 1781, in retaliation for Dutch and North American trade, a powerful British fleet arrived in Santo Eustaquio, capturing the Dutch, as well as over two hundred Dutch merchant vessels. Then, with a squadron and two battle ships, the British reached the Dutch colony on the river Demerara and captured the Commander, who surrendered the colony to the British. In this scenario of Anglo-Dutch armed conflict, the Commander and Governor of the Dutch colony on the river Essequibo was obliged to surrender service and loyalty to the British. After the British took power, they continued to the river Berbice and attacked the Dutch colony around March 1781. Next, the British forced the authorities and inhabitants of Berbice to swear loyalty to the British kingdom (GOSLINGA, 1971).

An interesting factor in this domination by the British and their conditions for the surrender of the Dutch colonies was the establishment of their regulations, which were not very severe. They required the loyalty of the Commanders/Governors and their Dutch inhabitants, however the laws and regulations of the three colonies remained unchanged, and all private properties were guaranteed. The use of Dutch culture and language also remained. In the meantime, the French, who were always at war with the British in the dispute for power on the North Atlantic routes and the territory in Guiana, managed to remove the British from the Demerara colony in 1782. In this Anglo-French battle, the British did not raise any resistance and the French took control of the three Dutch colonies which were under control of the British kingdom (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2008a; 2008b).

Around 1784, the Anglo-Dutch War ended with the signing of the Peace Treaty in Paris. In accordance with the treaty, France returned the three colonies in Guiana to the Dutch. However, during the French government in the Dutch colonies, various infrastructure projects were started, with buildings and urbanisation. This was seen in the capital of the Demerara colony Stabroek, whose name was changed from Dutch to “Nouvelle Ville,” in French. In the

new capital of Demerara, the French established new rules for public and private buildings, with brick foundations and clay tile roofing, substituting thatched roofs or wood chips. They started paving the main avenue, which at that time was known as Middle Dam, today it is Brickdam Street in Georgetown, in Guyana. With the return of the Dutch, the capital of the Demerara colony was renamed Stabroek, becoming headquarters of the Dutch government with an administrative extension to the Essequibo colony (OLIVEIRA, 2008b).

From this perspective, it became evident that the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, the revolutionary events in Europe, America and the Caribbean brought other geopolitical configurations to the Island of Guiana, also known as the Caribbean Amazon. This period, with events such as the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, gained a historic complexity and provoked other regional repercussions. It was marked by territorial disputes in the Amazon by the European nations, which is not always easy to analyse historiographically, because of the difficulty of the documental sources of this important period of transformations in Europe, America and the Caribbean

Another factor to be highlighted in this period is the independence of the United States of America, with repercussions in the independent colonial territories in the Caribbean and South America. All these events and their repercussions on history, socio-culture, economy and international relations were not clearly described in a coherent Caribbean Amazon historiography.

CARIBBEAN AMAZON: THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESSES WITH NEW HISTORICAL, GEOPOLITICAL AND CULTURAL REPERCUSSIONS

The revolutionary events and wars in Europe, the Caribbean and the Caribbean Amazon, at the turn of the 18th century to the 19th century, brought about other aspects of the colonisation and socio-cultural process, to the interior region of livestock farms, located on the land of the River Branco. It was a period marked by the intense immigration to the Caribbean Amazon region, because of the armed clashes in Europe and the divisions of the social and political conflicts, which extended to Portuguese America. As an example, the French Revolution (1789-1799) had a political, economic and socio-cultural impact in Europe, followed by the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), led by the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, against different alliances of European countries. These European conflicts extended to the colonies in the Caribbean and America.

In this sense, the wars lead by France impacted on the Portuguese kingdom of Queen Dona Maria I and, then her son the Prince Regent Dom Joao. The Portuguese kingdom passed through different revolutionary conflicts, which redefined the destiny of the Portuguese Prince Regent, as he migrated with his entire court to Portuguese America. Therefore, Luso-Brazilian literature noted that, around the month of October 1807, in a secret convention between the Portuguese Prince Regent, Dom Joao, and the British King George III, signed an agreement for the transfer of the headquarters of the Portuguese kingdom from Lisbon to Brazil.

In November 1807, the Portuguese royal entourage left Europe with support from England and arrived in Rio de Janeiro in March 1808. The Portuguese living in Portugal could not react against the attack by Napoleonic troops which took control of the Portuguese territory in Europe.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, Brazil became the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarve (1815-1821), with its capital in Rio de Janeiro. In this new geopolitical context of the Portuguese kingdom in South America, Dutch and Spanish literature described how the Spanish kingdom, invaded by Napoleonic France, lost its colonies in America and in the Caribbean as they

divided and become independent republics. While in Portuguese America, with four independent colonial States: Brazil, Maranhao and Piauí, Grao-Para and Rio Negro and Portuguese Guiana, were all unified into the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889), becoming an immense Luso-Brazilian imperial territory on the South American continent.

In the month of April 1804, a British war fleet attacked the Dutch colony of Suriname. The French inhabitants in Cayenne had informed the Dutch about the possibility of the British attacking Suriname. Despite the Commander and Governor of Suriname having organised their troops, the Dutch could not defeat the British.

So, the British installed themselves in the capital Paramaribo and followed the same political regulations as before, as already stated, when the British took over the Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice colonies, at the end of the 18th century; that is, they preserved Dutch legislation and negotiated with moderation with all the inhabitants of Suriname. The British in Paramaribo received military support from London in order for the French in Cayenne not to attack the colony of Suriname. The Napoleonic Wars were in progress (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

In the wars led by Napoleon, the rebels of the French colony in Haiti defeated the French military expedition sent by Napoleon to the Caribbean. Therefore, Haiti was declared a Republic in 1804 and became the second nation in the Americas to gain independence after the United States. On this occasion, the United States and Haitian independence produced regional chaos and encouraged a rise in the movement seeking independence. This movement agitated the African slave population and the colonising European population in the Caribbean and America.

African slavery became a problem in the European colonies in the region, which began to take inspiration from abolition of slavery in Haiti. The campaign for the abolition of the African slave trade was defended by the British kingdom, which formalised and prohibited the slave trade in the Atlantic in 1807.

The exiled Portuguese royal family settled in Rio de Janeiro during the course of the disputes for commercial power and territory in the Atlantic by means of wars. The Prince Regent Dom Joao, in agreement with the British kingdom, sent Portuguese and British war ships to attack French Guiana.

In January 1809, the Portuguese with British support occupied Cayenne, treating the French inhabitants with caution, as they had not shown much

resistance. This political and military action increased the territory of Portuguese Guiana which, in the area of the coast, was increased from the left delta of the river Amazon to the frontier with Suriname.

The government in Cayenne was handed to the Marquis of Queluz, Joao Severiano Maciel da Costa, who administered the region between 1809-1817 in the name of Dom Joao VI. After the Portuguese occupation of Cayenne, under the command of Dom Joao VI, Brazil was embellished with new ornamental and fruit plants, transferred from French Guiana to Belém, Rio de Janeiro and other Luso-Brazilian cities. The Imperial Palms were the most popular palm trees.

