When in the first decades of the nineteenth century the last of the local Amerindians left the West Indian island of Tobago in order to take up residence in neighbouring Trinidad, there remained few material relics reminding of the original inhabitants of the island. Indeed, as a contemporary noted, the Tobago Amerindians ‘have passed from the land and from the living, without leaving in any a recollection of their existence’ (Woodcock, 1867:67). This essay intends to reconstruct the vicissitudes of the various Amerindian peoples who lived in Tobago throughout historic times, recording their gradual numerical decline and patterns of interaction with the subsequent European invaders of their territory as well as outlining their lasting cultural heritage amongst the island’s present inhabitants.

Introduction

Situated on the northern margin of the South American continental shelf, Tobago represents one of the southernmost islands of the Lesser Antillean archipelago (Fig. 1). It is more or less elliptical in shape and measures 43x12.5 km across, encompassing in all 302 km². Tobago consists of two major physiographic units, i.e., the Main Ridge, a heavily dissected central dorsal ridge of highland which forms the backbone of the island, and the...
Figure 1

Map of the eastern Caribbean, showing the situation of Tobago and neighbouring islands.
Coral Lowlands, an elongated coral limestone platform adjoining the foothills of the Main Ridge to the southwest (Fig. 2). The Main Ridge represents Tobago’s major divide, reaching up to 565 m above mean sea level. It rises gradually on all sides except for the northeast where its precipices descend abruptly to the sea. Especially its southern and eastern flanks are typified by wide, open valleys containing perennial streams, although only the Courland River, Tobago’s largest stream, has developed an extensive basin. The island’s shoreline is heavily indented, showing an alternation of rocky cliffs and promontories, lagoonal swamps and marshes, next to bays with dunes and sandy beaches. Due to its orientation, Tobago has no clear-cut windward and leeward shores such as are shown by the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles. An imaginary line crossing the island half-way, between Granby Point and Castara Bay, is generally taken to divide the northern, windward, and southern, leeward, portions of Tobago, locally known as the ‘Top Side’ and the ‘Low Side’ of the island, respectively (Boomert, 1996:9–15).

Tobago’s fauna and vegetation cover reflect the entirely continental character of the island. Its mammalian fauna is less diverse than that of Trinidad (Boomert, 2000:31–38). Originally most of the island was covered by Tropical Rain Forest of which three types can be distinguished, i.e., lowland evergreen forest, lower montane forest and xerophytic forest. Unfortunately, by now much forest has become severely affected by man due to clearing operations for monocropping, logging and slash-and-burn cultivation. Lowland evergreen forest covers most of the Main Ridge, grading into lower montane forest beyond an elevation of about 250 m above mean sea level. Traditionally much lowland evergreen forest was under cocoa, coffee and/or citrus cultivation. Xerophytic rain forest is restricted to the south-central part of the Main Ridge. Originally the Coral Lowlands were covered by deciduous seasonal forest, but most of this has disappeared since the area was brought under sugar cane and, afterwards, coconut cultivation in colonial times. Littoral woodland forms the typical shoreline vegetation of the island. Extensive stands of mangrove woodland, finally, are to be found in the coastal portions of the Coral Lowlands as well as in the river estuaries on Tobago’s windward coast. Live coral is growing directly offshore around most of the island; the most extensive coral reef complex, Buccoo Reef, encloses Bon Accord Lagoon at Tobago’s southwest end. This part of the island is susceptible to severe droughts and formerly the inhabitants of the Coral Lowlands had to rely mainly on rain water kept in ponds and cisterns throughout the dry season. Tobago is situated at the southern fringe of the Caribbean hurricane zone and revolving tropical storms of hurricane force struck the island at various times during the past few centuries, most recently in 1847 and 1963 (Niddrie, 1980:50–60).

Tobago is separated from Trinidad by the 32 km wide Galleons’ Passage or Tobago Sound. Formerly communication among Tobago, Trinidad, the Windward Islands and the South American mainland was largely determined
Map of Tobago, showing the main topographical features. Legend: (1) 1000-feet contourline; (2) main town. Inset: geographical situation of Tobago offshore the South American mainland. Abbreviations: Gall. Ps., Galleons’ Passage; GP, Gulf of Paria.
by the prevailing winds and the system of oceanic circulation in the region. Interaction between Trinidad and Tobago is facilitated by the circumstance that the southern portion of the latter island is practically always within view from Northeast Trinidad and vice versa. The crossing by pirogue from Trinidad to Tobago required quite some effort and navigating. If all went well, it took a day and a night to accomplish (Dauxion-Lavaysse, 1820:364–365; Escobar, TTHSP 84, 1637; Wise, 1934/1938, I:60). In Amerindian times the route most frequently taken by dugouts apparently led from the northeast coast of Trinidad to La Guira and Canoe Bay in Southwest Tobago, both of which names are significant.1 As a result of the wet-season outflow of the Orinoco River the crossing from Trinidad to Tobago is easiest in this part of the year. This is exemplified by the fact that objects drifting with the current from the mainland reach Tobago especially during the wet season. For instance, canoes lost by Amerindians in the Orinoco Delta or Northwest Guyana occasionally wash ashore on the windward coast of the island. Profiting from the current, Grenada, the southernmost of the Windward Islands, and Los Testigos, a group of tiny islands offshore the Paria Peninsula of East Venezuela, can be reached easily by canoe from Tobago, although the return journey would have been difficult. Indeed, such is the current’s velocity that formerly sailing-ships were easily driven from Tobago’s windward coast to Grenada (Young, 1812:89–90). Finally, the Northeast trade winds and main ocean current favour travelling from the shores of the Guianas to the Windward Islands, using Tobago as a midway station.

The Tobago Amerindians in Early Contact Times

The first references to Tobago and its indigenous inhabitants are to be found in a Spanish royal order of 1511 giving permission to the citizens of Hispaniola to wage war upon and to enslave the Amerindian people que se llaman los caribes. The Crown accused these Indians of resisting the Spanish and fighting Indians favourably disposed to the latter, taking them prisoner and eating them ‘as they really do’. According to this document, the caribes inhabited most of the Windward Islands, Trinidad, Tobago (Tavaco), and parts of the South American mainland (Alegría, 1981:47–48; Jesse, 1963; Jiménez, 1986:129–130; Spanish Crown, TTHSP 75, 1511). The decree confirmed and elaborated royal orders of 1503 and 1505, authorizing the enslavement of the Indians que se dizen canyvales (CDU, 1890, V:110–113, No. 29). It was repeated in 1512 (CDU, 1890, V:258–262, No. 61; Sauer, 1966:161–162,193). The Amerindians mentioned in these Spanish documentary sources, are

1 See Boomert (n.d. 2). Canoe Bay is first mentioned as Kano Baeïj on the seventeenth-century Dutch maps of Tobago (Anonymous, 1677; Keulen, 1683). Obviously it formed the most frequently used landing for dugouts and Spanish sailing craft from Trinidad in early historic times. At present only the easternmost portion of this bay is known as Canoe Bay while its
variously called caníma, caniba, caníbales, caribales or caribes in Columbus' journal of his first voyage of discovery. Tales of the Taíno Indians of the Greater Antilles, possibly mixed with some of the Admiral's own preconceived images suggested by medieval thought, led Columbus to believe that the Lesser Antilles were inhabited by an anthropophagous race which instilled the Taíno with deadly fear. The name he recorded for these Indians, perhaps only signifying 'distant and fearsome islanders' in Taíno, was to become synonymous to 'man-eaters' in the European languages. The original form may have been caniba which was modified to caníbal, perhaps by addition of the Romance suffix -al; the difference with caribes may reflect dialectical variation (Allaire, 1996; Friederici, 1960:143–145; Taylor, 1977:25).

For the sixteenth-century Spanish the name caribes never had a specific, well-circumscribed ethnic meaning: it just signified fierce, supposedly anthropophagous Amerindians who were difficult to conquer. (The term was used in juxtaposition to indios, designating docile, tractable Indians.) Following the 1511 royal order, the Spanish actually employed the name as a justification of enslavement, designating Amerindian peoples of varying ethnicity, culture and linguistic affiliations as such (Escardo, 1978; Sued Badillo, 1995). Nevertheless, Caribes (English Caribs) represents the name under which a particular Amerindian tribal people has become known which at contact times inhabited most of the Lesser Antilles next to parts of Trinidad, the Orinoco Valley and the Guianas. Whether the autodenomination of these Caribs formed the model which the Taíno corrupted to caniba (e.g., Goeje, 1936; Hoff, 1995), or that the two terms are unrelated (Allaire, 1996), remains unclear. Numerous forms of the name Caribs are to be found in the English, French and Dutch documentary sources, for instance, Charibes, Charib, Carrebees, Caribbees, Careebs, Careebee, Caribisce, Geribus, Caribbesen, Crebesen, and Críbes. The present Caribs of the Guiana coastal zone and Venezuela call themselves Kalina (Kalíña, Karíña), meaning ‘person’, ‘people’, a name which was probably first recorded as Garina in the 1620s (Espinosa, 1942:37,69,72). These ‘Mainland Caribs’ speak a language belonging to the Cariban linguistic family, which together with Arawakan and Tupian belongs to the most widespread language stocks in the South American tropical lowlands. The term Galibis, which was introduced by the French for the Mainland Caribs in the seventeenth century, appears to represent a corruption of English Careebees (Breton, 1978:52, 1999: 115).

Linguistically the Caribs, who formerly occupied the entire chain of the Windward Islands from Grenada to Guadeloupe next to Monserrat and St...
Kitts in the Leeward Islands, were quite different from their kinsmen on the South American mainland. The 'Island Caribs' spoke two variants of what was basically Northern Arawakan, i.e., a female and a male register, of which the latter shows numerous Cariban lexical borrowings (Goeje, 1939; Taylor, 1977). Their self-denomination, which was recorded in the mid-seventeenth century, expresses strong feelings of ethnic unity with the Mainland Caribs, since the Island Caribs used the same name as the latter to indicate their people (nation). According to Breton (1978:52, 1999:25, 55, 115–116), the Island Caribs called themselves Callinago in the male register and Calliponan or Calliponam in the female one (also Rochefort, 1665b:345). Obviously, Kalina is at the basis of Callinago (Kaliñago), of which the suffix -go may either represent a honorific terminal (Goeje, 1939; Taylor, 1958b, 1977:25) or derive from the Cariban plural suffix -kon, which acquired a collective sense. It was loosely tacked on the proper form of the name (Hoff, 1995). The female form Calliponan is a corruption of Kalipuna which is close to Garifuna, i.e., the name used by the present Black Caribs of Central America for themselves when speaking in the singular. They call themselves Garinagü, from Kalinago, when speaking in the collective (Goldwasser, 1998/1999). Kalipuna is a name which was formerly used by Arawakan-speakers as a generic term to indicate Cariban groups throughout the tropical lowlands. The suffix -na is a collectivizer or pluralizer in Island Carib and Arawak (Lokono) while -phu (modern Arawakan -fo) is employed in the latter language as a terminal to derive clan names from those of plants or animals (Taylor, 1977:25). The term Caraíbes, which was introduced by the French for the Island Caribs in the seventeenth century (Breton, 1978:52), apparently forms the origin of modern Creole Kawahib or K’wáib for Carib (Taylor, 1972).

Clearly, while the early sixteenth-century Spanish documents suggest that Caribs formed the inhabitants of Tobago at the time of the European encounter, they leave undecided whether these Indians belonged to the linguistically distinct mainland or insular branches of the Carib nation. In

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3 The male register originated as a contact vernacular bridging the gap between Northern Arawakan (‘Ignerie’), the females’ native tongue, and Kalina, the language of the men who had immigrated into the Lesser Antilles from the South American mainland (Taylor & Hoff, 1980; Hoff, 1995). This pidgin is recorded to have been spoken by the French and Kalina of French Guiana in the 1650s while it survived into the twentieth century in the Guiana Highlands. Gomberville (1682:188) probably refers to it when he states that there is a language which is understood throughout the Guianas, but ‘is intelligible even to the Caribs, who are the natives of the Antilles and who make use of it’ as he ‘observed among the Indians of [...] St. Vincent and Dominica’.

4 These are the descendants of the Black Caribs who were transported by the British from St Vincent to the island of Roatán, offshore present Honduras, at the end of the eighteenth century.

5 In various Spanish documentary sources the Island Caribs are called Camahuyas or Camajuyas, which may represent a corruption of Kalipuna. According to Espinosa (1942:35, 57, 68, 76), this name ‘means lightning from heaven, since they are brave and warlike’ (also Cody Holdren, 1998:31; Whitehead, 1995). In a report of 1580 Camahuya is used as the
fact, the oldest documentary information addressing this matter dates from as late as the mid-seventeenth century, thus well in colonial times (see below). Circumstantial evidence suggests that the Caribs who are known to have inhabited the northern third of Trinidad in the contact period, spoke Cariban rather than Arawakan (Island Carib). Unfortunately, the early sixteenth-century Spanish documents are quite confused regarding Trinidad’s ethnic composition (e.g., Alegría, 1981:43,49,59–60; Newson, 1976:18–19,241). The matter was temporarily decided when in 1518 Rodrigo de Figueroa was commissioned to investigate which islands were occupied by Caribes, i.e., hostile Indians ‘who eat human flesh’. Two years later he concluded that Caribs were settled in all of the islands of the West Indies not inhabited by the Spanish, except for, e.g., Trinidad, Barbados, Margarita and the Bahamas (Moreau, 1992:32,37; Ojer, 1966a:60,165; Rodrigo de Figueroa, TTHSP 671, 1520; Sauer, 1966:195). However, the attempts at settlement in Trinidad by Antonio Sedeño during the 1530s led to a modification of this assessment due to the fierce resistance which the Spanish met from part of the Trinidad Indians, as a result of which the former had to give up their colonization efforts (e.g., Oviedo, 1959, II:387). While assisted by Indians living on the South Trinidad coast, probably Arawaks (Lokono), Sedeño was opposed by Caribes from the northwestern portion of the island, led by a cacique called Baucunar, who was able to forge a coalition of various ethnic groups from Trinidad and Paria (see Boomert, 1984, 2000:389–391; Ojer, 1966a:95–105,120–135; Wise, 1934/1938, I:13–36).

Baucunar may have been a chieftain of the Carinepagoto, a group mentioned in the 1590s to have occupied Northwest Trinidad (Ralegh, 1848a:4; see also Dudley, 1646; Lovén, 1935:33,39–40). The name Carinepagoto is clearly related to Kalinago and Kalina. Heinen (1992) notes that Cariban pa means ‘place’ as in upata, ‘our place’, while the suffix -goto or -koto, which is often abbreviated as -go, -ko, -kog and -gong, is a terminal shown by many Cariban tribal names (Goeje, 1924). This suggests that the Carinepagoto were Cariban-speakers and belonged to the Carib ethnic group (also Taylor, 1977:14). An Indian chief called Goanagoanare (Guanaguanare, Wannawanare) is mentioned to have granted an area in Northwest Trinidad to Domingo de Vera in 1592, allowing the latter to establish San José de Oruña (present St Joseph), i.e., the first Spanish capital of the island (TTHSP 15, 1592). Afterwards Goanagoanare ‘with his men withdrew to another part of the name of a region or island (Bernáldez de Quiroz, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:43), but this may be due to confusion with Camáhogne (Breton, 1999:205), i.e., the Island Carib name for Grenada. A Spanish document of 1618 speaks of ‘Caribe and Camahuyas Indians’ (Harlow, 1932:203), while in 1751 Jephtha, an Arawak (Lokono) shaman who became the most famous proselyte of the Moravian Brethren in Berbice, noted that the Kamajia lived on an island in the sea which the Indians called Juremehüy (Staehelin, 1913/1918, II-2:174–175). The Moravian Brethren concluded that this island was Tobago, but this is unlikely as Juremehüy is probably a corruption of the Island Carib name of St Vincent, louloumain (see Breton, 1999:206).
island’, possibly the present San Juan area (Wise, 1934/1938, III:64), and, obviously after opposing the Spanish, he was chained and tortured by Antonio de Berrío, the first Spanish governor of Trinidad. Liberated by Ralegh (1848a:7), he subsequently joined the latter when the English marched through his new village situated on the bridle path from Port-of-Spain to St Joseph, and assisted him in sacking and plundering the Spanish town in 1595 (Liaño, TTHSP 23, 1596; Salazar, TTHSP 21, 1595; Silva Montañes, 1983, II:327). Ralegh’s assessment of the Carib settlement of North Trinidad is confirmed by Scott (1925a) who notes in the 1660s that the Trinidad Indians were divided into three peoples, ‘Distinctly Sepperated […] by Ridges of Mountaine’s’, of which the Carrebees inhabited the northern portion, i.e., that of Trinidad’s Northern Range.