In the course of these events, at the beginning of the 19th century, in the interior region of the Caribbean Amazon, the Fort of Sao Joaquim, located at the confluence of the rivers Takutu and Branco, maintained a military defence troop on behalf of the kingdom of Portugal, established in Rio de Janeiro. The small Portuguese military troop that guarded the fort carried out a fragile military administration. This information was disseminated by the European neighbours because of both the distance from the headquarters of Dom Joao VI's Portuguese kingdom and the uncertainty for the lack of clear news about the armed events that were taking place in Europe, the Caribbean and Portuguese America.

Political disputes, poverty and social inequality were distinctive features of the immense territory of Grao-Para and Rio Negro, where the Portuguese elite which governed the region would occasionally disagree over the Portuguese rules and orders decreed in Rio de Janeiro by the Prince Regent Dom Joao, who then became the King of Portugal Dom Joao VI.

Dutch literature described these events as a political and economic game of power, affecting the Atlantic routes, the British and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean and the Amazon were not affected. The governments of these colonies, located in Guiana and the Caribbean, had a lot of power to combat the illegal African slave trade, where the farms were well supplied with slaves (African and indigenous) for different services.

In this context of dispute for trade and stability in the region, the British reorganised their regional power. Around 1814, the name of the capital of the Demerara colony Stabroek was changed to Georgetown, in honour of King George III of Great Britain, and became headquarters of the British government, extending their administrative power to the Essequibo and Berbice colonies (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014).

However, as the country was involved in wars in Europe, Spain did not have the possibility to act firmly in the Caribbean and America in defence

of its colonies. Because of these armed events, the Spanish colonies in America and the Caribbean joined the independence movement. The Spanish vice-kingdoms, moved and united by the ideology of freedom, did not accept orders from the French installed in the Spanish kingdom in Madrid after King Fernando VII lost the throne by order of Napoleon. The Spanish war of independence in America and the Caribbean was led by a Creole elite, empowering the independence movement with support from diverse segments of American-Caribbean Spanish society.

In this scenario, various leaders emerged in command of the wars of independence in Spanish America. Among them was the Venezuelan soldier and politician Simon Bolívar. Commander Bolívar led the military campaign which gained independence for Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. There was planning to turn the various Spanish colonies into just one country, but the Spanish vice-kingdoms were disintegrating and turning into Republics with Spanish language and culture after gaining independence.

Spanish and Caribbean literature recorded the conflict for independence in Spanish America which lasted from 1808 to 1829, with radical socio-cultural and geopolitical changes. Thenceforth, the new geopolitical configuration in America and the Caribbean allowed the Creole elite to take over the government of the freed Republics.

With this regional reorganisation, the British kingdom also lost part of its Caribbean colonies. On gaining independence from Britain the following became Caribbean countries with the English language and culture: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Granada, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago.

All these events were the result of the effects left by the Napoleonic wars and their repercussions, which highlighted a transforming crisis in Europe, America and the Caribbean. In this sense, in 1812, the failed invasion of Russia by Napoleonic France contributed to the weakening of the war.

So, Napoleon was defeated by allied forces in 1814, when they started the reorganisation of Europe at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). These were diplomatic conferences in Vienna, Austria, where they decided, by means of a Peace Treaty, the new geopolitical design of Europe and its colonies. The topic of the Guianas was approached as a side subject during the Congress.

For geopolitical reorganisation and peace, the Congress of Vienna brought together various representatives of allied nations: Austria, Britain, Prussia and

Russia. The kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarve of Dom Joao VI did not participate as he was exiled in the Portuguese American colony. However, the geopolitics of the Portuguese kingdom, isolated and headquartered in America, were discussed by representatives, as well as the marriage of the Portuguese Prince Dom Pedro with the Archduchess of Austria, Princess Leopoldina.

Generally, royal marriages were used as instruments of alliance and political support. It was a way of building a network of different interests and solidarity, which incorporated the new geopolitical mapping order and the peace agreements.

Another repercussion among the various accords and alliances at the Congress was the geopolitical change to the Island of Guiana. It was decided that the three Dutch colonies, Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, should be handed over to Britain in 1814. The Dutch Republic, which had been annexed to Napoleonic France, was declared independent.

In this act of freedom, the Unified Provinces were undone and became independent Republics. Thus, as one of the United Provinces, Holland became independent and assumed the colony of Suriname. On taking over the territory of Guiana, Holland called its new colony in the Caribbean Amazon, Dutch Guiana.

In Rio de Janeiro, the Portuguese King Dom Joao VI received his European territory and assumed the commitment to return to France its territory in Guiana. In accordance with the negotiations at the Congress of Vienna, the devolution of French Guiana by Portugal was confirmed in 1817.

However, France began a dispute over the demarcation of the frontier between the two nations – Brazil and France – in the Caribbean Amazon. France claimed to incorporate into its Amazon territory much of the land of Portuguese Guiana, extending its borders inland to the left bank of the River Branco.

This region did not have much protection and inspection by King Dom Joao VI who, in Rio de Janeiro, tried to contain the armed conflicts between Luso-Brazilians in the State of Brazil, as he also tried to appease the uprisings in Lisbon, Portugal, demanding the summoning of the Courts that were preparing the king's return to Europe.

John Pinkerton's map (Figure 9) was prepared based on the reports and diaries of 16th century travellers, who explored not only the coastal areas, but also the interior, sailing by the rivers Orinoco, Essequibo, Suriname and Oyapock up to the left delta of the river Amazon.

Figure 9 – Map of the Northeast of South America, highlighting the Island of Guiana or the Caribbean Amazon Island



Source: Updated by John Pinkerton, Philadelphia, United States, 1818. Available at: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1818_Pinkerton_Map_of_Northeastern_South_America_\(Venezuela,_Guiana,_Suriname\)-Geographicus_-_Caracas-pinkerton-1818.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1818_Pinkerton_Map_of_Northeastern_South_America_(Venezuela,_Guiana,_Suriname)-Geographicus_-_Caracas-pinkerton-1818.jpg)

On this map, the French and Spanish frontiers in the interior of Guiana are extended to the upper River Branco in the 19th century. The frontier of Portuguese Guiana is on the lower River Branco. The map details the border claims on the Island of Guiana, claimed by Spain, Holland, France, Portugal and Great Britain, which still figures with its three colonies within the Dutch territorial area. The Dutch Republic had four colonies in Guiana, Suriname and the three given to the British. The unknown and sought-after Lake Parima or Manoa do El Dorado is located in Spanish Guiana near the border required by France.

After in 1821, King Dom Joao VI of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarve returned with the whole of the Portuguese Court to Lisbon, re-establishing the headquarters of the kingdom in Europe. The son and Prince Regent Dom Pedro, who was married to Princess Leopoldina, remained in Rio de Janeiro. However, the political tensions between Portugal and Brazil increased and resulted in a series of political and diplomatic conflicts.

The Luso-Brazilians in America also expressed desire for freedom, stirring up different uprisings for freedom that led the Prince Regent Dom Pedro to declare Portuguese America independent (1822). This revolutionary action transformed Brazil into a monarchy in America, the Prince Regent was crowned Emperor of Brazil and received the title of Dom Pedro I. At this historical juncture, Dom Pedro and Dona Leopoldina were acclaimed as the only Emperor and Empress in America.

For many Luso-Brazilians, the transformation of Brazil into an Empire and the Prince Regent into an Emperor, turning the government into an Absolute Monarchy, was not well accepted. They were distinct social segments of a Luso-Brazilian elite who inhabited different territories in the new independent Brazil. There emerged demonstrations of discontent against Dom Pedro I by the bourgeois social elite and the nobility, who had socio-political and economic privileges in various businesses, especially with the kingdom of Great Britain.

Another factor for discontent in the first Brazilian kingdom was the defeat of protesters in the distinct Portuguese regions in America, as well as the decision of Dom Pedro I to reorganise Luso-American geopolitics. That royal action of the absolute monarchy unified the four independent states – Brazil, Maranhao and Piauí, Grao-Para and Rio Negro, and Portuguese Guiana – into the Brazilian Empire, and all governmental power was centralised in Rio de Janeiro (OLIVEIRA, 2003, 2008a, 2011).

During these events, Dutch historical literature shared news that cattle-farming had increased on the savannas, specifically on a type of savannah called *lavrado*, between the rivers Branco and Rupununi. It described how the Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro I, received a report from Grao-Para and Rio Negro informing him that the Dutch/British on the Guiana coast were trading the meat from the herds bred in the interior lands, a territory called the River Branco Valley.

Because of this, the Portuguese military troops headquartered at Fort Sao Joaquim do Rio Branco received orders to patrol and control this trade in cattle between the Portuguese and British farmers, with the help of indigenous Karib and Arawak peoples. One of the imperial measures was to send a patrol to the river Rupununi region, with the installation of a military base by the river Pirara, close to lake Amaku, where they made an alliance with Makuxi families (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2003).

The governmental support team of Dom Pedro I had no clear information about this region in the heart of the Island of Guiana, a hybrid frontier society

supported by alliances with the indigenous Karíb and Arawak people. For that reason, the imperial measures were sent to the Commander of Fort Sao Joaquim to stop the commercial exchanges between indigenous and non-indigenous people, which supplied the commercial network from the interior to the coast of Guiana. The commercial network between the territory surrounding the River Negro and the Dutch/British coast revived the well-known Dutch trade dating back to from the 16th to the 18th century. This event involved different businesses and was reported as one of the concerns of the Marquis of Pombal in the second half of the 18th century, when he implemented a specific project of the kingdom of Portugal for the Portuguese Amazon.

In this Portuguese military-administrative enterprise, in the interior of the Caribbean Amazon, the greatest worry of the fragile political power of the Brazilian Empire was to attract the Karíb and Arawak indigenous people, considered loyal subjects of the Dutch/British, for the defence of the Luso-Brazilian Empire, a distant and unknown territorial area between the rivers Branco and Rupununi, which needed to be patrolled and defended in order to consolidate the villages and the presence of the government of Dom Pedro I in the region.

For this hybrid society, composed of Portuguese, British and indigenous people, who enjoyed privileges far from governmental power, who had gained a certain freedom to manage the small interior territory, with difficult access and inspection. They would not always follow governmental guidelines. In general, the negotiations for political and economic power were discussed and decided by a commercial and livestock farming elite, with the approval of the Commander of Fort Sao Joaquim (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

It is pertinent to remember that the repercussions of the war of independence in Brazil, involving a series of conflicts between 1821 and 1824, turned this region of Grao-Para and Rio Negro into part of the Brazilian empire in 1823. At this time, the Emperor signed an agreement with the Portuguese who were faithful to the Portuguese kingdom, headquartered in Lisbon.

On taking possession of the Amazon region, Dom Pedro I had to consolidate his Amazon frontiers in dispute with the Spanish, Dutch, British and French. For this reason, Parliament and the Luso-Brazilian diplomatic corps were in constant negotiation and establishing commissions with the European powers in the Caribbean Amazon, for the diplomatic definition of national frontiers in the region.

The region of Portuguese Guiana, Grao-Para and Rio Negro, which had socio-cultural and linguistic complexity, but with a rural elite possessing distinct

economic powers, from the small river traders to large traders, or from the farm owner to the small farmer, or from the military graduates and those of low rank, in addition to some individuals with nobility titles and a large mass of free people who sold their services.

Another historical approach had given news that in this specific Portuguese Amazon region the different Luso-Brazilian groups were seeking independence and the transformation of the region into a Republic with the Portuguese language and culture, like the neighbouring Republics, which have the Spanish language and culture. It was a region with Portuguese and Brazilian mixed with indigenous people and Africans, who did not want to be part of the Luso-Brazilian monarchy under the government of Dom Pedro I

This regional political, administrative and economic struggle in the Amazon and the Caribbean, however, brought about changes in administrative power on the River Branco. The Fort of Sao Joaquim, administered by the commander in dialogue with the power based in Grao-Para e Rio Negro, had to follow the norms of the Brazilian Empire, based in Rio de Janeiro.

As mentioned, there was governmental fragility on the part of the Commander of the fort, due to the geopolitical distance from Rio de Janeiro and the news of the increase in social and political conflicts in Monarchic Brazil. Armed uprisings against Emperor Pedro I were the result of the worsening of the imperial Luso-Brazilian socioeconomic crisis. These various social, political and economic clashes triggered the abdication process of Dom Pedro I in 1831. This caused a rupture in the strategic royal relations between Portuguese Guiana, i.e., Grao-Para e Rio Negro, with Imperial Brazil.

Gradually, during the second half of the 19th century, the elite Portuguese and British farm owners, in the almost untamed interior of Guiana, were increasing family, companionship, commercial, political and socio-cultural ties. The Portuguese, British, Dutch and French authorities were occupied with the clashes on the Caribbean Amazon coast and had little military power to give safety and order to the denizens of the interior. In other words, between the rivers Branco and Rupununi, the political and economic disputes on the Caribbean Amazon coast had little influence from the European governments.

From the historical repercussions on the Brazilian Empire, the so-called Second Reign (1831-1889) began with Dom Pedro II, son of Dom Pedro I, and the Empress of Brazil, Dona Leopoldina. However, when Dom Pedro I abdicated in the name of his son, the young Emperor Dom Pedro II was only

five years old. Therefore, it was necessary to form a Council of Regents to govern the Brazilian Empire in the name of Dom Pedro II. Upon coming of age, the young Emperor assumed the government of Brazil. Brazil's Regency Period lasted from 1831 to 1840, when Dom Pedro II's coming of age was anticipated in order to rule Brazil in the midst of the different armed and separatist uprisings that arose in this Regency Phase.