It appears that at the time of the European encounter Trinidad formed a complex multi-ethnic and multi-lingual conglomerate of Amerindian groups of possibly varying sociopolitical complexity (Boomert, 2000:386). Apart from the Carinepagoto, at least five other Indian peoples are mentioned as settled in the island in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., Arawaks (Lokono), Shebaio, Yaio, Warao, and Nepoio. All of these nations were found back on the mainland, i.e., in the Lower Orinoco Valley, the Delta of this river and in the coastal zone of the Guianas (Boomert, 1984, 1986:6–7,12; Glazier, 1980). According to Ralegh (1848a:4) and Sparrey (1906), the Arawaks, Shebaio and Yaio lived in the coastal area of South and Southwest Trinidad, while the Nepoio occupied the central and eastern portion of the island (also Dudley, 1646; Laet, 1640:604; Ralegh, 1848b:137). In addition, Chaguana (Warao) Indians apparently inhabited the central coastal area of West Trinidad, at least in the 1610s (Boomert, 2000:89). By the mid-sixteenth century the name Arawak had become a generic term for many of the Trinidad Amerindians, including Nepoio, Yaio and Arawaks (Lokono), who at the time were favourably disposed to the Spanish and traded with the colonists of the pearl islands, Cubagua and Margarita. It was in this same sense that still a century afterwards the name Alouagues (Allouâques, Arrouâgues), recorded by Breton (1978:53,61,76–78, 1999:56,113, etc.), was used by the Island Caribs (Boomert, 2000:429). Indeed, some early documentary sources do not distinguish between the Nepoio and Arawaks (Breton, 1978:77; Stapels, 1994:16). In this respect it is noteworthy that the eighteenth-century Arawaks (Lokono) of Berbice knew the Nepoio (Nipiju, Nepuya, Nepaya, Nepiti, Nippie, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuja, Nepaya, Nepiti, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nepuia, Nepaya, Nepita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Nepiita, Nepii, Nippie, Nepuji, Nipuia, Nepuaya, Ne...
Napoy, Napuyo, Nepeío, Maboüye, etc.) as a separate ethnic unity (Quandt, 1807:291; Staehelin, 1913/1918, II-2:175,178). Although mentioned to be living in Trinidad as early as 1573 (Newson, 1976:18,242), many Nepoío apparently moved from the Lower Orinoco Valley to Trinidad during the first years of Spanish settlement of the island in order ‘to eat out and wast’ the Amerindians ‘that were natural of the place’ (Raleigh, 1848a:8).

The probable settlement of North Trinidad by Kalina-affiliated Caribs enhances the likelihood that the sixteenth-century Caribes of Tobago were Cariban- rather than Arawakan-speakers. Interestingly, Tobago is mentioned in the Island Carib traditions about their origins such as these were recorded in St Vincent during the 1650s. These myths claim that the Caraïbes descend from the Calibites or Galibis, the neighbours of the Aroũagues in the ‘Province which is generally called Guyana or the Wild Coast’ (Rochefort, 1665b:348; also Borde, 1886; Scott, 1925b). Originally, the Caribs would have been the slaves of the Aroũagues. Some of them then rebelled and, weaker than the Arawaks, they retreated to the Windward Islands ‘which were not at that time inhabited’. They landed first on Tobago ‘which is one of the nearest [islands] to the Continent’. Afterwards the other Caribs shook off the domination of the Arawaks, but stronger than the latter, they remained in their own country. These Mainland Caribs are the ‘friends and allies’ of the Caraïbes. While the Island Caribs are now accustomed to go to the mainland for war expeditions against the Arawaks, the latter are on the defensive and do not visit the islands of the Lesser Antilles (Rochefort, 1665b:348–349,528). A tale, recorded among the (Yellow) Caribs of St Vincent in the second half of the eighteenth century, similarly mentions Tobago as one of the first islands the Caribs inhabited on their mythical movement from the mainland into the Windward Islands (Young, 1795:5). Finally, Rochefort (1665a:65,117, 1665b:15–16) states that Tobago was ‘formerly inhabited by the Caraïbes, [...] but approximately a century ago they had to abandon all their beautiful and large villages here, taking refuge on the Island of Saint Vincent in order to protect themselves from the frequent surprise attacks by the Aroũagues, their ancient and irreconcilable enemies of the continent’. From then onwards Tobago would have been used by the Caraïbes only for refreshing during their war expeditions to the Arawaks of the mainland (Rochefort, 1665a:67). This story, for which Rochefort does not claim Amerindian origin, is echoed by several subsequent authors (e.g., Brett, 1868:485; Coke, 1808/1811, II:165; Halliday, 1837:268; Reeves, 1749:24).

Whether the Island Carib myths about their origins reflect any historical truth, is disputed. Tales quite different from the ones known from St Vincent, have been documented by French missionaries in Dominica, Martinique and Guadeloupe in the mid-seventeenth century. As Gullick (1980, 1985:32–38,61) has pointed out, the two common elements in all of the different versions of these narratives are represented by, firstly, the emphasis on the hostilities and differences between the Caribs and Arawaks, and, secondly,
the claim to a migration from the South American mainland. The presence of a late prehistoric to protohistoric pottery complex in the Windward Islands, Cayo, derived from the Koriaban ceramic subseries of the Guianas, i.e., the predecessor of present Kalina earthenware, has been taken to reflect the accuracy of the Island Carib claims to descent from the Kalina of the mainland.8 This is not to say that all details of these tales are equally historically truthful. For instance, Rochefort’s allegation that the Caribs abandoned Tobago a century previously, i.e., about 1550, is somewhat suspect as he adds to this tale that Tobago, ‘in this way being deserted’, belonged ‘by right to anyone who appeared there first’, in this way justifying the settling of the island by the Dutch, his employers, in 1628 (Rochefort, 1665a:65). Besides, there exists sufficient documentary evidence to prove that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tobago was settled by Amerindians (see below). Nevertheless, the emphasis on Tobago as the island closest to the mainland, i.e., the coastal zone of the Guianas, in all of the Vincentian traditions of the origins of Carib settlement in the Lesser Antilles, is most interesting as it correctly reflects the major function of Tobago for the Amerindians as a half-way station between the Windwards and the Guianas (e.g., Menkman, 1939/1940:307).

Indeed, as late as the 1620s Sir Thomas Warner, the English governor of St Kitts, considered Tobago unsuitable for settlement as it was too close to the Spanish of Trinidad and too much Carib traffic was passing by (Anderson, 1956:46; Williamson, 1923:11–12, 1926:31).9 Moreover, in 1654 the Dutch governor of the Courlander colony in Tobago, Willem Mollens, wrote to his sovereign, the Duke of Courland, that ‘many savages arrive here with canoes from St Vincent, who proceed from here to the mainland, and from the mainland they come here as well ...’ (Mollens, in Mattiesen, 1940:452–453). Clearly, throughout the contact period the Island Caribs were in constant interaction with their kinsmen and allies of the South American mainland, the Kalina (e.g., Dreyfus, 1992a). According to Laet (1931/1937, I:37), the Island Caribs were accustomed to pay annual visits to the mainland. Due to Tobago’s intermediate geographical position between the Guianas and the Lesser Antilles, the island may have formed an indispensable link in this pattern of communication. According to Breton (1999:56), the Island Caribs regularly visited Cayenne and Suriname, using pirogues containing 50–60

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8 Cayo pottery or related ceramics have been encountered in most of the Windward Islands, as far north as Dominica, but thusfar it is best known from St Vincent (see Allaire, 1980, 1994; Allaire & Duval, 1995; Boomert, 1986, 1995), while recent finds in Grenada have been reported by Cody Holdren (1998:80–81, 87, 195) and Harris (2001a, 2001b). Two multicomponent sites in Tobago, i.e., Culloden Bay (TOB-67) and Speyside 2 (TOB-56), have yielded individual Cayo-like potsherds (Boomert, 1996:25, 43–44, 99–100).

9 Similarly, in 1599 Laurence Keymis explained the fact that Tobago was ‘not nowe inhabited’ (by the Spanish), ‘because the Charibes of Dominica are evill neighbours unto it’ (Keymis, 1904:478). It is repeated by Laet (cited by Goslinga, 1971:433, 583).
men each, in order to join the Kalina for war and trade expeditions to the Arrouâgues of the mainland (also Anonymous, 1987:186). Moreover, in 1596 Keymis (1904:478–479) witnessed the return of a group of Dominican canoes from a trip to the Kalina of the Guarapiche area in East Venezuela. The Island Caribs also settled on the mainland: according to Keymis (1904:492), the Ipaio of the Manmanuri River in coastal French Guiana ‘speake the language of the Indians of Dominica’. Conversely, Kalina from the mainland visited the Windward Islands on an apparently regular basis. Ley (cited by Lorimer, 1994) records in 1601 that some years previously Spanish slave raids from Trinidad induced Kalina from the Barima to flee to Dominica and in the 1640s Breton witnessed the arrival of a Kalina guest at an Island Carib drinking party in this same island (Cody Holdren, 1995). Also, trade contacts between the Kalina of Guarapiche and the Island Caribs of Grenada and Martinique stimulated the Jesuits of the latter island to found a mission on the mainland in 1651 (Pelleprat, 1965:LIII,47–48). In 1666 Lefebvre de la Barre (cited by Hurault, 1972:85) noted that part of the Kalina of coastal French Guiana had migrated to Martinique and as late as 1681 Sir Jonathan Atkins considered it impossible to conquer the Island Caribs as they ‘are constantly recruited from the mainland’ (Taylor, 1951:21; Taylor & Hoff, 1980).

Long-distance trade and ceremonial exchange next to small-scale warfare formed social institutions which were essential to the functioning of societies of Tropical Forest type such as those of the Caribs, Arawaks and other indigenous peoples of the Lesser Antilles, Trinidad, Tobago and the coastal zone of the Guianas in early contact times (Boomert, 2000:382–392,422–435). These Amerindians were predominantly organized as tribal sociopolitical entities, i.e., principally egalitarian societies consisting of at most several thousand people, living in a series of semi-independent villages integrated by non-residential descent groups such as clans, elaborate trade networks, political as well as military alliances, and structures of reciprocal ritual exchange. Settlements had maximally some 500 inhabitants, often less. Subsistence depended on a combination of horticulture, hunting, fishing and food collecting. Division of labour was principally based on sex and age while semi-specialists only operated on the community level. As Dreyfus has shown, Tropical Forest groupings such as those of the sixteenth- through seventeenth-century South Caribbean were essentially made up of a series of networks of local groups interconnected by marriages and other exchanges. Most local communities were exogamous and consisted of one uxorilocal extended family. Due to personal qualities some headmen were able to dominate in war and exchange, attracting large followings through gift giving. These warchiefs or ‘big men’ had the largest villages as they contracted many

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10 According to Breton (1999:209,280), the Island Caribs considered the Guianas as the entry to the Amazon Valley, which they identified as choulínama, ‘Suriname (River)’.

11 As late as the 1940s the Island Caribs of Dominica still had reminescences of friends from the mainland who came to visit them occasionally in the past (Taylor, 1945).
marriages and had the right of virilocal residence for themselves and their sons, simultaneously receiving services from their sons-in-law. Having prestige but not political power, they had to muster a following through organizing war and trade expeditions as well as holding drinking parties and distributing gifts, often exotic goods. Although the position of warchief was not hereditary and theoretically only effective in times of armed conflict, the fact that raiding and trading formed a continual aspect of the social system made his status as a ‘big man’ permanent, at least during his lifetime (Dreyfus, 1976, 1977, 1983/1984, 1992a, 1992b).

**At the Periphery of the Spanish Empire (1498-1614)**

Tobago was most likely sighted by Columbus on his third journey to the West Indies in August 1498, but he did not attempt to go ashore. The Admiral possibly spotted Tobago on two occasions, assuming that he observed two different islands for which he coined the names *Belaforme* and *Asumpción* (Boomert, 2001). Although other early explorers may similarly have passed by Tobago, little is known about the island’s vicissitudes during the first decades of Spanish settlement in the Caribbean. Both names coined by Columbus soon fell into oblivion. Tobago’s present name was first recorded in the Spanish royal order of 1511, discussed above. It is spelled variously as *Tabaco*, *Tavaco*, *Tabago*, *Tabacho*, etc. in the sixteenth-century Spanish documentary sources, evolving to *Tubaguo*, *Tabuco* and *Tobago* in the seventeenth-century English, French and Dutch records. Undoubtedly the name is derived from the Spanish word for ‘tobacco’. Although the Spanish were the first Europeans who learned the cultivation of tobacco from the Amerindians of the West Indies, the word *tabaco* is most likely of Arabic origin rather than of Taíno derivation, as is often thought. Before the introduction of tobacco to Europe this word was used in Spanish and Italian to denote particular medicinal herbs which, like tobacco, cause euphoria and dizziness. Tobago was probably named as such by a Spanish sailor, possibly a slaver from Hispaniola who passed by the island, because of the fact that, if seen from the ocean, Tobago resembles the type of fat cigar, called *tabaco* by the Spanish, which the Taíno Indians of the Greater Antilles were used to roll of loose tobacco leaves. This likeliness is caused by the island’s contour which from almost level in the southwestern part of Tobago slowly rises to reach an almost continuous summit in the Main Ridge area in order to descend abruptly and almost vertically to the sea in the northeast (Boomert, 2001).¹²

¹² The Amerindians had quite different names for Tobago. Two of these have been documented, i.e., the Kalina name *Urupaina*, recorded in the 1620s (Espinosa, 1942:57), and the Island Carib name *Aloubaéra*, first mentioned in the mid-seventeenth century (Breton, 1999:204,269, 1900:373). The Mainland Caribs possibly called the island *Urupaina*, ‘meaning big snail’ as Espinosa states, as they, like the Spanish, were struck by the characteristic contour of Tobago, seen from the ocean. Apparently, it reminded them of the outlines of the large marine
Although documentary evidence is lacking, it must be assumed that Tobago was occasionally raided for Indian slaves by the Spanish during the first decades of the sixteenth century, especially after the royal order of 1511 permitting the capture of the Caribes. The Spanish gold mining operations and early sugar estates in the Greater Antilles and, from 1512 onwards, the pearl fisheries of Cubagua and Margarita offshore Venezuela demanded a steady supply of forced labour. The harsh living conditions and imported European sicknesses soon decimated the local Amerindian population of the Greater Antilles (Kiple & Ornelas, 1996; Newson, 1993), while by this time the importation of black slaves from Africa was only beginning. As a result, a growing number of Spanish slave-taking expeditions began to raid the Lesser Antilles, Trinidad and the Venezuelan coast. The flight of groups of Taíno Indians from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico to the Lesser Antilles may have added to the growing demand for slaves in the Spanish islands, especially after the Taíno uprising of 1510–1511 (Alegría, 1981:43,49,59–60; Sued Badillo, 1978:133–135,156–165, 1995). By 1513 the Lucayo Indians of the Bahamas had been annihilated already, although the heaviest raiding for Amerindian slaves apparently took place in the 1520s and 1530s. Barbados and the ‘Gigantes’, i.e., the Netherlands Antilles, may have been depopulated in this period, just as the Virgin Islands and the Leeward Islands except for St Kitts and Nevis (Sauer, 1966:159–160,194). Trinidad was most frequently raided for Indian slaves just before Rodrigo de Figueroa’s report of 1520 (see Boomert, 1984; Moreau, 1992:35–38), perhaps especially after accounts of attacks on the pearl islands by Caribes in 1513 and 1514 reached the Crown (Otte, 1977:127). Indeed, Tobago may have been considered by the Spanish to represent one of the islas inútiles, which served only as territories where the indieros or slave hunters sought Indians for forced labour in the mines of the Greater Antilles and the pearlimg grounds offshore the Venezuelan coast.

Clashes between the Spanish and the Island Caribs of Guadeloupe and Dominica increased in the following years. While in 1526 a Spanish attempt at settlement in Guadeloupe failed, attacks on estates on the south coast of Puerto Rico by Island Caribs from Dominica in the 1520s and 1530s led to several punishing expeditions (Simón, 1963, I:131–135; Sued Badillo, 1978:160–161). After a raid on the island in 1533 the Crown reconfirmed the various decrees ordering the colonists to fight the Caribes, identifying the gastropods found in the Caribbean. The Island Carib name Aloubaéra for Tobago perhaps owes its existence due to the resemblance of the island’s contour to the mythical snake (boa), provided with a bright red jewel or carbuncle on its forehead, known as alloiébéra or oloubera, which features prominently in Island Carib religion (see Boomert, 2001). While first recorded in the 1650s, the belief in this monstrous bejewelled snake lived on well into the twentieth century (Allaire, 1981).
Indians of Trinidad, Guadeloupe, Dominica and Tobago (Tabaco) as such (Konetzke, ed., 1953/1962, I:145–146; Moreau, 1992:39). The listing of Trinidad among these islands was undoubtedly motivated by the failure of Antonio de Sedeño’s attempts to conquer Trinidad due to the fierce resistance put up by the Caribs of the northern portion of the island in the 1530s. The Caribs also captured black slaves in Puerto Rico, taking them to the Lesser Antilles, although undoubtedly numerous blacks went voluntarily with the Indians (Boromé, 1966). Indeed, a letter of 1546 warns about the imminence of an attack on the island by a force of 2000 Caribes and blacks of whom the latter are described as ‘more Caribe than the Caribes themselves’ (Sued Badillo, 1995). One year afterwards a citizen of Margarita proposed the settlement of Trinidad to the Crown, arguing that this island was occupied by Caribes with whom ‘the good Indians constantly wage bloody war because of the attacks made upon them’ (Rodrigo Pérez de Navarrete, TTHSP 186, 1547). Seven years later it was claimed that the Caribes raided the Trinidad Indians and even attacked them in their homes, carrying them off in order to kill and eat them (Newson, 1976:75). It was in the 1530s that the first rumours about the existence of pearl beds in the waters of Grenada and Tobago were circulated among the Spanish of Cubagua and Margarita (Otte, 1977:32). Most likely the story was spread by Arawaks from Trinidad or the South American mainland who kept up a friendly relationship with the Spanish of the pearl islands, trading especially foodstuffs and Indian slaves for European iron products with the latter (Boomert, 1984).

From the 1530s onwards Spanish policy in the Caribbean was increasingly determined by external forces, beginning with the appearance of French corsairs in the region (Klooster, 1998:22; Newton, 1966:51–52). The plundering of the Spanish ports and shipping by the French induced the Crown to initiate a convoy system for ships going from Spain to the West Indies in 1543. Moreover, in 1562 merchant ships were forbidden to sail independently at all. Annually two fleets of merchant vessels with accompanying warships were dispatched to the Caribbean. The tierra firme fleet, also called the galeones as six to eight gallions escorted it, sailed from the Canaries to the mainland in April, occasionally entering the West Indies through the Tobago Sound or Galleons’ Passage between Trinidad and Tobago. It proceeded to Cartagena and Portobello. The name Galleons’ Passage, which was first recorded as late as the eighteenth century (e.g., Sayer & Bennett, 1779), still reminds one of the passing of (part of) the tierra firme fleet. The second fleet, the flota, was destined for the Greater Antilles and Veracruz and sailed later in the year. It usually entered the West Indies at Dominica or Guadeloupe, making a landfall there. In March of the following year both fleets met in Havana and set off on

13 In 1547 male Caribes were exempted from the New Laws of 1542 which prohibited Indian slavery, while females were again subject to enslavement from 1569 onwards (Boucher, 1992:16).
the homeward voyage. In the seventeenth century the flota set sail on an average only once in two years and the galeones once in three years (Burns, 1965:139; Newton, 1966:52–57). Documentary evidence suggesting that occasionally galleons of the latter fleet watered and refreshed at Tobago following the crossing of the Atlantic as the flota did at Dominica or Guadeloupe, is lacking. However, the still existing name Cape Gracias-a-dios, literally meaning ‘Cape God-be-thanked’, for one of the easternmost promontories of Northeast Tobago may represent a navigational term related to at least the irregular passing of galleons belonging to the tierra firme fleet or sailing apart from it, a practice which from 1575 onwards was quite regular (Andrews, 1978b:69). The name is identical to that of the northeasternmost point on the Mosquito Coast in Central America and was first recorded on the Tobago maps of Kitchin (1772) and Byres (1776).14

Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century the story that beds of pearl oysters were to be found in the waters of Tobago and Grenada, kept cropping up in the Spanish records. For instance, Juan de Salas, a citizen of Margarita, notes in a Relación dated 1560/1570, that he was once prisoner of the Caribes who told him that many pearl oysters are to be found near the island El Tabaco. The Indians would use these pearls as ear-ornaments as well as inserted in bead aprons (Salas, 1964). Another vecino of Margarita, Rodrigo Pérez de Navarrete, documents that his Arawak trade partners told him ‘of certain pearl islands’, inviting him to visit them. However, according to his own testimony, Navarrete (1964) had to abandon a project to reconnoitre these islands due to obstruction by certain Spanish officials. Navarrete was the escribano (notary) of Margarita and an old captain of the rescatadores, i.e., traders with Amerindians, in Cubagua and as such well informed about the region (Ojer, 1966a:157, 167, 190–192, 1966b; Silva Montañes, 1983, III:239–440). The rumour is not marked on the Mapa de la Provincia de los Aruacas, a manuscript map drawn in Margarita about 1560/1570, which is occasionally ascribed to Navarrete (Ojer, 1966a:202–210). Obviously, this may be due to the fact that he wished to keep the information to himself. In contrast, a Spanish manuscript map showing the Venezuelan coastal zone, drawn by Diego Sánchez de Sotomayor (1574), does note perlas near Trinidad and aquí hay perlas near Tobago, while the latter statement is repeated in Sotomayor’s Relación of 1578 (Ojer, 1966a:392). Although devoid of any truth, references to Tobago’s presumed pearl beds are to be found in the literature until as late as the eighteenth century (see Espinosa, 1942:57; Mollens, in Mattiesen, 1940:452; Otte, ed., 1967, II:169; Poyntz, 1901:13; Poyntz et al., TTHSP 283, 1702; Waller, TTHSP 584, 1699).

14 Cabo Gracias á Dios on the Mosquito Coast was so named by Columbus during his fourth voyage to the Caribbean in 1502. The name expresses the Admiral’s thankfulness when after a month his ships had reached a point beyond which they did not have to beat against wind and current (Burns. 1965:96).
It is from now onwards that the Spanish Crown incorporated Tobago in *capitulaciones* concluded with adventurers intent on repeating the attempts to colonize Trinidad which failed in the 1530s. Clearly intrigued by the rumour of the Tobago pearl beds, several plans were presented to conquer Trinidad and Tobago in 1569 (Moreau, 1992:76,233). The royal license for realizing such a project was awarded to Juan (Troche) de León, an *alcalde* (magistrate) of Puerto Rico and probable relative of the conqueror of that island. It is recorded that Ponce de León deliberately wished to include Tobago in his concession as he had heard from an old captive of the *Caribes*, most likely Juan de Salas, that the Indians of Dominica and Grenada searched for particular yellow pearls in the waters of Tobago (Moreau, 1992:75–76). In 1569 Ponce de León indeed settled in Northwest Trinidad, probably in the Laventille area, but he had to leave the island as early as the following year due to lack of supplies. As far as known, he did not attempt to make the crossing to Tobago (Diosdado, TTHSP 600, 1570; Newson, 1976:74; Ojer, 1966a:266–276; Otte, ed., 1967, I:21; Silva Montañes, 1983, III:465–466; Simón, 1963, II:542–543). The failure of Ponce de León to obtain supplies for his men suggests an uncooperative attitude by the local Amerindians. In fact, his son García who had been sent by his father to hunt up provisions with some soldiers, was captured by some Island Caribs allegedly while staying with the Arawaks. The Island Caribs spirited him away to Dominica after spreading the rumour that they had killed him. García Ponce de León is claimed to have been in Island Carib captivity as late as 1587, reportedly at one time even putting up some serious resistance against his unwanted hosts (Boromé, 1966; Bernáldez de Quiroz, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:42). 15

The problems encountered by Ponce de León in obtaining foodstuffs for his men may have been aggravated by the fact that from 1556 onwards French privateers and traders regularly visited Trinidad, passing by the south coast of the island to the Gulf of Paria, exchanging European ironware and cloth for provisions with the Amerindians. They similarly traded with the Island Caribs of Guadeloupe, Dominica and Martinique, occasionally entering the Orinoco River (Diosdado, TTHSP 600, 1570; Moreau, 1992:93–96,108–109,261–262; Sotomayor, cited by Andrews, 1978b). While the first English voyage to the Caribbean dates from as early as 1527 and occasional journeys following the bartering of brazilwood with the natives of the Brazilian coast were made in the 1540s, it was not until the 1560s through 1570s that the number of English intruders in the region increased, in order to reach epidemic proportions during the Spanish–English war which finally broke out in 1585. Arising from the strategic importance of the West Indies as the thoroughfare of Mexican and Peruvian treasure to Spain, by this time the area

15 In 1554 six Spaniards escaped from Dominica after one year of captivity while seven years later the Island Caribs of Grenada are accused of holding thirty Spaniards (Boromé, 1966; Ojer, 1966a:218). In addition, captive blacks are mentioned among the Island Caribs of Dominica in 1580 (Bernáldez de Quiroz, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:40).
As the Island Caribs learned to know the European ironware from the Spanish, all of these objects typically have Spanish names in the Island Carib language. Indeed, Breton’s mid-seventeenth-century Island Carib dictionary has predominantly Spanish loanwords and only a few Portuguese and French ones for introduced animals and plants as well as European implements and weapons (Taylor, 1951:47–49, 1977:75–79).

The relationship between the Spanish and the Island Caribs remained tense. In fact, attacks on Puerto Rico increased in intensity during the 1560s and 1570s (Sued Badillo, 1995). In 1562 the Caribes of the Windward Islands and Trinidad attempted to raid Margarita (Moreau, 1992:65–66), while two years afterwards the Island Caribs of Dominica cut the cables of a Spanish caravel becalmed at the island, in the hope of a shipwreck. As early as 1558 the Indians attempted to capture some Spanish vessels at sea (Boucher, 1992:17; Gullick, 1985:41; Hawkins, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:48–52). By the end of the sixteenth century all efforts at Spanish settlement in the Windward Islands had ceased while missionaries sent to the Island Caribs had been massacred or were kept in captivity. Few Spanish ships dared to call at Dominica or Guadeloupe any longer. When becalmed offshore Dominica and in desperate need of wood and water, the Spanish reportedly sent ashore a friar or a sailor in gunny sack disguised as one to negotiate with the Indians (Boromé, 1966). In contrast, peaceful barter generally characterized the relationship between the Island Caribs and the French and English contraband traders and privateers calling at the Windward Islands. The Indians often allowed the careening of vessels, the taking in of fresh water and the resting of sick crew members while trading European ironware, notably nails, knives, needles, hooks, bills, sickles, hoes, hatchets, saws and iron griddles, coloured glass beads, trinkets, mirrors next to combs, spirits and, rarely, firearms in exchange of foodstuffs, including plantains, sweet potatoes, cassava bread, hens, pineapples and bananas next to tobacco, cotton, turtle carapaces, hammocks and kalikulis, i.e., ornaments made of a gold–copper alloy which the Island Caribs obtained from the South American mainland (e.g., Allaire, 1977:80; Appleby, 1996; Boucher, 1992:8,29; Burns, 1965:169; Drake, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:52–54; Myers, 1978). Towards the end

16 As the Island Caribs learned to know the European ironware from the Spanish, all of these objects typically have Spanish names in the Island Carib language. Indeed, Breton’s mid-seventeenth-century Island Carib dictionary has predominantly Spanish loanwords and only a few Portuguese and French ones for introduced animals and plants as well as European implements and weapons (Taylor, 1951:47–49, 1977:75–79).
of the sixteenth century iron nails and hatchets had in fact become indispensable to the Island Caribs for the construction of their canoes, and vessels stranded in the Windwards were invariably stripped of nails to this end.

Although peaceful trade prevailed, skirmishes occasionally occurred. For instance, in 1564 the Frenchman René de Laudonnière (in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:51–52) was allowed to refresh and trade foodstuffs for European goods at Dominica. However, the trampling of gardens by his crew and their approaching of an Indian village led to hostilities as a result of which he lost a man. A pattern of Amerindian–European interaction similar to that current in the Windward Islands developed in Trinidad which formed a logical landfall for French and English ships coming from Brazil along the coast of the Guianas. (The first recorded English visit to the island dates from 1576.) Here the Indian villages of the south and west coast bartered with the Spanish of Margarita as eagerly as with the French and English (see Boomert, 1984; Moreau, 1992:110–112).\textsuperscript{17} In 1585 a French contraband trader even left some men in Trinidad to learn ‘the local language’ (Moreau, 1992:109). Clearly, this was an attempt to establish a lasting trade relationship. The social mechanism through which the Indians traditionally made exchanges took the form of formal trade partnerships, i.e., continuing compacts between prominent (male) members of different communities or, even hostile, ethnic groups. In the Caribbean such trade partnerships existed for special exchanges between, for instance, particular Caribs and Arawaks. Barter was connected with an affective link: the Island Caribs used the same (Cariban) word for ‘friend’ and for ‘him with whom is being negotiated’ (Anonymous, 1987:96–97; Breton, 1978:55, 1999:39, 160, 272; Roth, 1924:623–624, 678). Upon exchange of names, the trade partners adopted each other as linked by kinship. The reciprocal exchange between the sixteenth-century Arawaks and the Spanish of the pearl islands operated on a similar basis (Boomert, 2000:426–427). The sometimes unpredictable attitude of the Island Caribs towards trade with the foreigners calling at the Windwards, may have been caused by the impossibility of concluding formal trade partnerships between the local Indians and the ever changing crews of the European vessels.\textsuperscript{18}

Apart from eagerly adopting European ironware, the Amerindians were apt to incorporate in their subsistence system the Old World plants and animals which from Columbus onwards were introduced by the Europeans to the

\textsuperscript{17} In 1576 Master Andrew Barker spent six days in Trinidad, trading for victuals and having ‘conference with certaine Indians inhabitants’ who gave him and his crew ‘very friendly and courteouse entertainment’ (Barker, 1904).

\textsuperscript{18} The experience of Keymis (1904) is illustrative. In 1596 he called at St Vincent, ‘but the Indians being Canibals, promising us store, and delaying us from day to day, sought only oportunitie to betray, take and eate us, as lately they had devoured the whole companie of a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaves revealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare to come unto us’.
West Indies (e.g., Crosby, 1972:67–68). Most fruits and crops the Spanish carried across the Atlantic, were destined for their own settlements in the region, but rapidly found their way to the Indian gardens as well. In this manner African and Asian domesticates such as, e.g., plantains, bananas, sugar cane, pigeon peas, chick peas, citrus fruits, melons, pomegranates and coconuts, were adopted by the Caribbean Amerindians in the sixteenth century. Of course, plants not suited to the tropical conditions of the islands, failed to become established. New World domesticates such as tomatoes, cocoa and christophines, that did not reach the Caribbean in prehistory, now diffused to the region through Spanish agency. Sugar cane and plantains were cultivated in Trinidad as early as 1570 and 1593, respectively, while cocoa was reportedly growing wild in the island in 1617. Ginger was probably introduced to Trinidad in the sixteenth century (Newson, 1976:46–47,87). Columbus took horses, dogs, pigs, cattle, goat and sheep to Hispaniola on his second voyage in 1493. Similarly, the various conquistadores who attempted to colonize Trinidad, were instructed to take fruits trees, vegetables and domestic animals to the island. In the 1530s Antonio Sedeño introduced several horses to Trinidad while in 1569 Ponce de León was instructed to carry horses, cattle, pigs, goats and sheep to the island. Many early explorers deposited pigs on the smaller islands in order to have them multiply and provide food for future visitors. Running wild, they reproduced enormously. This was reportedly the case in, for instance, Barbados (Barton, 1953:26–29; Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, 1972:45). Towards the end of the sixteenth century turkeys, European chickens, donkeys and mules as well as African guinea fowl had been introduced to Trinidad (Newson, 1976:89; Watts, 1987:76–77,117).