In the Caribbean Amazon, in 1831 in Guiana, the British kingdom unified the three Dutch colonies received in 1814 during the agreements signed at the Congress of Vienna. In this royal celebration, the king of England, William IV, who succeeded his brother George IV in 1830, named as British Guyana the unified territory in the Amazon, with Georgetown as its capital. In the course of that year, the German voyager and explorer Robert Schomburgk, who worked for Great Britain, planned and initiated numerous exploratory expeditions from the coast of Guyana to the interior, between the rivers Rupununi, Branco, Orinoco, Negro and Amazon. One of Schomburgk's missions was to research in detail the physical geography and astronomy from the coast to the interior, with endless land and water trails. After gathering the information, it should be compared with the studies carried out by Alexander von Humboldt in the upper Orinoco. Therefore, on one of these trips through British Guyana, Schomburgk found the Amazon giant water lily in 1837. So, he named it *Victoria Regia* in honour of Queen Victoria and his British protector (MANGAR, 2011). On exploring the territory of the river Rupununi, where he learned of the cattle path to the coast, Schomburgk arrived at the Fort of Sao Joaquim do Rio Branco. There, he and his entourage were welcomed by the acting Commander at the Luso-Brazilian fort, where they all stayed.

During Schomburgk's visit and stay at Fort Sao Joaquim, the whole region of the state of Grao-Para and Rio Negro was in violent struggle in the so-called Cabanagem Insurrection (1835-1840). At that time, the fort was garrisoned with a small military contingent, because the soldiers and their acting Commander were involved in the armed fighting of the Cabanagem Insurrection on the River Negro. Thus, Schomburgk left the River Branco and proceeded to the region of Mount Roraima in the Serra Pacaraima range. Then, he voyaged to the river Orinoco, and sailed to the source of the river on the frontier of Venezuela with Brazil.

On this aquatic border he recognised the Cassiquiare Channel, a natural river path linking the river Orinoco to the River Negro. This river route connecting

the rivers Orinoco, Negro, Amazonas and Branco was an assumption of the German explorer and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, who studied the river Orinoco region and Central America between 1799 and 1804. His assumption was not confirmed because the Portuguese kingdom did not grant permission for Humboldt to enter the River Negro. It was a moment of socio-political, aristocratic and economic crisis in Europe with the overthrow of the old regime.

When returning by boat along the River Branco, Schomburgk took the same route to return, sailing via the rivers Rupununi and Essequibo to the coast, where he stayed in Georgetown. Thus, Schomburgk organised the data collected on cartography, flora, fauna and the inhabitants of the region, producing a detailed voyage report and sent it to Queen Victoria of Great Britain. In the report, Schomburgk made suggestions for demarking the frontier, including territories that were claimed by the Brazilian Empire and by the Venezuelan Republic. He mentioned that, for the success of the demarcation, the British kingdom had not only to enter into an alliance with the indigenous Karib and Arawak people, but also to offer military protection against Portuguese and Spanish enemies, who had also made alliances with these indigenous people (MANGAR, 2011; OLIVEIRA; MAGALHÃES, 2008).

Schomburgk's report gave the British kingdom a basis to complain about the demarcation of the frontier with the Brazilian Empire with the inclusion of the lands of the rivers Pirara, Takutu and part of the mountain regions. It was an immense territory inhabited both by Karib peoples, such as the Patamona, Ingarikó, Makuxi; and Arawak people, such as the Paraviana, Wapichana and Atorai. This request from the British kingdom to the Brazilian Empire, generated a diplomatic conflict between the two monarchies. Both wanted the frontier demarcated but wanted to take possession of the region. In this set of political and diplomatic disagreements, Fort of Sao Joaquim was too politically and militarily fragile to manage the territory as required by the Luso-Brazilian emperor.

Through the diverse information in the Schomburgk Report about the disputed region within the Caribbean Amazon, the British kingdom argued for ownership of the region based on the Dutch occupation. Representatives of the Dutch Republic, through the commercial network, had dominated the interior up to the River Negro in the direction of the Andes. The presence of Nicholas Horstman, who had worked for the Commander and Governor of the colony of Essequibo, was also noted, when he set up a trading post between the rivers Rupununi and Branco around 1738.

Another aspect was the effort of the Catholic missionaries in the evangelisation of the indigenous people on behalf of Portugal, but there were also missionaries from the Reform Church who were evangelising the same Karíb and Arawak people in the region. In these diplomatic disagreements, the Brazilian Emperor argued about the use of the international legal principle *uti possidetis*, arising from the Treaty of Madrid (1750). This theme was counter-argued by British diplomacy, which claimed that the region was inhabited by indigenous peoples seeking military protection from the Portuguese on the River Branco (OLIVEIRA; MAGALHÃES, 2008).

The legal and diplomatic arguments between the two countries lasted until 1903. However, in 1842, a neutrality agreement for the territory was signed by Brazil and Britain resolving the conflict between the two monarchies. In the legal and diplomatic agreement, the region was considered neutral, removing all officials and the deployed military of the two nations from the disputed area. A condition was imposed that the Karíb and Arawak indigenous people remained “independent,” however neither Brazil nor Britain complied with the agreement. Frequently, both monarchies sent military troops to the territories they claimed between the rivers Rupununi, Pirara and Branco. In this border clash, the indigenous people as “living frontiers” offered their services to the British and Luso-Brazilians at the same time.

As a historical repercussion of the regional dispute, still in the Second Reign, under the command of the young Emperor Dom Pedro II, The Luso-Brazilian Amazon region experienced its most important insurrection, called the Cabanagem Insurrection (1835-1840). This violent rebellion, with different leaders and interests, involved all the inhabitants of the extensive territory of the Grao-Para e Rio Negro and Portuguese Guiana.

This revolt counted with a large participation of different social groups, from the dominant Luso-Brazilian socio-political, cultural and economic elite, to the underprivileged and poor black, mixed-race and indigenous people, a movement in which they were all unified by the desire for freedom, especially from the Brazilian Empire. It was a region of a Portuguese state considered peripheral, away from the power of the central monarchy in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1840, with British military and economic support, the Emperor Dom Pedro II defeated the Cabanagem rebels and put an end to the dreams of freedom and to the desire of the privileged inhabitants in the state of Grao-Para and Rio Negro – extending to Portuguese Guiana – to become a republic in

the Amazon. It is estimated that between 30% and 40% of the Luso-Brazilian population of the Amazon was killed, a total of approximately one hundred thousand people (CRUZ; HULSMAN; OLIVEIRA, 2014). With apparent peace in the immense Amazon region, Dom Pedro II once again unified the entire region into the Brazilian Empire. This event engendered a geopolitical reorganisation that created the Imperial Province of Para, with territorial and administrative extension to Amapa, and the Imperial Province of Amazon with territorial and administrative extension to the River Branco. The Commander of Fort Sao Joaquim do Rio Branco was appointed with the approval of Emperor Dom Pedro II.

Around 1843, border issues were raised again in the Guiana region, which was considered neutral by the agreement signed in 1842. For this action, a joint Anglo-Brazilian commission was organized to discuss the demarcation of the border between Brazil and Britain. However, the agreements were not accepted by the two nations, and the Joint Committee was not successful. In order to strengthen his presence and consolidate the region, D. Pedro II authorised the Imperial Province of Amazon to establish the parish of Nossa Senhora do Carmo in 1858. The parish would consolidate geopolitical, military and administrative support in the River Branco region. The location of the parish was on the former cattle farm Boa Vista, founded in 1830 by Captain Inacio Lopes de Magalhaes, former Commander of Fort Sao Joaquim (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

Historically, this territorial area around the headquarters of the farm was a space for coexistence for the Paraviana, Makuxi and Wapichana villages. The Boa Vista farm occupied the space of the Karib and Arawak indigenous people, which expanded with the arrival of settlers to work on the livestock farm. Therefore, clusters of houses between paths or trails emerged that gave rise to the aforementioned parish. It was in this period that the Carmelite missionaries built the Chapel of Nossa Senhora do Carmo, close to the headquarters of the Boa Vista farm, located on the right bank of the River Branco.