Rise of the Tobacco Trade (ca. 1590–1614)

A new era of European–Amerindian relations was initiated in the 1590s when the Spanish got a permanent foothold in Trinidad and on the Lower Orinoco. It led to an emigration of several Indian groups to the eastern portion of the Guiana coastal zone which now got the character of an Indian refuge area (Boomert, 1984). In 1592 Domingo de Vera took possession of Trinidad in the name of Antonio de Berrío, an old conquistador who had led several expeditions to discover the mythical goldland El Dorado, and founded San

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19 While it is generally accepted that there were no coconut palms on the Atlantic and Caribbean coasts prior to Columbus, the tree probably occurred on the Pacific coast of Central America in prehistory. The presence of the coconut palm in Trinidad is popularly ascribed to the shipwreck of some vessel from West Africa, laden with coconuts, on the east coast ‘in times long past’. The nuts would have floated ashore and germinated (Borde, 1982, I:8; Joseph, 1838:82; Mallet, 1802:8). This must have happened before 1689 when the name Playa de los Cocos for present Cocos Bay is mentioned for the first time (Roreta, TTHSP 573).
José de Oruña (St Joseph) in the northwestern part of the island. According to Scott (1925a), the Spanish occupation was facilitated by the inter-ethnic differences among the Trinidad Amerindians. He claims that when about 1587 the Caribs and Arawaks had ‘great differences in the West Indies and particularly on Trinidad’, the Nepoio or Shebaio joined the latter ‘by which means abundance of the Careb Nacions were Distroyed, and the Arawacoes and Nepoies strangely wasted.’ Berrío ‘soe devided the Indians in blowing vp the Coales of the former Differences, which he did by the accommedacion of a Fryer, that had lived at the Island Margaritta and had some Judgment In their Language and Manners’. Berrio was interested in Trinidad only as a base for his El Dorado expeditions. Whereas the initial settlement took place rather peacefully, his immediate granting of lands and Indian villages to his soldiers, thus establishing an encomienda system like that in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, inevitably led to resistance. In 1593 Berrío reported that he was surrounded by hostile Indians ‘who have tried to destroy this island [...] I have only 70 men, yet in this island are more than 6000 war Indians, the major part of them by no means peaceable’, estimating the total population of Trinidad at about 35,000 Indians. In addition, he complained that English and French privateers used Trinidad to refit and refresh, bartering wild meats, maize, cassava, potatoes, plantains and tobacco for knives and trinkets with the Amerindians (Berrío, TTHSP 16 and 18, 1593; also Domingo de Vera, TTHSP 22, 1595).

The attitude of the Trinidad Arawak towards Berrío seems to have been more or less ambivalent during the first years of Spanish settlement in the island. In 1594 eight men of one of Raleigh’s scouts, Jacob Whiddon, walked into an ambush laid by Spanish and Arawaks, but this very year Berrio imprisoned five Indian chiefs, including headmen of the Carinepagoto, Arawaks and Nepoio, as they had been trading with the interlopers (Raleigh, 1848a:6–7; Scott, 1925a). When Sir Walter Raleigh arrived in Trinidad the next year, intent on attacking Berrio in his own stronghold, he thus came at exactly the right moment. Raleigh was one of the chief promotors of the privateering war against Spain and he realized that the alliance with the local Amerindians would be vital for the discovery and exploitation of El Dorado, which he believed to be situated in the interior of the Guianas, and for the defeat of the Spanish forces in the region. Indeed, to facilitate his negotiations with the Amerindians, he had not less than four Indian interpreters on his ships (Andrews, 1984, 288–294). Although primarily interested in the presumed gold mines of the Orinoco area in order to win his way back to royal favour, Raleigh (1848c) claimed that his enterprises were moved by his wish to save ‘infinite nombers of [Indian] soules [...] from theyr idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignoraunce, and inciuility’ and to free ‘theyr bodyes [...] from the intollerable tirrany of the Spaniards’. He sacked St Joseph and freed the chained and tortured chiefs (Bolívar, TTHSP 21, 1595; Liano, TTHSP 23,
The continued Spanish presence in Trinidad after Ralegh’s departure led to the deepening of the animosity between the Indians and the Spanish in the island and, consequently, the increased flight of Amerindians, including Yaio, Shebaio and Arawaks, towards the Guiana coastal zone. Apparently, the Nepoio and some of the Arawaks remained loyal to the Spanish, inhabiting the few encomienda villages the latter were able to establish in Trinidad (Boomert, 1984; Newson, 1976:18).

After having been released by the English, Berrío moved to the Lower Orinoco where he founded the town of Santo Thomé de Guayana still in 1595. Meanwhile, Francisco de Vides, the governor of Cumaná and his major rival, had induced the Spanish Crown to order Berrío to leave Trinidad on grounds that the latter’s possession of the island was illegal (Asparran, TTHSP 17, 1593; Council of the Indies, TTHSP 19, 1594; Jorge and others, TTHSP 77, 1594). Indeed, as early as 1592 Vides, the former contador of Caracas and an exceptionally corrupt character (Andrews, 1978a:51), had obtained a capitulación for Trinidad, Tobago (Tabaco), Grenada (Granada) and Cumaná. The beds of pearl oysters supposed to be found on the coasts of Tobago and Grenada which are already referred to in the royal licence for settling Trinidad and Tobago granted to Ponce de León in 1569, recur in this document. Vides was ordered also to chase away the French and English illegal traders from Trinidad and to liberate the Spanish supposed to be held captive by the Island Caribs of Grenada (Armas Chitty, 1967:202–218; Ojer, 1966a:437,536; Otte, ed., 1967, II:169; Silva Montañes, 1983, IV:380–381). After Berrío had left for the Orinoco, Vides sent one of his officers, Felipe de Santiago, with some men to Trinidad in order to occupy the island. However, in 1597 the latter was driven off by Domingo de Vera, Berrío’s lieutenant, who arrived with many new settlers from Spain. Most of these reportedly perished after Vera’s fleet of pirogues had been attacked by Island Caribs from Dominica and Grenada during an attempt at crossing the Gulf of Paria from Trinidad to the Lower Orinoco, while his relief party was wrecked in a storm (Bolívar, TTHSP 20, 1595; De Liaño, TTHSP 23, 1596; De Monte Colmenares, TTHSP 112, 1596; Domingo de Vera, TTHSP 131, 1597; Naipaul, 1973:72–76). Soon afterwards Berrío died, financially and mentally exhausted from his fruitless endeavours to discover El Dorado.

Although Berrío’s son and successor Ferdinand at first undertook several further attempts to explore the Orinoco Valley in order to discover the mysterious goldland his father had been after, his subsequent development of the cultivation of tobacco in Trinidad and the Santo Thomé area soon proved to be leading to a financially more rewarding albeit insecure economic base, founded as it was on the contraband trade with Spain’s enemies, i.e., English.

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20 Ralegh attributed his success with the Amerindians to his courteous treatment of their women, which, he claimed, contrasted strongly with that of the Spaniards who would have taken the Indian women freely (Hakluyt, cited by Burns, 1965:167).
The meteoric rise of tobacco smoking in Europe and the resultant rapidly growing demand for tobacco during the 1590s stimulated its growth in the entire Venezuelan coastal zone, from La Guaira to Cumaná, Margarita and Trinidad. In fact, within a decade the Spanish colonies of this region came to depend entirely upon the *rescate* (illicit trade) of tobacco. As early as 1595 ‘Trinidado’ and ‘tobacco’ had become interchangeable in English common usage whereas by this time most tobacco was still obtained by the contraband traders from the local Amerindians. This soon changed and at the beginning of the seventeenth century tobacco had become ‘one of the chief factors causing these coasts to be so much frequented by pirates’ as the governor of Cumaná complained in 1607. At first Cumaná formed the main production centre of tobacco, boasting a harvest of 30,000 pounds in 1603. Tobacco was sold here for four reales a pound, but for fifty in Holland and England (Moreau, 1992:156). In the 1603/1604 trading season, i.e., the first years with records regarding the English tobacco imports, in all 16,000 pounds of tobacco passed through the official channels and perhaps that much again unofficially (Andrews, 1978b, 1984:285; Klooster, 1998:31; Knapp, 1993; Lorimer, 1978, 1989:26–27; Péroin-Dumon, 1999).

Simultaneously, English, French, and Dutch traders were reconnoitering in ever increasing numbers the Amazon mouth and the coast of the Guianas, a region beyond the direct control of either Spanish or Portuguese, bartering with the local Amerindians textiles and iron manufactures for tobacco, hammocks, dyes, notably anatto, next to gums, resins, specklewood and other tropical products. Fortified trading posts (factories), manned by factors keeping stocks of trade goods, supplied by ships on their periodic visits to the different stations, were established especially by the Dutch (mainly people from the province of Zeeland) at several of the river mouths along the Wild Coast (Benjamins, 1924; Boogaart, 1982b; Edmundson, 1903/1904; Emmer, 1999; Goslinga, 1971:53–56,409–410; Heijer, 1994:88; Menkman, 1942:26; Netscher, 1929:14–15). However, the various small-scale French and English attempts at settlement in the area, undertaken as private enterprises with or without government recognition, were unsuccessful and of short duration. Hopes of finding gold and attempts to develop the production of tobacco, sugar and cotton were behind several of these early efforts to found genuine colonies such as those of Leigh and Harcourt in the eastern portion of the Guiana coastal zone during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Maintaining a lasting exchange relationship with the Amerindians was always

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21 Although the Dutch made incidental visits to the West Indies as early as 1567 and 1572, it was not until the 1590s that, forced by the Spanish prohibition of the salt trade on the Portuguese coast, Dutch vessels started to come to the Araya Peninsula on the East Venezuelan littoral in order to exploit the extended salt pans in this area. Indeed, over a hundred Dutch ‘hulks’ arrived annually at Araya in the early 1600s (Andrews, 1966:182, 1978b, 1984:284–286; Goslinga, 1971:54–55; Sluiter, 1948).
vital as well as the development of an agricultural base to feed the colonists or to serve as export to pay for further imports. Although Leigh (1906) expressed a desire to convert the Indians to Christianity, apparently little came of this. None of these colonizing ventures ever attracted sufficient merchant interest as investment seemed precarious due to the policy of the English government to keep good relations with Spain after the peace treaty of 1604. Besides, their existence was continually threatened by the tropical diseases the colonists suffered from (Andrews, 1978a:210–231, 1984:294–300; Lorimer, 1989:19–26,50–51,137–138, 1993; Newton, 1966:132–135; Williamson, 1923:11–13,30–51).

Swamped by its enemies, the Spanish Crown decided to halt the contraband trade. Unable to exercise sufficient military control, the Spanish were driven to the suicidal policy of prohibiting the raising of tobacco and depopulating its chief production centres. Accordingly, in 1606 the tobacco cultivation was forbidden for ten years in La Guaira, Cumaná and Margarita and three years later the governor of Cumaná could declare that the ban was succesful here, but that the illicit trade now concentrated at Trinidad and the Lower Orinoco. Indeed, Trinidad had become the outlet of not only the tobacco grown in the island itself, but also of the tobacco which was still produced illegally in the Venezuelan coastal zone as the citizens of Caracas, Cumaná and Margarita went to Trinidad to take part in the trade. It was a highly lucrative form of merchandise. In 1611 the English consumption of tobacco was assessed at about 100,000 pounds annually; it retailed at twenty to forty shillings a pound. The value of the cargo of the smallest of three ships which arrived with tobacco in London from Trinidad in 1611, was estimated by the Spanish ambassador to be 500,000 ducats. This very year it was claimed that twenty to thirty foreign vessels were engaged in the tobacco trade with Trinidad alone. While originally the Spanish planted sugar cane, ginger, cotton and indigo as well, in the first decade of the seventeenth century tobacco cultivation became the chief commercial livelihood both in Trinidad and on the Lower Orinoco. The plantations around St Joseph and Santo Thomé produced some 200,000 pound of tobacco each year (Andrews, 1966:9, 1978a:214–215,225–229, 1978b; Lorimer, 1978; Wise, 1934/1938, II:18–21). The flourishing of the contraband trade allowed Ferdinand de Berrio to purchase a quantity of 470 negro slaves for work on the tobacco

22 The eagerness to trade by the Amerindians of the Guianas is recorded by John Wilson (1906) who noted that in 1606 Leigh’s party gave ‘to the Indians for their pains, and providing of us victuals in our journey an Axe, for which they would have travelled with us two or three moneths time if occasion had required. And for an Axe they found us victuals two moneths time at our houses, as Bread, and Drink, and Crabbes, and Fish, and all such kinde of flesh as they killed for themselves, for the same price […]’.

23 West Indian tobacco, which was rolled, cured and fermented in the Spanish method, was valued much higher than the tobacco from Raleigh’s Virginia which fetched only one to two shillings a pound (Lorimer, 1989:57).
fields from a Dutch merchant in 1606 (Scott, 1925a). Otherwise, Portuguese ships traded slaves illegally at both Trinidad and the Lower Orinoco (Lorimer, 1978). The Spanish population of both Trinidad and the Santo Thomé area remained small: by 1597 St Joseph had only 300 able-bodied men which dropped to 35 to 50 in 1609 and this remained so until the 1640s (Lorimer, 1978; Newson, 1976:121).

Apart from black slaves, Ferdinand de Berrío obtained cheap labour for the tobacco plantations by undertaking slave raiding expeditions in Trinidad as well as Tobago. From the first recorded visits to Tobago by Dutch and English sailors it can be assumed that he was preceded by other Spanish voyages possibly with the same purpose only a decade previously. Following a survey of the island by the Dutchman Gerrit Rendorp in 1595 (Wieder, 1932, IV:102), Ralegh’s lieutenant Laurence Keymis called at Tobago the following year. He was perhaps induced to do so by his pilot Gilbert, possibly a Nepoio Indian, who ‘sometime lived there’. Gilbert told Keymis that Tobago ‘is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle’ and that he considered it ‘for the best and fruitfullest ground that he knoweth’. Most interestingly, Keymis notes that the ‘Governour of Margarita went lately in a Pinesse to viewe this Island’ (Keymis, 1904:478). This would have been Pedro de Salazar who took up office in Margarita in 1595, but alternatively Keymis may have mistaken Margarita for Cumaná and in fact refer to a reconnoitering visit to Tobago by Vides who, as we have seen, had a grant from the Spanish Crown for settling the island and was especially interested in Tobago for its assumed pearling grounds. Actually, about 1595 the governors of Cumaná and Margarita are accused by Domingo de Vera to be accustomed to hunt for Indian slaves at least in Trinidad (Ralegh, 1928:89–90). The increasingly hostile relationship between the Spanish and the Caribs of North Trinidad and the Windward Islands during these years can be ascribed largely to the slave raids by the former. As to Tobago, Keymis (1904:478) noted in 1596 that the Amerindians of Trinidad ‘have a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also.’ Indeed, during the following decades Spanish pressure forced many Trinidad Indians to take refuge in the Guiana coastal zone and Tobago (Boomert, 1984).

By 1612 only some 4000 Amerindians were left in Trinidad. Ironically, the Spanish attributed the Indian emigration to Carib attacks (Newson, 1976:78,169).
Ferdinand de Berrío sold Amerindians from Trinidad and probably Tobago as slaves for use in the pearl fisheries of Cubagua and Margarita. An eyewitness testified in 1605 that he had seen ten to twelve canoe loads of Indians from the encomiendas in Trinidad going to Margarita (Newson, 1976:155). In 1609 one of Berrio’s old companians informed the Crown that the vecinos of St Joseph and Santo Thomé subsisted upon the contraband trade and the selling of Amerindian slaves. ‘All the Indians and other articles of barter are brought to this Island of Margarita for sale’, Pedro de Beltranilla (TTHSP 81, 1609) complained. Moreover, the next year the royal chaplain of the latter island stated that Fernando de Berrío had sent 32 Indians to Margarita which were sold at 30 ducats each. He was definitely declared guilty of trading Amerindian slaves in 1612 (Wise, 1934/1938, II:21,27). Simultaneously, it was stated that Indian rowers could not be got in St Joseph as all the Indians ‘have retired inland and do not come to this town unless they are fetched’ (Alquiza, TTHSP 57, 1612; Newson, 1976:80). While a ‘punishing expedition’ against the Caribes of Tobago was contemplated and prepared as early as 1602 (Moreau, 1992:124–125), it was not until 1604 that Ferdinand de Berrío made the actual crossing to Tobago. Another expedition of this kind apparently took place two years afterwards. According to Espinosa (1942:57–58), the Carib Indians of Tobago ‘used to ravage the island of Trinidad and do much harm there’ until in 1606 ‘the Spanish settlers of Trinidad, unable to tolerate such dangerous neighbours any longer, waged war on them till they exterminated and destroyed them, killing all the rebels who resisted them, and depopulating the island; the women and children they carried off to Trinidad to be their servants, and they catechized them and taught them Christian doctrine’ (also Montesinos, TTHSP 212, 1619). On still another, probably similar, occasion making the crossing to Tobago, which ‘is the most dangerous in these regions’, Ferdinand de Berrio is reported to have lost all his pirogues and other vessels half-way due to bad weather, as a result of which he had to return to Trinidad (Escobar, TTHSP 84, 1637).

Relatively peaceful interaction between the local Amerindians and the English, French and Dutch contraband traders and privateers continued to develop in the Windward Islands. Apart from bartering foodstuffs for European manufactures, in the early seventeenth century ever growing quantities of tobacco, next to occasional other items such as textiles seized from stranded Spanish ships (e.g., Espinosa, 1942:35; Layfield, 1705; Percy, in Barbour, 1969, I:129–133), were traded by the Island Caribs. In fact, in response to the demand for tobacco by the Europeans, gradually this became the most important commodity the Island Caribs offered for trade. Except for

26 Another ‘punishing expedition’ was undertaken by Berrio against the Caribes of the Amacuro River on the mainland (e.g., Moreau, 1992:125). Indeed, the Trinidad Spanish are reported to have been attacked by Caribes in 1602, 1603, 1605, and 1609 (Cabildo St Joseph, TTHSP 79, 1603; Harcourt, 1928:122; Newson, 1976:155).
shamans who smoked it for healing, traditionally the Island Caribs chewed their tobacco. The leaves were dried over a fire, softened with sea water and kneaded into rolls (Breton, 1999:61; Lovén, 1935:387–388,391; Anonymous, 1987:184–185; Rouse, 1948). As early as 1595 it was commented that on Dominica ‘groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter knives, hatchets, sawes, and such yron tools in trucke of Tabacco’ (Hakluyt, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992: 55–56). Indeed, it appears that the Island Caribs were beginning to add ‘commercially’ grown tobacco to the quantities cultivated for their own needs (e.g., Ultzheimer, in Ratch & Crastin, 1983; see Honychurch, 1997). This, obviously, had an impact on Island Carib society. By now iron manufactures were in common use and gradually more aspects of Amerindian culture in the Lesser Antilles became altered due to European influence. The Island Carib nautical capabilities form an example as in these years their sea-going canoes were modified by adding masts and sails. The adoption of the spritsail by the Island Caribs, usually made of cotton cloth or palm-leaf matting, can be attributed to a Franciscan friar who stayed in Dominica for sixteen months in 1605–1606. Two of his brethren were murdered; he was spared as he showed the Island Caribs how to use sails on their canoes. The linen cloth they employed for this came from three galleons which were wrecked at Guadeloupe in 1604 (Appleby, 1996; McKusick, 1960a:5; Nicholson, 1976). Indeed, in 1605 all Island Carib pirogues Nicholl (1966) observed in St Lucia had sails.

Until the late 1620s the pattern of barter which, generally speaking, characterized the Amerindian–European relationship in the Lesser Antilles reflected that which developed along the coast of the Guianas. Occasionally, the ship’s crews stayed for a long period of time on one island. For instance, in 1600 a Dutch trading vessel peacefully traded with the Island Caribs, anchored at Dominica for ten months (Ultzheimer, in Ratch & Crastin, 1983), while in 1619–1620 French corsairs led by Charles Fleury of Dieppe stayed eleven months on Martinique after a failed venture that led them across the Atlantic to Brazil (Anonymous, 1987). The intimate relationship between the Island Caribs and the European traders led to the development of an Island Carib lingua franca which was used in their mutual interactions. This pidgin borrowed from several languages but was strongly flavoured with Spanish (Allaire, 1977:40,84,95). In the 1590s it was noted that the Island Caribs of Dominica spoke some Spanish words and ‘express’d a mighty desire to learn

37 The presence of these Franciscan friars on Dominica was part of a Spanish attempt to temper the Island Caribs with Christianity. It was doomed to fail. As part of this project, six Dominican friars were sent to Guadeloupe in 1603. All were massacred (Boromé, 1966). By this time numerous Spaniards and blacks were kept captive by the Island Caribs. Spanish reports claim that ships carrying black slaves wrecked ashore at Martinique, St Vincent and the Grenadines in 1605, 1610 and 1611, respectively (Moreau, 1991, 1992:177; Whitehead, 1988:85), while Espinosa (1942:76) states that the crew of a Portuguese slaver was cut off by the Island Caribs who captured the 500 Africans which it carried.
The English were ambushed by an Island Carib headman from the northern part of St Vincent, actually the brother of the St Lucia headman who had welcomed the settlers. Perhaps he felt his status to be threatened by his brother’s sudden access to a wealth of trade items (Harris, 2001b). In 1605 the English who attempted to stay on St Lucia (see below) could make themselves understood only as one of them spoke French (Nicholl, 1966). In contrast, the Island Caribs of Martinique continually urged the Fleury group to learn their language, one Indian telling them ‘Learn it well and when you know it, you will go unclothed like me, you will be painted red, you will wear your hair long like mine, you will become caraïbe and you will not want to return to France’ (Anonymous, 1987:96).

While the Island Caribs thus allowed restful visits, even quite extended ones, attempts to found genuine European settlements prompted violent reactions. The first of these resulted from the navigational clumsiness of the relief expedition which was sent to Leigh’s colony on the Lower Oyapock in the eastern part of the Guiana coastal plain in 1605. Missing its goal, the vessel with 37 emigrants on board managed to reach the south coast of St Lucia, where friendly relations were entered with the Island Caribs, bartering foodstuffs, tobacco and cloth (from three Spanish ships wrecked ashore at Guadeloupe) for iron axes, knives and glass beads. However, dissension arose between the sailors and the passengers, who wanted to ‘take their fortune in the fruitful isle’, and after a short stay the vessel sailed away. Soon after its departure a party of Indians from both St Lucia and St Vincent attacked the English colonists and many were slain. Only a few were able to escape to the Spanish Main (Crouse, 1940:199–202; Jesse, 1968a; Nicholl, 1966). The first deliberate non-Spanish colonizing attempt in the Lesser Antilles was made by a consortium of merchants from London in 1609. Three ships were sent to Grenada which landed 208 settlers in the island’s ‘great bay’, i.e., present Grande Anse Bay. The purpose was apparently to establish a tobacco colony as well as trade basis with Trinidad. After disembarkation the vessels, which were joined by a Dutch merchantman, sailed to Trinidad, entering the Caroni River in an attempt to settle some trade with the Spanish. The acting governor of Trinidad, Don Sanchez de Mendoza, ‘never liking the English Neighborhood’, induced the Island Caribs of Grenada to destroy the colony ‘by his heightning the Jealousies of the Indians which he did by some Fryers that spake the Indian Language sent thither from Trinidada’. As soon as Mendoza received reports that the English settlement had been demolished, he advised

28 The English were ambushed by an Island Carib headman from the northern part of St Vincent, actually the brother of the St Lucia headman who had welcomed the settlers. Perhaps he felt his status to be threatened by his brother’s sudden access to a wealth of trade items (Harris, 2001b). The latter gave the survivors a large canoe in exchange of all they had, including a small cannon, muskets, trade goods and stores. It is noteworthy that peaceful trade resumed the next year when an English ship called at St Lucia (Jesse, 1968a).
the merchants to return to the colonists in Grenada as 'he beleived they were in distresse'. One ship went back to Grenada to pick up the survivors, the others went on plundering in the Caribbean (Scott, cited by Andrews, 1978a:240–244; Cody Holdren, 1998:39,255–256; Darnell Davis, 1896/1897; Devas, 1974:37–38; Hollis, 1941:24; Williamson, 1923:18–19).

In spite of this incident, the tobacco trade in Trinidad and the Lower Orinoco area flourished until in 1611 the Spanish Crown ordered the governor of Margarita, Sancho de Alquiza, to hold an inquiry into Ferdinand de Berrio’s conduct and put an end to the illicit traffic. The latter reacted by brutal and sporadic attacks upon foreigners to prove his loyalty, meanwhile continuing the trade, even after arrival of the investigating judge. Found guilty, Berrio was removed and the ban on cultivating tobacco imposed the following year. It was not immediately successful as Dutch and English visits still took place during the next few years but gradually the numbers of ships calling at St Joseph and Santo Thomé fell and indeed dwindled into insignificance by 1620. As direct trade became too risky, after 1612 Portuguese slave traders especially acting for syndicates of Dutch and English merchants, picked up tobacco for them, often shipping it directly to England or Holland (Andrews, 1978a:229–230, 1978b; Klooster, 1998:28; Lorimer, 1978, 1989:153–155; Moreau, 1992:155–161; Wise, 1934/1938, II:24–31). Meanwhile, Spain was confronted with a growing belligerence by the Amerindians of the western portion of the Guiana coastal zone and Trinidad. In 1613 the Spanish, assisted by 300 ‘friendly Indians’, were still able to destroy a Dutch tobacco plantation on the Corentine River. Arawak headmen from coastal Guyana had come to Trinidad with complaints that ‘the Flemish and Caribs steal the friendly Indians and carry them off to their settlements to employ them in cultivating tobacco’. Besides, the Dutch would marry Indian women in order to cement their association with the Caribs (Benjamin, 1987; Cabildo St Joseph, TTHSP 136, 1637; Edmundson, 1903/1904; Espinosa, 1942:77; Goslinga, 1971:76–80; Tostado, TTHSP 188, 1614).

This was actually the last manifestation of the alliance between the Arawaks of the western portion of the Guiana coastal zone and the Spanish of Margarita and Cubagua, established about a century previously (see Boomert, 1984). From now onwards the Amerindians of this part of coastal Guiana, Arawaks as well as Caribs, Akawaios, Yaio and others, would associate themselves with the Dutch (Zeelanders) who established a permanent stronghold at Kijkoveral at the junction of the Essequibo River and its tributaries, the Mazaruni and Cuyuni, in 1616 (Edmundson, 1903/1904;

29 Ferdinand de Berrio, who had been reinstalled as the governor of Trinidad and functioned as such again from 1618 until 1622, sent a group of soldiers under Geronimo de Grados and a number of Arawaks to the Barima and Essequibo on the mainland in order to fight against the Caribs. They found English vessels in the mouth of the Essequibo whereupon the Arawaks defected to the enemy (Simón, 1963, II:664–667).
In contrast, by this time the interaction between the Spanish and the Island Caribs had become much less violent than during the sixteenth century. In the 1620s the Spanish–Amerindian exchange of foodstuffs for iron goods and cloth in Dominica was generally as peaceful as that between the Island Caribs and the other Europeans (Boucher, 1992:39). Goslinga, 1971:76–79; Heijer, 1994:88; Newton, 1966:135). Besides, the loss of the tobacco trade in Trinidad and Santo Thomé induced Dutch, English and Irish merchants to initiate trading factories and tobacco plantations on the Lower Amazon (Andrews, 1978a:232; Lorimer, 1989:40,50–51). Clearly, the success of these settlements, the first of which was established in 1612, depended on the collaboration of the local Amerindians. According to the Spanish, ‘the Indians embrace the Dutch because they imitate the barbarians in their lives and allow them full liberty without constraint of tribute or labour or the sweet yoke of the gospel, heavy in their opinion’ (Desologuren, TTHSP 119, 1637). In Trinidad the relationship between the Amerindians and the Spanish rapidly deteriorated. Attacks by Caribes from Grenada, Martinique and Dominica are recorded in the years 1612, 1613 and 1614 (Alquiza, TTHSP 57 and 148, 1612; Alquiza, TTHSP 168, 1613; Moreau, 1992:123; Newson, 1976:155; Tostado, TTHSP 169, 1614). Besides, Ralegh’s last voyage, which led to Keymis’ attack on Santo Thomé in 1617, ‘raised in rebellion all the Indians who dwell on the sea coast, Aruacas, Chaguanes and Caribs’, as the Council of the Indies (TTHSP 218, 1621) informed the Crown (see Burns, 1965:176–178; Harlow, 1932). Finally, in 1624 the governor of Trinidad complained that all the Indians of the island were in rebellion, trading ‘freely and openly’ with the English and the Dutch (Monsalves, TTHSP 235, 1624; see also Scott, 1925a). Espinosa (1942:56) blamed the growing Indian hostility on mistreatment by the Spanish and ‘foreign instigation’, stating that in the 1620s no Spaniard dared to enter the coastal zone of the Guianas any longer.30

Reviewing the Amerindian–European relationship in the first decades of the seventeenth century, it is important to keep in mind that the initial driving force behind the movement into the Caribbean by the English, French and Dutch was primarily commercial gain, even though the types of people interested and their aims, methods and attitudes varied. Proselytizing or attempts to impose the European way of life on the Indians were never in the forefront. Besides, until the 1620s efforts at settlement were undertaken practically only along the Guiana coastal zone, not in the Lesser Antilles. As land was sufficiently available in the Guianas, the European demand of land for the establishment of trading posts and small plantations never led to strife with the native population. Consequently, interaction between the Amerindians and the Europeans was generally peaceful. In the Guianas the first settlers exerted themselves to foster good relations with the Indians as the cooperation of the latter was crucial for the continuation of the outposts (Andrews, 1984:6–10,31,37–38; Dreyfus, 1992b; Menezes, 1977:45; Thompson,

30 In contrast, by this time the interaction between the Spanish and the Island Caribs had become much less violent than during the sixteenth century. In the 1620s the Spanish–Amerindian exchange of foodstuffs for iron goods and cloth in Dominica was generally as peaceful as that between the Island Caribs and the other Europeans (Boucher, 1992:39).
In contrast, from the outset the Spanish emphasized the expansion of their sovereignty in the Antilles next to the pursuit of treasure and the conversion of the Indians. The Iberian attitude to especially the Island Caribs was flagrantly hostile and derogatory. This does not mean that the other Europeans did not share basically the ethnocentric view of the Spanish with regard to the Amerindians (e.g., Boogaart, 1982a), just that the approach of the English, French and Dutch was pragmatic and characterized by an attitude of live-and-let-live. No doubt this had to do with the primarily commercial background of their undertakings. While admitting that Christianizing and civilizing the Indians would be a good thing, efforts to save the souls of the ‘savages’ were not undertaken. The generally peaceful relationship between the Amerindians and the non-Iberian settlers and sailors in the Caribbean resembled that between e.g., the Dutch and the Indians of New Netherland (present New York) in the first phase of settlement during which the European population was still small and the trade with the Amerindians of paramount importance (Buccini, 2000; Nash, 1982:91–95).

Attempts at Colonization and Carib Resistance (1614–1693)

‘The Goodnesse of the Land hath occassioned seuerall to attempt its Settlement, but haue either with ye Feauor and Ague or by the handes of the Natuie Proprietors, found little other wellcome then a Resting place for their Bones’. These philosophical words of Major John Scott in his The Discription of Tobago, written about 1667 (Scott, 1925c), adequately reflect much of the European experience in Tobago during the first half of the seventeenth century. No less than nine or possibly ten attempts to settle in the island were made in these years, first by the Spanish and the Dutch, and subsequently by the English and Courlanders, i.e., people from the Duchy of Courland on the Baltic Sea (see Anderson, 1959). (In the seventeenth century Courland belonged nominally to Poland; at present it forms part of Latvia). Few of these efforts at colonization lasted more than a couple of years. Six further attempts at Tobago settlement were made by the Dutch and Courlanders during the second half of the seventeenth century. The three successive Dutch colonies represent the most successful of these.

Spanish and Dutch: the First Colonies (1614–1637)

The first Europeans who experienced the difficulty of establishing a foothold in Tobago, were the Spanish. Scott (1925c) yields the only documentary evidence regarding the first and single Spanish attempt at settlement in the island. He notes that this colonizing effort was undertaken by a certain ‘Johannes Roderigo from Spaine’ in 1614. The way Scott corrupts
this name, obviously Juan Rodríguez, has a Dutch flavour (Menkman, 1939/1940:223) and it is well possible that he learned the story in the 1660s from a Dutch or at least Dutch-speaking informant, several of whom he met when he commanded an expeditionary force which conquered the Dutch (Zeeland) colonies of the western part of the Guiana coastal zone during the Second Anglo–Dutch War (Edmundson, 1901, 1903/1904). The Spanish settlement in Tobago did not last long as ‘ye Natiues being then upon it in great Numbers soe discouraged him [i.e., Juan Rodríguez] that after the expending of four months Tyme in Courting the Indians to a Trade, & finding it Bootlesse as all other his attempts, and Sickness falling amongst his Soldiers which occasioned Mutanyes, the sixth of May 1614 [he] bare vp the Helme and Sayled for Trinidada where landing in that weake Condition, they found in a few weekes [the greatest part of them] Graves.’ And Scott concluded that this proved that ‘Soldiers or Planters long aboard, weakened by want and the Sea are noe fitt subject matter either for attacking or planting Collonies in ye West Indies’.