Figure 10 – Headquarters of the former Boa Vista do Rio Branco farm, at the end of the 19th century.



Source: Casa da Cultura Collection, 2005. Boa Vista-RR.

The large indigenous population was slowly disappearing from the area; one part was incorporated into the national society as workers on the farm, some indigenous families moved to more distant rural areas and other indigenous families increasingly disappeared, victimised by new and unknown epidemics which simultaneously attacked a large number of the indigenous people (OLIVEIRA, 2010, 2012, 2016).

The advent of the year 1879, marked the start of an economic boom in the Brazilian Empire, which, on one hand was led by the coffee barons and, on the other hand by the rubber barons. The Amazon region received a large migratory population, especially from the Northeast of Brazil, to work on the Amazon rubber plantations. It was the period of a cosmopolitan movement influenced by the French, reproduced by means of urban embellishment. During this movement for aesthetic display, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Recife, Belém and Manaus experienced a period of aesthetics influenced by art and culture, known as the Brazilian “Belle Époque.”

The period known as rubber cycle, rubber extraction in the Amazon reached its peak from 1879 on, and its economic crisis started in 1912. In this period, however, Britain, the United States and Germany dominated the sale of rubber, blocking any initiative against their economic interests.

During this rubber plantation cycle, the three colonies in Guiana – British, Dutch and French – were experiencing immigration processes constituted by diverse religions: protestants, Muslims, and catholic Anglicans, which formed a plural, intercultural society with Asians, Africans, indigenous people, British, Dutch, French, and Portuguese, among other social segments, which would increasingly merge during work on the farms and also in the rubber plantations extracting latex (balata). The three colonies traded with the United States and with Europe, through Britain and Germany. Among the products exported were gold, bauxite and the rubber extracted in the region.

With the arrival of the 20th century, however, the entire Amazon region experienced an economic decline caused by the rubber trade from Malaysia, led by England. The British had taken seeds from the Amazon and sent them to their colonies in Malaysia and developed rubber plantations, favouring British trade with European industries. Meanwhile, the Brazilian Empire turned to boosting its economy based on coffee. In 1883, however, the Luso-Brazilian military started a republican movement. After the Paraguay War, the army felt underprivileged, for it was understood that the Emperor Dom Pedro II guaranteed greater privileges to the Navy. Therefore, there was much discontent within the Army against Dom Pedro II.

Another event which generated discontent against Dom Pedro II was the signing of the “Lei Áurea,” the law that abolished slavery in Brazil, by Princess Isabel in 1888. By putting an end to African slavery, the rural coffee aristocracy felt prejudiced, and an economic crisis began with the impoverishment of this social bourgeois and aristocratic segment. With no slave labour, the military ceased supporting the Emperor.

In 1889 the uprisings in the military barracks gained strength and erupted with the overthrow of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, leader of the military coup against the Brazilian Empire, proclaimed Brazil a republic, giving a new geopolitical order to the immense territory of Brazil, with the transformation of the Imperial Provinces into the United States of Brazil.

These events brought a new socio-cultural and economic picture to the political disputes about the participation of the central government of the

Brazilian Republic. Although the President announced equality between the rights of all Brazilians and the federal states, in practice the government actually supported the privilege of the bourgeois class holding economic power. In this struggle, the states with the strongest economies, such as Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais, began to form a group to take political control and sustain the central government headquartered in Rio de Janeiro. In this dispute, the military elite came to compete with the economic elite for privileges from the government of the Brazilian Republic.

National security and economic development issues fought for resources and the sharing of significant sectors of the central government (OLIVEIRA, 2003). Government resources did not reach the distant Amazon region, which continued to bargain for a small amount of peripheral power in the Brazilian central government.

With the Republic of Brazil, the subject of defining the frontiers in the Amazon region returned. For this purpose, in 1899, the diplomat Joaquim Nabuco was summoned to organise the documentation and prepare the defence of Brazil in the issue regarding British Guyana. The dispute over this frontier was named the Question of Pirara, the name of a border river between the rivers Rupununi and Branco. Joaquim Nabuco returned to the legal and diplomatic debates without much success until 1901, when the British government proposed a solution for the Brazilian government to solve the conflict, as the arguments had not been accepted by the nations involved. To this end, the two governments agreed to accept the king of Italy, Vittorio Emanuel III, to be responsible for defining the rights over the territory in dispute.

In view of this, around 1904, the result of the arbitration report drawn up by the Italian king was made known, and did not please Brazil. The Italian report favoured the British, giving them the largest part of the territory in the contested area. With the loss of the river Pirara region, the Brazilians were unable to stop the British having access to the river Amazon basin by way of the that river.

Figure 11 – Map of the Question of Pirara, 1904.



Source: Milenioscuro Archive. Spain, 2017.

Joaquim Nabuco felt that the Italian decision (Figure 11) was an injustice, as he was convinced of Brazil's right to the territory by the extensive documentation submitted in the arbitration process. However, Brazil acknowledged the Italian report, which solved the frontier territory in dispute with the British in the Amazon.

Only during the Getúlio Vargas government, the period known as the New State in Brazil, the boundaries in that region were effectively established. For this purpose, between 1930 and 1938, a Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission, based on the treaty and on commissions agreed and signed in London in 1926, began working in the area where the river Maú meets the river Takutu, near the river Pirara (OLIVEIRA, 2003; OLIVEIRA and MAGALHÃES, 2008).

However, at the start of the 20th century, the political and economic panorama in the interior of the Caribbean Amazon, between the regions of the rivers Rupununi and Branco, had barely changed. The relationships and coexistence of the inhabitants continued in that region, along with the agreements on commerce and family between farmers, traders and the Karíb and Arawak indigenous people, even after the Italian report having defined the new borders in 1904. Figure 12 shows the river Pirara, which connects with the rivers Maú (Ireng) and Rupununi, by lake Amaku, in Guyana.

Figure 12 – River Pirara, in the Rupununi region, Guyana.



Source: Personal collection. Taken by Lodewijk Hulsman, during travel in the Rupununi region in February 2014.

The socio-cultural and economic dynamism on the frontier continued under the power of the local bourgeois elite, most of whom were descendants of the “white pioneers.” They were social groups, heirs of the first trailblazers, who arrived, colonised and incorporated the indigenous people into cattle farming, following standards set by that cattle-raising elite, set up in the second half of the 18th century. It is important to reiterate that this society was isolated both geographically and from the forces of the game of power in Brazil’s capital, Rio de Janeiro. However, it was an interior Caribbean Amazon elite, with family ties and British, Luso-Brazilian and indigenous blood ties, who were linked to the coastal market on the Island of Guiana and to the Spanish on the Venezuelan border (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

To insert this remote region into the Republic of Brazil, the Benedictine missionaries, under the guidance of the Monastery of Sao Bento in Rio de Janeiro, arrived in the small town of Boa Vista, which belonged to the state of Amazonas. By starting the Brazilian civilisation process, between 1911-1912, the Benedictines established in the Surumu region, with a large amount of the

indigenous Makuxi people, a missionary post and then a mixed boarding school for youths and schools for indigenous children. They aimed to put into practice not only evangelisation, but educational and professional teaching in this rural region. In the 1920s, in the city of Boa Vista, the Benedictines undertook the construction of churches, hospitals and colleges. To support female students, daughters of the elite farmers who attended the Sao José School (today called the Sao José State School), they also built a boarding school for girls, managed by the Benedictine nuns.

Similar evangelising and Eurocentric civilising action occurred in the river Rupununi region, implemented by farmers and Jesuit missionaries who had arrived in the British region. The Jesuits developed not only evangelisation, but also philosophical and professional studies for the young people of the region, without forgetting the educational process of the children. Therefore, there was an exchange of educational experiences between Benedictine and Jesuit missionaries, who were subtly introducing humanist conceptions to the small literate society, involving warm and conflicting discussions between the missionaries and the bourgeois elite of the interior of the Caribbean Amazon.

In this way, the Luso-Brazilian, British and indigenous inhabitants were considered as one big family. However, so as to appease the conflicts that arise as in any family, Benedictine missionaries on the River Branco and Jesuits on the river Rupununi celebrated religious festivals, marriages and christenings of the members of the hybrid society in the region. During the celebrations in honour of the patron saints of the region, everyone fraternised, forgetting, or forgiving the misunderstandings that had arisen. As already mentioned, this was a mixed society of whites, indigenous people, and Africans, who had been connected since the end of the 18th century with the introduction of cattle farming in the region (ABRAHAM, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2003).

We note that, in this family context, the relationship between farmers and Karíb and Arawak indigenous peoples changed with the so-called New State (1937-1945) under the government of Getulio Vargas. It must be noted that during this period the Anglo-Brazilian Joint Commission worked on the placing of border markers between British Guiana and Brazil. It was a phase characterised by the policies of protection of the Amazon by Vargas, which took place with the Second World War (1939-1945).

Such events stimulated Vargas' concern for Amazon regional sovereignty and security. Thus, the project for the implementation of the Federal Territories

originated, with the geopolitical re-division in the Brazilian Amazon. During this period, British farmers who were on Brazilian territory were asked to transfer their farms to British territory. The same suggestion was made to Brazilian farmers, who were established on British lands in the Rupununi region. A similar recommendation was made to indigenous families, who were separated by the Anglo-Brazilian border demarcation line, who either assumed Brazilian or British nationality.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Collecting the historical data and trying to sew them together like a patchwork quilt proved to be a challenging task, as it comprises common and different fragments of the historical process of the five countries that make up the Caribbean Amazon. This sequence of studies and research would not have succeeded without the support and clarification of PhD History Professor Lodewijk Hulsman of the University of Amsterdam (UvA/Netherlands). As a result of the linguistic and cultural plurality in that region, research was carried out in the five languages of the countries present in that specific territory in South America.

To discover the sources and literature about the Island of Guiana, we had to face many hours of reading and travelling between libraries and archives especially in Holland, Guyana, Suriname and Venezuela. Thus, we repeat that, without the guidance of the PhD professor and researcher Lodewijk Hulsman, these studies would not have advanced. A great part of the sources and literature used were Dutch, studied in Amsterdam and The Hague in Holland. All documentation in the Dutch language, for which we also had the support of some researchers at the University of Leiden in Holland, was collected by Dr. Hulsman. Part of this material was translated into English and Portuguese, which helped the exchange of information and the discussions in the research group headquartered in NUPEPA/UFRR.

The subject of Portuguese Guiana was practically forgotten in Brazilian historical literature. It was probably erased when the entire region was incorporated into the Brazilian Empire in 1840 after the defeat of the rebels during the Cabanagem Insurrection. Spanish Guiana was also hidden in Venezuelan historical literature after independence in the second half of the 19th century. From the end of the 20th century to the XXI century, the subject of the geopolitics of Guiana was only evident in reference to the dispute over the frontier territory between Venezuela and Guyana.

On the other hand, the colonial history of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana (or just Guyana) began from the British presence in the 19th century, when it incorporated the three Dutch colonies, and the British Guiana was established in 1831. The Dutch presence in the region is almost not mentioned in the history of Guyana. A comparable situation happened in the history of Suriname, which only developed the origins of its national historic construction

with the Dutch occupation of the colony of Suriname at the beginning of the 17th century. Its initial process is linked to the geopolitical changes with the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), which changed the independent Dutch Republic into a province of Holland.

From this historic and geopolitical event, the region was named Dutch Guiana, as a colony of the new nation. French Guiana also had its own particular historical moment. Its origin was in the process of France occupying the Amazon, with the first record at the start of the 17th century. Thus, the history of French Guiana was limited by historians to that of the frontier territory between Suriname and Brazil (Amapá).

All national historical narratives allude to the particular process of conquest and settlement of the different Europeans in the Caribbean Amazon region. These narratives and interpretations do not connect the five neighbour countries of languages and culture inherited from the same European colonisation process. They do not mention the colonising occupation of the Island of Guiana, which was its name in the late 16th century when there was closer contact between the Karib and Arawak indigenous peoples and the first explorers and travellers. Although these indigenous people are evident in the historical process of each nation, they were treated as national Indians as if they were not relatives and inhabitants in the context of the island as a whole.

From this perspective, the historical literature and the national historians of the five countries present the historical processes of countries established in South America with Caribbean influence. On having contact with our studies (NUPEPA/UFRR), historians have, in part, shown surprise to discover that they are also occupying the territory of the Caribbean Amazon Island. As mentioned previously, it is the term that gave visibility in the XXI century to the Island of Guiana, forgotten in historical cartography after the Congress of Vienna. For this partnership between scholars from the five countries concerned, diplomatic collaboration in international relations through Consulates or Embassies was important. This action strengthened international cooperation among neighbours and support during technical and scientific visits.

This innovative historical argument revealed by the group of scholars of NUPEPA/UFRR gained visibility and was strengthened by the incorporation of other national and international scholars who embraced its cause and its way of interpreting the history of such a singular territory in South America, in an integrated way, and as partners. This implies an analysis of common and

different approaches to the historical and socio-cultural processes through the development of the history of the five nations that share the same island, as a unique and exceptional region both in the Amazon and in the Caribbean.

Thus, this book approached with much effort and dedication an explanation of this complex theme, as the author understands that Eurocentric approaches in the historical construction of the Amazon region did not pay attention to the significant theme that is the Island of Guiana. This fact brings closer and also distances the five neighbours of language and culture inherited from Europe: Portuguese, Spanish, English, Dutch and French. Symbolically, we call them historical paths and cultural processes among the Caribbean Amazon nations, which gradually incorporated the different indigenous families with similar languages, the Karíb and Arawak.

We know that there are many gaps, for example, in analysing the immigration process, not only European, but also forced immigration of African and Asian people who arrived in the Amazon in the 19th century. However, this is a first attempt to retell the regional history of the Caribbean Amazon without much interference from Eurocentric historical thought. Instead, we present a plural history based on multiple interpretations and linked to common and different historical themes.