The resistance by the Amerindians of Tobago against this attempt at settlement in the island should not have come as a surprise to the Spanish as those of Trinidad were continually battling the Caribs of Tobago throughout the 1610s and 1620s. The latter are mentioned especially by Juan Rodríguez de las Varillas, the governor of Margarita, as having attacked the Spanish of the Los Testigos archipelago, east of Margarita, in 1610 and 1617, causing its settlers to withdraw (Andrews, 1978a:223). He proposed a counter attack in 1616 which indeed took place. Apparently both Tobago and the Guarapiche River on the mainland were visited during this ‘punishing expedition’. After a journey lasting a month and a half it was reported that eight Indian pirogues had been destroyed, while one hundred Caribes had been killed and 50 captured of which the latter were divided as slaves among the Spanish soldiers (Moreau, 1992:123). Another expedition intended to combat the Caribes was contemplated in Trinidad in 1618 and took place perhaps shortly afterwards as a report from 1620 records a Spanish attack on the Island Caribs of Grenada (Moreau, 1992:127). In 1621 the towns of Santo Thomé and St Joseph jointly asked the Crown for assistance in defending themselves against the foreign interlopers and the Caribs of the mainland and the Windward Islands, especially those of Tobago, Grenada, Martinique and Dominica (FDQB, 1896:207–209; Council of the Indies, TTHSP 218, 1621). Two years later it was stated that six pirogues with soldiers from Margarita had been seen leaving Trinidad in order to fight the Caribs of Tobago (Moreau, 1992:127). Obviously, the taking of slaves was behind all of these so-called ‘punishing expeditions’ and indeed Melchior Cortes noted in 1626 somewhat exaggerating that Tobago had been depopulated by the Spanish (Moreau, 1991).³¹ 

³¹ Contemporary documentary evidence that the Spanish had a fortress on Tobago in 1626, as was stated in the 1680s (see Goslinga, 1971:435,583), is utterly lacking.
The 1620s formed a watershed in the history of Lesser Antilles and the Amerindian–European relationship of the region. By this time the Dutch had ended their twelve years' truce with the Spanish and although the English and French had signed peace treaties with Spain, they held to the principle of 'no peace beyond the line', i.e., they continued to reject the Spanish (and Portuguese) claims to the areas within the Americas the Iberians did not occupy effectively (e.g., Newton, 1966:128). Permanent English and French settlements now appeared in St Kitts (1623), Barbados (1627) and Nevis (1628), while the Dutch occupied Tobago (1628).32 The primary impulse of this shift to colonization was the soaring price of tobacco in Europe and indeed many of the settlers in the Lesser Antilles came from the ranks of adventurers who had tried to establish tobacco colonies on the coast of the Guianas and along the Lower Amazon (Andrews, 1984:280; Appleby, 1996; Augier et al., 1960:30–31; Boucher, 1992:31,33; Klooster, 1998:32).33 In the latter area a Dutch trading post produced no less than 800,000 pounds of tobacco by 1623. However, the Portuguese launched a powerful campaign to clear the region of foreigners this very year, and again in 1625. Six years afterwards the last of the struggling English, Dutch and Irish settlements at the Amazon mouth perished under Portuguese pressure (Klooster, 1998:31–32; Lorimer, 1989:50–51,76,299). The early English, French and Dutch colonizing efforts in the Caribbean were, just as those on the mainland, carried out by private enterprise, i.e., by chartered companies and great individual proprietors (Hall, 1982:23). It is noteworthy that the Europeans first occupied the islands of the Lesser Antilles peripheral to the main settlement area of the Island Caribs. As a result, the Island Carib population was either relatively small (St Kitts and Nevis) or absent (Barbados), suggesting that this factor played a role in the selection of these islands for settlement (Beckles, 1992). Whether this applies to the Dutch choice of Tobago as well, is uncertain, although it is possible that due to the repeated Spanish slave raids on the island during the first decades of the seventeenth century the Amerindian population had been substantially reduced by the late 1620s.

Interestingly, the successful settlement of Barbados was due partially to the assistance of Amerindians from the Guiana coastal zone. The enterprise was sponsored by a syndicate headed by Sir William Courteen, the English partner of a wealthy Anglo–Dutch firm which had a stake in various enterprises along the Guiana littoral. Accordingly, after having landed two shiploads of settlers and a few black slaves on Barbados in February 1627, the leader of the expedition, Henry Powell, sailed to the Essequibo River in

32 Following the Dutch example, the English governor of St Kitts, Sir Thomas Warner, married an Island Carib woman in order to establish a political alliance with the local Amerindians.

33 Undoubtedly attracted by Trinidad’s fame as a tobacco producer, Sir Thomas Warner, the initiator of the St Kitts colony, first attempted a raid on Trinidad before turning to the Leewards in 1626. However, Warner found the island 'bootless' (Scott, 1925a).
order to contact the Dutch trading post at Kijkoveral and to obtain roots and seeds for crops to be grown on Barbados and tropical products to be taken home in exchange for a cargasoen ('cargo') of Amerindian trade wares. Here Powell met a group of 32 Arawak (Lokono) Indians, including men, women and children, who ‘had desire to goe wth me as free people to manure those fruits and that I should allow them a peice of Land, the which I did and they would Manure those fruits and bring up their children to Christianitie and that wee might drive a constant trade betweene that Iland and the Mayne for there was manie more of the Indians of that place that had a desire for to Come for that Iland the next yeare’ (Powell, in Harlow, ed., 1925:36–38). Carrying with them stems or fruits of cassava, tannia, maize, plantains, bananas, oranges, lemons, limes, pineapples, melons, tobacco, cotton and annatto, the Indians were taken to Barbados under some sort of contractual agreement, guaranteed by Aert Adriaensz Groenewegen, the Dutch factor of Kijkoveral. After two years they would be allowed to return to the mainland with their reward, i.e., fifty pounds sterling in European ironwares, looking glasses and beads. Nothing came of this and when the island became a bone of contention between Sir William Courteen and the earl of Carlisle, an influential courtier to whom James I granted ‘all the Caribees Islands’ in July 1627, the Arawaks were reduced to ‘great slavery and bondage’ under the governors appointed by the latter. In 1631 one of them was able to escape and to return to Essequibo, raising the anger of the Arawaks against Groenewegen who was held responsible by them for this affair. He was forced to marry a Carib (Kalina) woman in order to counterbalance the Arawak and had to offer many presents to the latter (Smith, 1910, II:906; Edmundson, 1901; Handler, 1969; Harlow, 1926:3–5; Scott, 1925d).³⁴

In the years immediately preceding the first Dutch settlement of Tobago, reconnoitering visits were made to the island by both the English and the Dutch. In 1626 Tobago was recommended for settlement to the earl of Montgomery by Robert Goddard whose ship called at the island to replenish its water supply (Archibald, 1987/1995, I:11). The following year it was visited by two Dutch vessels which captured a Portuguese bark carrying a cargo of tobacco and 150 black slaves off Tobago's windward coast. Releasing the slaves on the island, Captain Jochem Gijsz of Amsterdam afterwards reported Tobago to be excellently suited to occupation and ‘very green of trees’ (Anderson, 1956:52; Ballintijn, 1971; Laet, 1931/1937, II:21–22). Apart from its fine climatic and soil conditions, the Dutch as well as the other European nations were attracted to Tobago by its excellent natural harbours and, above all, its crucial geographical position. In the time of sailing craft Tobago’s situation well to the east, i.e., the windward side, of almost all the other

³⁴ It was not until 1656 or 1657 that the remaining Arawaks, i.e., those still alive at the time, came free. When Henry Powell visited Barbados again, they ‘desired of him their freedomes according to his promise’, upon which he approached the then governor of the island who granted the request (Powell, in Harlow, ed., 1925:32).
islands of the Lesser Antilles made it a most prized possession as a force collected here could easily be launched against the mainland or any of the islands, including even Barbados. Also, the belief that tobacco would grow better in Tabaco island than anywhere else in the Caribbean (e.g., Rochefort, 1665a:57–58) may have formed part of Tobago’s appeal to the European powers in these years. For the Dutch Tobago’s geographical position had an additional advantage as the island seemed to form an excellent half-way station between the Dutch possessions along the coast of the Guianas as well as Brazil and the West Indies. One of the major aims of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), founded directly after the twelve years’ truce with Spain had ended in 1621, was the conquest of the Portuguese sugar colony of Brazil. In 1625 the Dutch admiral Piet Heyn indeed succeeded in capturing Salvador de Bahia. Although the city was retaken the following year, the Dutch came back in 1630, conquering Pernambuco and establishing a permanent foothold in Brazil. The enterprise was financed from the proceeds of the capture of the entire Spanish treasure fleet by Heyn in 1628. Indeed, Spanish maritime power in the Caribbean had become exceedingly weak by now.

Begun exclusively as an instrument of war against Spain, emphasizing privateering, trade and plunder, the WIC started to promote settlement towards the end of the 1620s (Goslinga, 1971:90–91,294; Klooster, 1998:22,24).35 From now onwards it granted patents under a number of conditions to individual merchants (patroons, ‘patrons’) or corporations prepared to undertake the colonization of stipulated localities under the WIC’s general auspices but taking care of the administration themselves. This quasi-feudal system followed the general precedents of the English and French ‘proprietary system’ of grants of territory and jurisdiction to prominent noblemen/merchants (e.g., Goor, 1994:63–64; Goslinga, 1971:101–102; Grol, 1934/1947, I:13–14,18–19, II:25.27; Heijer, 1994:81,91; Parry & Sherlock, 1971:53). Accordingly, in 1627 the enterprising Flushing merchant and burgomaster Jan de Moor, who was also a director of the WIC’s Zeeland Chamber, obtained the exclusive right to establish a Dutch colony consisting of free settlers in Tobago. De Moor had been associated with a number of plantation colonies and trading posts along the Guiana coast and the Lower Amazon since the 1610s, e.g., Groenewegen’s Essequibo station (Edmundson, 1901; Lorimer, 1989:159; Menkman, 1947:48; Wise, 1934/1938, I:41–43, II:38). According to the regulations of the Tobago colony, land was to be granted free to each settler who was allowed to raise any produce except annatto dye. Obviously, the principal crop to be grown was tobacco. All ships

35 In fact, colonization as the WIC’s main purpose had been in the mind of one of the most prominent advocates of its foundation, Willem Usselinx. His program entailed teaching the Amerindians the techniques of European agriculture, the use of horses and modern warfare, as well as their conversion to Calvinism. Usselinx believed that under the influence of Christianity the Indians would soon develop a demand for clothes, which in turn would stimulate the Dutch textile industry (Goslinga. 1971:35,39–40,94).
to and from Tobago had to sail from Zeeland, but the colonists had the right
to carry on ‘the inland trade’, i.e., that with the local Amerindians, for their
own benefit. Black slaves and manufactures had to be bought from the WIC.
The settlers were supposed to be selfsupporting, i.e., to pay for their own tools
and arms. Jan de Moor was required to maintain a capable preacher and a
schoolmaster at the colony. Although he had the right to appoint a
Commander, the latter was to be advised by an elected Council (Anderson,
Wise, 1934/1938, II:40–41).36

The first settlers, a group of 62 people, arrived in Tobago from Zeeland in
April 1628. They found two Dutchmen living on the island already, being
escapees from a short-lived colony on the Lower Oyapock which was
massacred by the local Caribs in the previous year (Forest, 1914, I:60–61;
colonists established themselves at Great Courland Bay on the leeward shore
of the island (Fig. 3). The settlement was baptized Nieuw Vlissingen (New
Flushing) after Jan de Moor’s home town while Tobago was renamed ‘Nieuw
Walcheren’ after the Zeeland island. A fortification, Fort Nieuw Vlissingen,
was constructed on top of a steep cliff in present-day Plymouth, just north of
the mouth of the Courland River, while at Hawk’s Bill (Black Rock) a second,
minor, one, Fort Nassau, was built. On the flat land along the shore of the
bay, in between the forts, a settlement developed which, according to a
Spanish sketch drawing of 1637, consisted of warehouses as well as slave
huts and brick houses showing typically Dutch step-gables (e.g., Anderson,
1962, 1970, Pl. XII:B; Gonzalez Oropeza, 1983, Lam. XXXV; Heijden et al.,
1998:277). According to Dutch manuscript drawings by Hessel Gerritsz and
Dierick Ruyters of 1628/1629 (see Anderson, 1970:54; Bracht, 1981, Pl. 88;
Silva, 1909; Wieder, 1932, IV:96), the major fort had three bastions and was
surrounded by a moat. The area around it was cleared of vegetation and
brought under tobacco cultivation. Barracks are shown to have been
constructed inside the major fortification (Boomert, n.d. 1). A second group of
settlers, in all 56 people, arrived in 1629 while simultaneously an additional
cannon was delivered as well as fresh cassava roots from Essequibo.37 The
first group of colonists was found to be in good health (Anderson, 1956:53,
36 Although no precise regulations were made regarding the attitudes of the colonists
towards the local Amerindians, some idea of the opinion of the WIC’s Zeeland Chamber with
respect to this matter can be gleaned from the draft patent which it drew up for the Berbice
settlement of 1627. It was stipulated that the future Berbice settlers had to show a devout
manner of living as a result of which it was hoped that the Indians would accept the Christian
faith. Besides, it was forbidden to deceive the Indians and to rob them or to commit adultery with
the Indian women (Roos, 1992:24).

37 The colonists arrived with a ship that afterwards joined the Dutch fleet under Admiral
Pater which, together with some English vessels, in 1629 ascended the Orinoco and attacked
Santo Thomé. Its inhabitants set fire to the town themselves (Audiencia of Santo Domingo, TTHSP
Map of Tobago ('Nieuw Walcheren'), showing the extent of the Dutch settlement in the 1628-1677 period. Inset: seventeenth-century Spanish and Dutch centres of habitation in the Lower Orinoco Valley and the Guianas ('Wild Coast'). Abbreviations: VEN, Venezuela; GUY, Guyana; SUR, Suriname; BR, Brazil.
This very year the Dutch fleet operating between Brazil and the West Indies was ordered to leave at Tobago all black slaves which were captured from Spanish prizes. However, the effects of this measure are difficult to gauge (Goslinga, 1971:211).

Most likely, the relationship between the Dutch colonists and the Tobago Amerindians was strained. The drawings of the fortifications, referred to above, show guns protecting against approaches from the sea as well as from the interior of the island, i.e., by the local Amerindians. Furthermore, it was reported in 1629 that the labour on the tobacco fields was organized in almost military fashion. Continually ‘a very good watch’ was kept, especially at night, obviously to prevent being surprised by Indian attacks (Stapels, 1994). Still in 1628 an especially hostile encounter took place in an unidentified part of Tobago, possibly the windward coast, when on his way from Brazil to the West Indies the Zeelander admiral Joost van Trappen (Banckert) dropped anchor at the island for watering and refreshing and after skirmishes with the natives lost 54 men (Anderson, 1985; Goslinga, 1971:181–182,259–260). Although documentary information about the vicissitudes of the Tobago colony about 1629/1632 is extremely scarce, the Island Caribs of Grenada and St Vincent appear to have attacked the settlement in these years, possibly leading to its abandonment. The unfriendly attitude of the ‘savages’ of Grenada towards the Dutch is referred to in the secret orders given by the WIC’s Zeeland Chamber to the Zeelander admiral Loncq in August 1629. The latter was instructed to capture in Grenada as many Indians ‘as our Enemies are using, with the help of the good savages with whom we have friendly relations’. Loncq would have to sell the captive Indians as slaves in Cuba, ‘since they have committed all kinds of treason and murder not only upon those of our people who land there to refresh our boats but also upon the colonists of Tobago’ (Albada Jelgersma, 1981). Finally, according to Laet (1630:37), the Island Caribs of Grenada and St Vincent are very vindictive, ‘recently’ having attacked the Dutch on their own as well as ‘neighbouring islands’. The suggestion that about 1630 the Zeelanders had to abandon Tobago due to raids by Island Caribs from St Vincent and Grenada, is confirmed indirectly by the controversy on the jurisdiction of the island, discussed below, which arose when a new group of settlers was sent to Tobago in 1632 or 1633.38

38 The somewhat enigmatic wording of Loncq’s instructions may give credence to the opinion, found in the literature, that the Amerindians were incited to dislodge the Tobago settlers by the Spanish of Trinidad (e.g., Anderson, 1956:55, 1970:54; Fowler, 1774:8; Goslinga, 1971:275; Praetorius, 1705; Southey, 1827, I:270; Wise, 1934/1938, I:44; Whitehead, 1988:93; Woodcock, 1867:32; Young, 1807/1812:7). However, it is equally possible that this story goes back to Rochefort (1665a:66–67), who seems to have confused the events of about 1630 with the Spanish conquest of Tobago in December 1636. At any rate, as early as March 1629 the Spanish learned from Carib Indians, captured off the Cumaná coast, that Tobago had been settled by the Dutch (Council of the Indies, TTHSP 240, 1629).
The Tobago situation cannot be seen detached from the gradually deteriorating relationship which developed between the Europeans, including the Dutch, and the Island Caribs in the Windward Islands during the 1620s and 1630s. The joint English/French settlement of St Kitts soon led to strained relations with the local Island Caribs which culminated when the colonists attacked the Indians and wiped them out. Subsequent raids by Island Caribs from neighbouring islands were beaten off. While Nevis was settled successfully in 1628, due to Island Carib attacks an attempt to colonize Barbuda had to be given up (Burns, 1965:187–188,192; Crouse, 1940:13–20; Newton, 1966:142–147). Free settlers as well as white indentured servants (engagés), many of Irish descent, flocked into the new colonies from France and England. These white servants, chiefly young males, signed contracts pledging to work for their masters for a period of years, after which they were allowed to settle as independent yeomen. It was a rough crowd. Migration from island to island now became increasingly common as new opportunities offered themselves (Augier et al., 1960:35–36; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:10–14,17; Crouse, 1940:22–23). Tobacco was the major crop grown. In 1632 the English settled Antigua and Montserrat while three years later the French founded colonies in Guadeloupe and Martinique. After an unprovoked attack on the Guadeloupe Indians in 1636, many of the latter withdrew to Dominica from where they organized regular attacks on the French, assisted by their relatives from St Vincent. Those of Martinique started a guerilla war which ended after an army of 1500 Indians from Dominica, St Vincent, Guadeloupe and Martinique had been defeated by the French (Crouse, 1940:51–56,60–61,126; Myers, 1978; Plas, 1954:6–7). In 1637 the English attempted to settle St Lucia; the undertaking failed after three years due to Indian hostility and many sicknesses. The English believed that the Island Caribs had been instigated by the French to attack them as the latter were able to settle the island as soon as the English had moved out.39 This very year an English colony on Marie Galante similarly failed due to Indian hostility (Burns, 1965:219; Crouse, 1940:243).