REFERENCES

ABRAHAM, Felician Andre. The Jesuits presence among the indigenous people in the Rupununi and north Pakaraimas Mission Guyana, border with Brazil. *Olhares Amazônicos Magazine*, Boa Vista, RR, v. 4, n. 2, p. 858-872, Jul./Dec. 2016.

ACUÑA, Cristóbal de. Novo descobrimento do Grande Rio das Amazonas [A new discovery of the Great River of the Amazons]. (1641). Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1994.

BOXER, Charles Ralph. Os holandeses no Brasil: 1624-1654. [The Dutch in Brazil: 1624-1654.] Sao Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1961.

BRAGATO, Fernanda Frizzo. Raízes históricas dos direitos humanos na conquista da América: o protagonismo de Bartolomé de Las Casas e da Escola de Salamanca. [Historical roots of human rights in the conquest of America: the protagonism of Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Escola de Salamanca]. *Instituto Humanidades Unisinos Magazine*, Sao Leopoldo, Edition 487, p. 82-93, 13 June 2016. Available at: <http://www.ihuonline.unisinos.br/artigo/6495-fernanda-bragato-2>. Accessed on: 26 Sept. 2019.

CARRICO, Christopher. Akawaio-European Relations During the Dutch Colonial Era in Guyana. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; IFILL, Mellissa (org.). *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Guyana*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2011.

CARVAJAL, Gaspar de. Descubrimiento del rio de las Amazonas (1542). [The Discovery of the river of the Amazon. (1542).] Translation by Bertram T. Lee. New York, 1934.

CARVAJAL, Gaspar de; ROJAS, Alonso de; ACUÑA, Cristobal de. *Descobrimientos do rio das Amazonas*. [Discoveries of the river of the Amazons.] Translation and notes by C. de Melo-Leitao. Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1941. Série Brasileira, v. 203.

CRUZ, Maria Odileiz Sousa; HULSMAN, Lodewijk; OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. *A brief political history of the Guianas: from Tordesillas to Vienna*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2014.

FARAGE, Nadia. *As muralhas dos sertões: os povos indígenas no rio Branco e a colonização*. [The ramparts of the backlands: the indigenous people of the River Branco and colonisation] Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra; Anpocs, 1991.

GANDAVO, Pero de Magalhaes. *Tratado da Terra do Brasil (1826); História da Província Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil (1576)*. [Brazilian Land Treaty. (1826) History of the Province of Santa Cruz, what we commonly call Brazil. (1576).] Brasília: Senado Federal, 2008. Edições do Senado Federal, v. 100. Available at: <https://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/bitstream/handle/id/188899/Tratado%20da%20terra%20do%20Brasil.pdf>. Accessed on: 26 Sept. 2019.

GARCÍA, Casiano. *Vida del comendador Diego de Ordaz descubridor del Orinoco*. [The life of Commander Diego de Ordaz, discoverer of the Orinoco] México: Editorial JUS, 1952.

GARCIA, Rodolfo. Introduction. In: PINTO, Renan Freitas (org.). *O diário do padre Samuel Fritz*. [The diary of Father Samuel Fritz] Manaus: Ed. Amazonas Federal University, 2006.

GAZTAMBIDE-GÉIGEL, Antonio. *Tan lejos de Dios...: ensayos sobre las relaciones del Caribe con Estados Unidos* [So far from God...: essays on the relationships between the Caribbean and the United States]. Puerto Rico: Editorial Otramérica, Spain, Ediciones Callejón, Puerto Rico, and Editorial Oriente, Cuba, 2014.

GOSLINGA, Cornelis. *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast 1580-1680*. Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1971.

GUIANA: caminhos da reportagem. *Brasil e Guyana reportagem histórica* [GUYANA: paths of reporting news. Brazil and Guyana historical report.] Translation: Fabio Cavalcante. (S. l., s. n.), 2011. 1 video (10:30min). Published by TV Brasil/TV Universitaria. Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6WILY7\]-r5k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6WILY7]-r5k). Accessed on: 26 Sept. 2019.

HEMMING, John. *Ouro vermelho: a conquista dos índios brasileiros*. [Red Gold: the conquest of the Brazilian Indians] Sao Paulo: Ed. da USP, 2007.

HERIARTE, Mauricio. *Descrição do Estado do Maranhao, Para, Corupa e Rio das Amazonas [...] no anno de 1662, por mandado do governador-geral Diogo Vaz de Sequeira, dada à luz por 1ª vez*. [Description of the State of

Maranhao, Para, Corupa and the River Amazon [...] in the year 1662, by order of Governor General Diogo Vaz de Sequeira, seen for the first time.] Vienna: press of the son of Carlos Gerold, 1874.

HULSMAN, Lodewijk. *Brazilian Indians in the Dutch Republic: the remonstrances of Antonio Paraupaba to the States General in 1654 and 1665*. Amsterdam, 2005.

HULSMAN, Lodewijk. *The relation of Abraham Cabeliau and the visit of the Yao Indians Arymowacca and Cayariwari to the Dutch Republic in 1598*. Amsterdam, 2007.

HULSMAN, Lodewijk. *Nederlands Amazonia: handel met indianen 1580-1680*. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam (UvA), 2009.

HULSMAN, Lodewijk. *The Guyana's Routes: A Trip From Suriname to the Branco River in 1718*. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; IFILL, Mellissa (org.). *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Guyana*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2011.

HULSMAN, Lodewijk. *Routes of Guiana: the frontier between Suriname and Brazil*. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; JUBITHANA-FERNAND, Andrea Idelga. *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Suriname*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2014.

HULSMAN, Lodewijk. *O caso de Berbice: relato de uma pesquisa arquivista. [The case of Berbice: an archival research report]* In: HULSMAN, Lodewijk; CRUZ, Maria Odileiz (org.). *Fazenda e trabalho na Amazônia, mao de obra nas Guianas: o caso de Berbice [Farming and working in the Amazon, labour in the Guianas: the case of Berbice] (1726-1736)*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2016.

IFILL, Mellissa. *Situating African Workers in the Post Emancipation Division of Labour in the British Guiana*. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; IFILL, Mellissa (org.). *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Guyana*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2011.

JAGDEW, Eric; EGGER, Jerome. *Meeting Grounds of Amerincians and Dutchmen: The Amazon Region and Suriname between 1595 and 1688*. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; JUBITHANA-FERNAND, Andrea Idelga. *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Suriname*. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2014.

LAS CASAS, Bartolomé de, friar. O paraíso destruído: a sangrenta história da conquista da América Espanhola [Paradise destroyed: the bloody history of the conquest of Spanish America]. Translation by Heraldo Barbuy. Porto Alegre: L&PM, 2011.

LOUREIRO, Joao de Jesus Paes; OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; DUARTE, Rosângela (org.). Arte e cultura na Amazônia: os novos caminhos. [Art and culture in the Amazon: the new ways.] Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2012.

MANGAR, Tota. Sir Robert Schomburgk and His Explorations in Guyana. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; IFILL, Melissa (org.). From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Guyana. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2011.