The survival of the rapidly growing English and French tobacco colonies was due primarily to the Dutch who by 1635 had attained maritime and commercial supremacy in the West Indies, relentlessly attacking the Spanish wherever they could (Andrews, 1978a:248, 1984:302–303; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:15,65–66). The Dutch supplied the English and French colonists with black slaves and European manufactures, carrying away the islands' crops of tobacco and cotton. In fact, rolls of tobacco now became the monetary standard of the islands among Europeans and Island Caribs alike (Breton, 1999:154; Rouse, 1948). As a result of their commercial success and

39 However, the Island Caribs attacked the English only after they had been aroused due to the capture at Dominica of some Indians by an English ship (Boucher, 1992:45–47; McKusick, 1960b:25–26). According to Vérin (1961), the Dutch may have had a fortified trading post on St Lucia's south coast in the 1630s.
prosperity the Dutch were able to supply credit to foreign planters who had neither private funds nor government support. Meanwhile, an attempt was made to continue the tobacco trade with the Island Caribs, especially those of Dominica, Grenada and St Vincent (Laet, 1630:36). To this end the Dutch left factors on the islands: in 1627 a certain Thomas Jansz of Groningen is mentioned who had lived among the Island Caribs of Grenada and 'learned their language' (Wieder, 1932, IV:101–102). However, due to the hostilities in the Leeward Islands and the northernmost Windwards, relations became increasingly difficult. Skirmishes between the Indians and the Dutch are recorded especially after the English and French settlement of St Kitts and Nevis (Laet, 1931/1937, I:116,132,136, II:22–23). In 1626 two Dutch sailors were killed while refreshing on Grenada, but the next year trading passed off without incidents. However, in April 1628 a hostile encounter took place which cost the lives of fifteen men and a boy while two months later 34 men were killed, belonging to two ships of Heyn’s fleet which made the crossing to Cuba on their own. In 1629 two other skirmishes occurred during one of which six Dutch sailors were killed while, on the other hand, two fugitives from an abortive colonisation attempt on the Oyapock, who encountered a party of Island Caribs from Grenada in East Trinidad, were taken by the latter to St Vincent (Balcn, 1942:96; Laet, 1931/1937, I:149, II:19,37,46,59,87,91–92; Wieder, 1932, IV:96). The relationship between the Dutch and the Island Caribs of St Vincent was somewhat less tense and unpredictable. While in 1628 the latter were judged to be 'very dangerous and according their own account owing a grudge against the French', in 1632 and 1634 it was reported that trading was 'so peaceful and friendly' that letters 'testifying of the affection of the Savages' were left by Dutch ships for the next ones calling at the island (Laet, 1931/1937, II:76,164, IV:95–96; Plas, 1954:5).41

Meanwhile, a small group of English under Sir Henry Colt had settled in Northeast Trinidad. After having spent some time in trading with the Amerindians and Dutch in the Guiana coastal zone, Colt drifted with the current to Trinidad and constructed a small fortification at Toco near Galera Point late in 1632.42 Subsequently, he entered trade contacts with the

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40 Trading was carried on peacefully at two villages densely populated with Island Caribs who warned the Dutch against their enemies, i.e., 'very evil Savages' living in the mountains at the other side of the island. Afterwards two canoes with warriors of the latter group indeed attacked the Dutch (Laet, 1931/1937, II:59). Loncq’s instructions, discussed above, obviously relate to this group of Caribs.

41 Alcohol was now becoming a major trade item. When a Spanish vessel visited Dominica in 1625, the Island Caribs requested Spanish wine next to European ironwares and textiles in exchange of provisions (Boucher, 1992:39).

42 However, a ‘Colts Point’ is shown at present Galeota Point in Southeast Trinidad on William Hack’s map of the West Indies dated to ca. 1680 (in Harlow, ed., 1925; Newson, 1976:286). This may be due to the confusion which existed in the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries on the location of Galera Point which was placed alternatively at the southeastern or northeastern end of Trinidad (Hollis, 1941:3). The governor of Margarita clearly identified Colt’s settlement as situated ‘at the top’ of the island (Eulate, TTHSP 61, 1633).
Amerindians of Trinidad’s south and east coasts, probably Nepoio and Arawak (e.g., Stapels, 1994:16). The latter were accustomed to establishing friendly relations with Spain’s enemies. According to Scott (1925a), in 1626 the crew of an English ship, watering at the island, was assured by the Trinidad Amerindians that they were keeping ‘the greatest part of that Island for the English’ and three years afterwards these Indians received helpfully a group of 14 Irish, who, flying for the Portuguese invasion of the Lower Amazon, had landed in Trinidad. They departed for the mainland again, using Indian canoes (Lorimer, 1989:112–113; Spanish Crown, TTHSP 241, 1630). By the early 1630s the Spanish colony in the northwestern part of the island had due to the cessation of the contraband trade lapsed into great poverty. Although Trinidad had been granted one licensed trading ship a year, Spanish vessels seldom called at Port-of-Spain (Lorimer, 1978). Appeals to the mother country for financial aid met with no response and by 1633 conditions had worsened so much that there was a grave shortage of clothing and other necessities of life. The remaining colonists were seriously considering vacating the island (Carmichael, 1961:27–28). In 1634 the number of vecinos in St Joseph was estimated at only 26 but that of the remaining, largely hostile, Indians on the island at 4000 (Newson, 1976:122). Still in 1632 the Spanish of Margarita were warned of Colt’s presence in Northeast Trinidad by vessels which called at Toco for watering and refreshing. The governor of Margarita sent three companies of Spanish soldiers, assisted by fifty Guaiquerí archers, in three pirogues along Trinidad’s north coast in March 1633. They were able to surprise Colt and his men who subsequently were put to death in Margarita (Eulate, TTHSP 61, 1633; Hollis, 1941:38–40; Wise, 1934/1938, I:48–51).

Following the Dutch abandonment of Tobago about 1630, the island was visited only by ships for watering and refreshing or in order to cut timber (Espinosa, 1942:58; Moreau, 1992:210). In 1633 a new group of 200 settlers, led by William Gayner, an Irishman in Dutch service, reached Tobago from Flushing. Gayner was commissioned by the Prince of Orange to renew the island’s exploitation and accordingly reoccupied the old Dutch fortification and settlement at Great Courland Bay (Goslinga, 1971:435–436; Lorimer, 1989:73–74,90–91,109–110,117,394–396; Menkman, 1947:90–91; Rodway & Watt, 1888:105; Roos, 1992:69,108; Wise, 1934/1938, I:44–45,65). Gayner may have violated Jan de Moor’s exclusive rights as the patron of Tobago as he was removed from his post and put in irons by Cornelis de Moor, the

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43 Colt may have been planning to start the planting of tobacco: his library chest, which the Spanish handed over to the Inquisition after his capture, contained a treatise on tobacco cultivation (Leal, 1978:3–5).

44 The Guaiquerí Indians were a tribe of primarily fishers and turtlers who lived on Margarita, the Araya peninsula and Cumaná. They kept up a friendly relationship with the Spanish throughout colonial times, indeed occasionally acting as ‘ethnic soldiers’ for the latter (see Boomert, 2000:90).
patron's son, probably early in 1636 (Gayner, CSP VII:1085, 1673). In the meantime the settlers had established friendly contacts with the Amerindians of East Trinidad, notably the Nepoio. In February 1636 the Nepoio headman Hierreyma visited Tobago, offering to trade with the colonists and suggesting an alliance with the Dutch in order to dislodge the Spanish from Trinidad. Hierreyma had been ‘a slave and an encommendado’ of the Spanish eleven years previously, but had run away and ‘more than once’ joined raids on them. As he had killed two Spaniards in some encounter he was ‘the most famous and powerful’ amongst the Nepoio ‘and considered the chief by the others’. Hierreyma offered the Dutch as hostages all the old men, women and children of his tribe in return for the assistance of eighty men with arquebuses. The Dutch estimated the total strength of the Nepoio and Arawaks at ‘over 600 able men’, considering the Nepoio to be ‘deadly enemies of the Spanish’, but stating of the Arawaks that they ‘occasionally serve the Spaniards by rowing their canoes and cannot be relied upon so well’. Apart from providing foodstuffs to the Tobago colony, which the Dutch needed very much, the Nepoio started to grow tobacco for them. (The Trinidad tobacco was esteemed more highly in Holland than that from Tobago.) In order to facilitate the trade relations with the Nepoio, the Dutch established small fortifications in East Trinidad, one at Galera Point in the northeast, possibly close to Colt’s old dwelling at Toco or Cumana, and another one at Moruga or Quinam in the eastern portion of the south coast (Escobar, TTHSP 82, 1636; Onsiel, TTHSP 137, 1637; Goslinga, 1971:435–436,584; Wise, 1934/1938, I:58).

The Dutch colony came to an undue end in December 1636. Whereas the Dutch had actually no intention whatsoever to dislodge the Spanish from Trinidad and only wished to establish trade centres without provoking them, the Spaniards did not lose time to remove the Dutch from both Trinidad and Tobago. In fact, they were aware of the Dutch settlement in Tobago as early as 1634 (Bishop of Puerto Rico, TTHSP 245, 1634), but action was taken only after a new governor had arrived in Trinidad, Don Diego Lopez de Escobar. In November 1636 Escobar reported to the Crown that all the Amerindians of Trinidad were in rebellion. An Arawak Indian ‘who had run away on account of the bad treatment he had received at the hands of the rebels who wanted to kill him’, named Curiguao, told him of an imminent attack on St Joseph by the Dutch of Tobago assisted by the ‘rebel Indians more than a thousand strong’. Reinforced by a group of 50 Indian auxiliaries and Spanish soldiers from Santo Thomé as well as Margarita and guided by Curiguao, Escobar first

45 A number of young boys among the Dutch were reportedly learning ‘the Indian language’ (Eulate, TTHSP 83, 1636).

46 His village was stated to be situated 3.5 miles (one day’s walking) from St Joseph (Onsiel, TTHSP 137, 1637). The name Hierreyma is remarkably similar to that of Arima, a village located in a valley in Northeast Trinidad, just south of the Northern Range, referred to for the first time in 1699 (Buissink, 1938:32). It would become one of the two last surviving Spanish/Amerindian mission villages of Trinidad (Wise, 1934/1938, I:58).
surprised the Dutch post at Galera Point.⁴⁷ Next he followed unnoticed with
his pirogues a Dutch vessel which had wanted to anchor at this fort but, noticing that it had been taken, subsequently sailed to the Dutch fortification on the south coast. Escobar was able to conquer this outpost as well, taking captive practically all Dutchmen.⁴⁸ Among the small garrison Escobar encountered William Gayner who as a prisoner had been on board of the vessel that first wanted to call at the Galera Point outpost. Gayner offered his services to Escobar, telling him that the Dutch expected ten ships with reinforcements and supplies from Holland to arrive in the following year. The Indian allies of the Dutch all escaped, subsequently trying to ambush those Spanish troops which marched back to St Joseph overland after having destroyed many Amerindian supplies and ravaged their provision grounds (Escobar, TTHSP 82, 1636; Wise, 1934/1938, I:52–57).

Following a rest of three months in St Joseph, Escobar made the crossing to Tobago in eight pirogues with 90 soldiers but no Amerindian auxiliaries as the Indians which he employed as oarsmen had all run away. Guided by Gayner, the Spanish landed at Canoe Bay where twenty men were left to guard the pirogues. While marching overland to Fort Nassau (Black Rock), they surprised a few Dutchmen, a black slave and an Amerindian who were cutting timber in the forest. The latter two escaped, raising the alarm among the garrison of the smaller fort. This was easily taken and subsequently Fort Nieuw Vlissingen was surrounded, cutting off the Dutch access to the Courland River. By making much noise and stationing groups of soldiers at wide distances around the fort, Escobar was able to make the garrison believe that it was surrounded by superior forces. In fact the colonists, consisting of in all 75 men, including Dutch, French, English and Irish, were not outnumbered at all and in much better shape than the Spanish and well provided with supplies and ammunition. Nevertheless, they surrendered after having been guaranteed a free passage to St Kitts. Both forts were burned now and the artillery thrown into the sea. Escobar sent most prisoners to Margarita, keeping only the three principal ones, including Cornelis de Moor and Jacques Onsiel, the secretary of the colony (Anderson, 1970:55–59; Desologuren, TTHSP 119, 1637; Escobar, TTHSP 84, 1637; Goslinga, 1971:419; Wise, 1934/1938, I:59–64). All of the prisoners except some boys were hanged in Cumaná, a gross violation of the surrender conditions. The Dutch factor of Essequibo, Aert Adriaensz Groenevegen, revenged their deaths the following year. Together with Carib, Arawak and Warao (Tibetibe) auxiliaries he first burned Santo Thomé, thereby freeing Cornelis de Moor, his patron’s son.

⁴⁷ The Indian auxiliaries included a troop of Chacomar Indians (Mendoza, TTHSP 121, 1652). These were most likely Arawaks from Trinidad’s south coast. The name Chacomar is known as that of an Arawak chief of this area in the 1530s (see Boomert, 1984).

⁴⁸ The vessel had arrived from Tobago in order to load the products the Dutch of the Galera Point post had collected from the Nepoio (Escobar, TTHSP 82, 1636).
While refitting in Amacuro, Groenewegen’s force was strengthened by a group of Nepoio from East Trinidad who assisted him in sacking St Joseph in October 1637 (Cabildo St Joseph, TTHSP 118, 1637, TTHSP 136, 1637; Council of War, TTHSP 102, 1637; Edmundson, 1901, 1903/1904; Escobar, TTHSP 100, 1637; Eulate, TTHSP 83, 1636, TTHSP 120, 1637; Wise, 1934/1938, I:66–74; Wright, 1934/1935, II:91–92).49

**English and Courlander ventures (1637–1650)**

Probably still in 1637 a short-lived English attempt at settlement in Tobago was made by a Puritan clergyman, Reverend Nicholas Leverton, who in Barbados joined a ship’s crew planning to start a plantation in Tobago. However, shortly after anchoring at the island, an exploring party was reportedly attacked by Caribs. Only a few escaped, after which the survivors took off, sailing for (Old) Providence, then an English colony and privateering base (Hollis, 1941:52; Schomburgk, 1848:92; Southey, 1827, I:257–258; Williamson, 1926:191). Probably two years afterwards the Duke of Courland made the first of the several attempts at settling in Tobago, undertaken by the Courlanders in the seventeenth century. At the time Courland was a growing maritime power on the Baltic Sea, commanding a considerable merchant fleet and navy. Its population consisted of Latvian-speaking farmers and artisans ruled by an aristocracy of German extraction. The Duke of Courland enjoyed an especially good relationship with the English, but most likely he had the financial backing of Dutch bankers for his initial Tobago enterprises (Anderson, 1956:14, 1970:76–77). According to Scott (1925c), Duke Friedrich of Courland sent a ship to Tobago ‘accomodated with trade to buy it of the Indians, and to take possession on it in his Right. Being before this Sufficiently informed of their inclinations to Trade with the Dutch or English, he purchased it and the Natiues gaue him a cleare possession disperseing themselves to Guiana to Trinidad and some of them to Saint Vincents [...]. These people being new hands and not experienced planters, mouldred to nothing, 212 men.’ Of course, it is difficult to judge exactly the contents of the ‘Sinister Contract of ye Duke of Corland with ye Indians’, as Scott (1925c) calls it. In fact, Scott dates the first Courlander settlement at 1634, but this must be a mistake. Most historians place the expedition later, in 1639 (Anderson, 1956:57–62; Praetorius, 1705:23).