MATTOS, Pedro Freitas Jardim de. Visões do paraíso: as expedições de Francisco de Orellana e Pedro Teixeira na Amazônia. [Visions of paradise: the expeditions of Francisco de Orellana and Pedro Teixeira in the Amazon.] Navigator Magazine, n. 14, p. 104-116, 2010.

MIGNOLO, Walter. Histórias locais/projetos globais: colonialidade, saberes subalternos e pensamentos liminar. [Local stories/global projects: colonialism, subordinate knowledge and liminal thoughts.] Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2003.

MIGNOLO, Walter. La idea de América Latina: la herida colonial y la opción decolonial [The idea of Latin America: the colonial hurt and a decolonial option]. Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial, 2007.

MIGNOLO, Walter. Desafios de coloniais hoje. Epistemologias do Sul, [Colonial challenges today. Epistemologies of the South] Foz do Iguaçu, PR, v. 1, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes de. Roraima, Amazônia de Makunaima e o ensino de música. [Roraima, Amazon of Makunaima and the teaching of music] 1991. 197 f. Dissertation (Master's Degree) – Music Course, Centro de Pós-Graduação, Pesquisa e Extensão, Conservatório Brasileiro de Música, Rio de Janeiro, 1991.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. A herança dos descaminhos na formação do estado de Roraima. [The heritage of embezzlement in the formation of the state of Roraima.] Tutor: Marlene Suano. 2003. 378 f. Thesis (Doctorate)

– Programa de História Social, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo, 2003.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. Notas sobre os holandeses na Amazônia no período colonial. [Notes on the Dutch in the Amazon during the colonial period] *Textos & Debates*, Boa Vista, RR, n. 11, July/December. 2006.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. O rio Branco no contexto da Amazônia Caribenha: aspectos da colonização europeia entre os séculos 16th e 18th. [The River Branco in the context of the Caribbean Amazon: aspects of European colonisation between the 16th and 18th centuries] In: MARTINS, Estevao Chaves de Rezende; MOREIRA, Felipe Kern (org.). *Relações internacionais na fronteira norte do Brasil. [International relations on Brazil's northern frontier]* Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2008a. Collection of studies.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. Bourda: a little Brazil in Georgetown. *Textos & Debates*, Boa Vista, RR, n. 4, p.147-154, Jan.- Jun. 2008b.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes (org.). *Projeto Kuwai Kiri: a experiência amazônica dos índios urbanos de Boa Vista, Roraima. [The Kuwai Kiri Project: The Amazon experience of the urban Indians of Boa Vista, Roraima.]* Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2010.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. The Dutch Presence in the Caribbean Amazon Between the 16TH and 18TH Centuries: From Wild Coast to the Branco River. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; IFILL, Mellissa (org.). *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Guyana.* Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2011.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. Brasil-Guyana-Venezuela e algumas trilhas indígenas. [Brazil-Guyana-Venezuela and some indigenous trails] *Tepui Magazine: Dossiê Fronteira*, Boa Vista, RR, 1st semester 2012.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. Amazon Caribbean: regionalization, the historical and cultural ways. In: OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; JUBITHANA-FERNAND, Andrea Idelga. *From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Suriname.* Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2014.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes. A cidade de Boa Vista e os índios urbanos em áreas de fronteiras. [The city of Boa Vista and the urban Indians in frontier areas.] In: LIMA, Carmen Lúcia; CIRINO, Carlos Alberto (org.).

Moradores da Maloca Grande: reflexões sobre os indígenas no contexto urbano. [Inhabitants of Maloca Grande: reflections on the indigenous people in the urban context] Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2016. p. 75-85.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; HULSMAN, Lodewijk. Escravidão indígena na Amazônia Caribenha. [Indigenous slavery in the Caribbean Amazon] Olhares Amazônicos Magazine, Boa Vista, RR, v. 5, n.1, p. 912-929, Jan./Jun. 2017.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; IFILL, Mellissa (org.). From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Guyana. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2011.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; JUBITHANA-FERNAND, Andrea Idelga. From Historical Paths to the Cultural Processes Between Brazil and Suriname. Boa Vista, RR: EdUFRR, 2014.

OLIVEIRA, Reginaldo Gomes; MAGALHÃES, Maria das Graças Dias. A Questão do Pirara: Roraima. [The Question of Pirara] Textos & Debates Magazine: Guianas Dossier, Boa Vista, RR, n. 14, Jan.- Jun. 2008.

OOSTINDIE, Gert; ROITMAN, Jessica. Dutch Atlantic connections, 1680-1800. Linking Empires, Bridging Borders. Leiden/Boston: BRILL, 2014.

PONS, Frank Moya. History of the Caribbean: plantations, trade, and war in the Atlantic World. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007.

REIS, Arthur Cezar Ferreira. História do Amazonas. [History of Amazonas] Belo Amazonas, 1989.

REIS, Maurício de Novais; ANDRADE, Marcilea Freitas Ferraz. O pensamento decolonial: análise, desafios e perspectivas. [Decolonial thought: Analysis, challenges and perspectives.] Espaço Acadêmico Magazine, n. 2, Mar. 2018.

RODRIGUES, José Manuel Damiao. Ciência, viagens e controle do território: o caso do Brasil na segunda metade do século 18th. [Science, voyages and control of territory: the case of Brazil in the second half of the 18th century.] Memórias: Revista Digital de História y Arqueología desde el Caribe Colombiano, Barranquilla, Colômbia, ano 11, n. 25, p. 1-33, ene-abr. 2015. Available at: <https://biblat.unam.mx/hevila/>

MemoriasRevistadigitaldehistoriayarqueologiadeseelcaribe/2015/no25/3.pdf. Accessed: 26 Sept. 2019.

SAN MARTIN, Eduardo. O caminho de Eldorado: a descoberta da Guiana por Walter Raleigh em 1595. [The Eldorado path: the discovery of Guiana by Walter Raleigh em 1595.] Adaptation and notes of E. San Martin. Porto Alegre: Artes e Ofícios, 2002.

THOMPSON, Alvin O. Colonialism and underdevelopment in Guyana, 1580-1803. Bridgetown/ Barbados: Karíb Research & Publications, 1987.

THOMPSON, Alvin. The Berbice Revolt, 1763-64. Georgetown: Cooperative Republic of Guyana, 1999.

TIERRA FIRME. Revista de historia y ciencias sociales. [History and Social Sciences Magazine] Caracas, Venezuela, v. 21, n. 82, Apr.- Jun., 2003.

VAN WALLENBURG, Martin et al. The voyage of Gelein van Stapels to the Amazon River, the Guianas and the Caribbean, 1629-1630. The Journal of the Hakluyt Society, Jan. 2015.

VAN'S GRAVESANDE, Laurens Storm. The rise of British Guiana. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967.

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR



Reginaldo Gomes de Oliveira

Born in Boa Vista – Roraima, Brazil.

Social History PhD from USP in 2003, full professor of the History Program and connected to the Department of Electoral and Political Research in the Amazon (Nupepa) at the Federal University of Roraima.

Visiting professor at USP in 2016 and at the University of Suriname in 2018, working on the theme of Regional History, focusing on the History of Guiana, or the Caribbean Amazon, as one of the few historians in Brazil who specialise in this area.