In the same year a renewed English effort at occupying Tobago was made. In 1628 the English Crown had granted the proprietary rights of Trinidad and Tobago to the earl of Montgomery, afterwards styled Pembroke (English

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49 Jacques Onsiel was able to escape when he was transported to Spain. Back in Holland, he reported to the directors of the WIC’s Amsterdam Chamber that the Spanish raid on Tobago involved some 400 Spanish and 3000 Indians, thus considerably inflating the number of besiegers (Goslinga, 1971:435–436).
Crown, CSP I:38, 1628). Pembroke did not make any effort at colonizing the two islands although in 1634, after his death, his son tried in vain to interest a group of merchants of Exeter, West England, in financing a project for settling Trinidad and Tobago. Four years later Robert Rich, the earl of Warwick, bought the Pembroke patent for a nominal sum (Anderson, 1956:65; Newton, 1966:183; Williamson, 1926:188–189). Warwick, a prominent Puritan, did not lose any time and immediately had his agents recruit prospective settlers in Barbados and Bermuda. The proprietor of Barbados, the earl of Carlisle, got worried about Warwick’s activities and obtained an order from the Crown that they should be stopped. Nevertheless, in October 1639 some 200 to 300 people, led by Warwick’s deputy, Captain Robert Masham, sailed to Tobago and established a colony in an unidentified part of the island. It was short-lived. According to Scott (1925c), the Island Caribs of St Vincent ‘did strongly Gaule them from time to time’, killing many settlers. In 1640 those left of the colony moved to Trinidad where they may have taken up residence in the Toco area (Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:22; Hollis, 1941:52,55; Newson, 1976:115; Williamson, 1926:110,188–192). Subsequently, Masham was murdered by the Carib Indians of Trinidad ‘by the Contrivance of the Spanyard, who Informed the said Carebees, that the English were come on purpose to Assist and abett the Sepoys, and Arawacoes against them the said Carebees. The greatest part of this small Colonie were preserved by the timely assistance of the Arawacoes, in Dispight of that Spanish Contrivance’ (Scott, 1925a).

The recruitment of settlers for Tobago or other planned colonies, e.g., St Lucia, was not difficult in the yet settled French and English islands, especially Barbados and St Kitts, as by this time the tobacco industry was in severe decline. Competition of the tobacco from Virginia and Bermuda and also the European home-grown tobacco had overstocked the market as a result of which in 1639–1640 prices fell in London from over twenty shillings to a few pence a pound. By 1639 the trade had become almost unprofitable. The English planters in the West Indies now became even more dependent on Dutch merchants and shippers whose capital resources and trade links were much greater than those of the English. The islands had become overcrowded. The situation in Barbados was especially bad as the quality of the tobacco from this island was considered to be poor. Towards the end of the 1630s all arable land had been parcelled out. The Barbadian planters now switched to cotton and indigo, with no better results. Population was growing fast in the island, reaching over 30,000 people in 1639. The white servants also formed a source of unrest. Besides, Barbados had a growing group of refugees from the English colony on (Old) Providence which was attacked by the Spanish in 1640 and finally captured by them the following year. Towards the end of the 1630s a wandering group of English and French colonists had come into existence, who were continually in search of new places to settle. Some of them were lured by the prospects of plunder at islands not yet occupied by Europeans,
others by the agricultural opportunities of their virgin soil. Warwick attempted to organize the colonization of Trinidad and Tobago by transfers of these people, originating in the overcrowded English parent islands of the West Indies, notably Barbados and St Kitts, next to Bermuda (Andrews, 1984:295; Appleby, 1996; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:54,65; Burns, 1965:225–226; Dunn, 1973:49; Klooster, 1998:33; Kopperman, 1987; Newton, 1966:125,185).

Probably unaware of the failure of his Tobago colony, Warwick sent a group of settlers, led by Major Jeremiah Hartley, to Trinidad in 1640. These were experienced planters from St Kitts and Barbados who settled ‘near a river’ on the ‘leeward side’ of the island, perhaps on the south coast. The survivors of Masham’s Tobago colonists may have amalgamated with this group which regularly received provisions and ammunition while in 1643 a privateer employed by Warwick was ordered to deliver any captured black slaves at their settlement. In 1641 the colony was enlarged by a number of planters from Bermuda under one of Warwick’s shipmasters, Captain Chaddock. Hartley’s colony flourished for five years. It reportedly kept up a friendly relationship with the Arawak and Shebaio Indians of Trinidad (Court of Providence, CSP I:83, 1641; Cura of Trinidad, TTHSP 86, 1645; Norwood, CSP I:94, 1641; Scott 1925a; Warwick, CSP I:96, 1643; Williamson, 1926:193–194). The Spanish of Northwest Trinidad refrained from interfering with the English colony. Following the sacking of St Joseph by the Dutch and their Indian auxiliaries in 1637, relief expeditions had been sent to them from Caracas and Santa Fé carrying ammunition, clothing and provisions. The fresh troops were used to rebuild St Joseph and Santo Thomé as well as to hunt down the Indians who had assisted the Dutch, both on the Orinoco and in Trinidad. Many were seized and subsequently sent to Margarita and Cumaná for sale as slaves. Besides, together with the Amerindian captives Escobar apparently sold many of the supplies which had been sent to him by the relief expeditions (Saavedra, TTHSP 104, 1641; Wise, 1934/1938, I:75–83). Understandably, the Trinidad Indians remained hostile to the Spanish, e.g., assisting a group of 250 English corsairs who unsuccessfully attacked St Joseph in 1640 (Mendoza, TTHSP 121, 1652). This resentment can be estimated also from the fact that in 1645 the largest of the four encomiendas in the island had less than twenty tributary Indians and the smallest one only five (Newson, 1976:156).

Encouraged by the well-being of his Trinidad settlement, Warwick sent new colonists from Barbados to Tobago in 1642. An English manuscript map of Tobago drawn in this year shows the name Warwick Bay for present Carapuse Bay on the island’s windward coast and it may have been in this part of Tobago that Warwick’s colonists settled (Anonymous, 1642). This group, consisting of some 300 families led by a Captain Marshall, planted tobacco and indigo, but was ‘often disturbed by the Caribees and at length for want of Supplyes were forced to quitt’ in 1643, leaving for Suriname where
they were massacred by the Caribs two years later (Anonymous, CSP V:1368, 1666?; Scott, 1925b, 1925c). Meanwhile, Warwick had entered an agreement with a London syndicate of merchants under Colonel John Holmstead leasing them 100,000 acres of land in Trinidad on the condition that they would not settle within twenty miles from Major Hartley’s settlement. The syndicate sent several ships with settlers, landing in 1644 and establishing their settlement on the ‘leeward coast’ of the island, just as Hartley’s group. However, due to a loss of health many settlers died within a few months and in 1645 the rest of the colonists left, partly for Barbados and partly for England. Scott (1925a) notes that ‘in their greatest Extremeties, the Arawacoes And Nepoyes Indians shewed them Extraordinary Kindnesse’. Fear that the illness, possibly a virulent fever, which struck the newly arrived would spread to their own colony and decimate it, inciting the Spanish to attack them, induced Major Hartley’s group to return to Barbados as well (Scott, 1925a; Williamson, 1926:195–196). A final attempt to settle in Tobago under the Warwick patent was undertaken by a group of merchants in 1646, but the island was deserted again this very year as the earl reportedly did not ‘fulfil his contract’ (Anonymous, CSP V:1368, 1666?). It has been estimated that in the years 1643 to 1647 altogether some 600 people from Barbados went to Trinidad and Tobago (Anonymous, CSP V:1657, 1667). In 1647 Warwick undertook a last effort to prepare a colonizing endeavour in Tobago, leasing 20,000 acres in the island to a company of three London merchants, but nothing came of it (Lichtveld, 1977; Scott, 1925c; Williamson, 1926:197).

It is well possible that simultaneously with the second and third English attempts to settle in Tobago under the Warwick patent a second Courlander colony was established in the southwestern portion of the island. According to Scott (1925c), Jacob (Jekabs), who had just succeeded his father Friedrich as the Duke of Courland, sent 310 Zeelanders under the leadership of a certain Captain Cornelis Caron to Tobago in 1642. Indeed, the English manuscript map discussed above, which is dated to 1642, shows a ‘Dutch Fortt’ in the present Buccoo/Mount Irvine area, while calling Great Courland Bay, i.e., the scene of Jan de Moor’s settlement, ‘Olde Fortt Bay’ (Anonymous, 1642; Boomert, n.d. 1). Caron had been employed by the WIC in Brazil and was considered in Holland to be a somewhat untrustworthy character. Scott (1925c) notes that he was advised by his old masters in the Dutch Republic ‘to carry a faire Correspondancy with the Arrawacoes which he did to the Disgust of the Careebs of St. Vincents, whose tooke their advantage, and

50 An undated attempt at settling in Tobago by a group of Englishmen from Barbados, led by a certain Ayris, is recorded more than half a century later. It reportedly took place by order of the earl of Carlisle, the proprietor of Barbados, clearly in contravention of Warwick’s rights to Tobago, and must have occurred in the 1630s or 1640s. The settlers did not stay long, less than a year, ‘by reason of the unhealthiness of the country’. After many had died, the survivors returned to Barbados (English Crown, TTHSP 89. 1700; Memorial of the Agents of Barbados, TTHSP 650, 1699).
distroyed a great part of that hopefull Colonie’. This suggests that Caron attempted to re-establish the trade contacts with the Nepio and Arawak which the Dutch of Jan de Moor’s Tobago colony had in the 1630s. While Caron’s settlers ‘were in this distresse ye Arrawacoes from Trinidada came to their releife, where there was but 70 left of 310 whome they releiued, remoueing them to the River Bowroma on the Coast of Guiana where they became a Flourishing Colonie by the preservacion of the Arrawacoes’. Scott (1925b) states that this flight to the Pomeroon took place in 1650. If so, the colony lasted from 1642 to 1650 (Edmundson, 1901). It was indeed in 1650 that the Island Caribs of Dominica, not St Vincent, were reportedly preparing a war expedition to Tobago (Bresson, 1975:72). Some authors have speculated that in these years, perhaps in 1647, the Duke of Courland bought the patent of Warwick to Tobago in order to strengthen his position with respect to the ownership of the island. Documentary evidence proving this agreement is lacking, however (Anderson, 1956:71–75, 1959).

The picture which arises of the first era of European settlement in Tobago is one of fierce resistance against the invaders by both the Amerindians inhabiting the island and their co-ethnics living in the Windward Islands, especially St Vincent and Grenada. Of the nine or ten attempts at European occupation, reportedly not less than at least six ended in failure due to Indian hostility. To this can be added an incident such as that experienced by Banckert in 1628. The latter event is in fact one of the few data at our disposal not based on the accounts of Scott. This is indeed the problem encountered with the reconstruction sketched above: the fact that most of the available information derives from one documentary source, i.e., Scott, who, relying primarily on hear-say stories, wrote as late as the 1660s. Although we surely do not wish to question Scott’s reliability, not all of the details he provides have to be taken at face value. This applies, for instance, to the ‘Sinister Contract’ the Duke of Courland would have reached with the Tobago Amerindians in 1639. Equally suspect are his frequent allegations that the Spanish either incited the Caribs to attack the English and Dutch or roused the differences among the various Amerindian ethnic groups, making use of the mediation of a priest with some knowledge of the Indian languages. Accusations of this kind are to be found throughout Scott’s work, starting with his notes on the mutual Amerindian hostilities in Trinidad just before the Spanish settlement. Without further documentary evidence full evaluation is difficult although it is noteworthy that Scott’s record of the Grenada incidents of 1609 seems quite unreliable as a few years previously the Island Caribs of Dominica and Guadeloupe massacred practically all the missionaries that had been sent to them by the Spanish in an attempt to temper the Amerindians with Christianity, let alone that the latter let their actions be influenced by the priests’ advice. Of course, the same applies to, e.g., Scott’s explanation of the demise of Masham’s Trinidad colony in 1640.
This does not invalidate the overall conclusion that Amerindian hostility ended by far most of the early European attempts to settle in Tobago. On the one hand, it seems obvious that the Indians of the island itself resisted against various colonization efforts, including those of Juan Rodriguez, Jan de Moor, Leverton, and possibly Marshall (Warwick); otherwise the Island Caribs of Grenada and St Vincent apparently disturbed those of, again, Jan de Moor, Masham (Warwick) and Caron (Courland). The wish to retain Tobago as their unobstructed half-way station between the Windward Islands and the Guiana coastal zone can be seen as one of the main incentives behind these successful Island Carib attempts to dislodge the Dutch, English and Courlanders from the island (also Boucher, 1992:29-30).\(^{51}\) Obviously, the Island Caribs highly valued the uninterrupted interaction with their mainland relatives and the possibility of raiding their ‘favourite enemies’, the Arawaks (Lokono, Nepoio and others) of Trinidad and the western part of the Guiana coastal zone, or indeed trading with them (see Boomert, 2000:416). Reasons of communication and subsistence played an important part in the Island Carib war strategies. The European colonies in the West Indies they decided to attack were not necessarily situated on islands which the Island Caribs themselves occupied. They used uninhabited islands to serve as centres of provision for war parties, hunting and fishing, or as places of refuge in times of food shortage. In fact, the Island Caribs had a form of ‘commuter’ economy, dependent on widely scattered resources. They often went to other, occasionally unoccupied, islands for horticulture, turtling and fishing (Boucher, 1992:36; Cody Holdren, 1998:271). The Indians of Guadeloupe, for instance, planted vegetables and sea island cotton on Marie Galante, hunting small game, fowl and land crabs on the home island. Bequia was uninhabited but the Island Caribs of St Vincent had potato gardens there and equally harvested its wild cotton (Laet, 1931/1937, III:188), while Scott (1925d) claims that the latter regularly visited Barbados before its European settlement in order to hunt the hogs left in the island by passing Portuguese.

Clearly, the Amerindians of Tobago kept close contacts with especially their kinsmen of the southern Windwards, i.e., St Vincent, St Lucia and Grenada. A question which remains to be answered, is whether the alliance network among the Caribs and indeed their feelings of ethnic unity formed the product of the colonial situation, such as is suggested by Farr (1995), or originated in late prehistoric times and was only strengthened during the European expansionist era. Cody Holdren (1995, 1998) claims that the Island Caribs confederated due to the European presence, developing a complex hierarchical network in which Dominica and St Vincent took dominant positions. How far her analysis is determined by the availability and

\(^{51}\) For this reason, the claims of Whitehead (1988:211) and Cody Holdren (1995, 1998:164) that according to Scott’s accounts the Island Caribs began to colonize Tobago about 1628, are unacceptable.
trustworthiness of the written sources as well as the increasing importance of exactly these two islands as refuge areas throughout the seventeenth century, is difficult to decide. Cody Holdren’s assessment appears to be influenced by the conclusions of Whitehead with respect to the supposed ‘ethnogenesis’ of the Kalina of the South American mainland during colonial times. According to Whitehead (1988:3, 1990a, 1990b, 1993a, 1993b, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999; Whitehead in Ralegh, 1997:49–51, 62–64), the economic and political status of the Kalina increased tremendously in the seventeenth century as they would have been able to acquire a practical monopoly on the distribution of European, i.e., Dutch and English, goods among the tribes of the Guianas, comparable to the privileged access to Spanish manufactures gained by the Arawak (and their allies) in the previous century. In Whitehead’s opinion, the Caribs can be best characterized as a ‘colonial tribe’, i.e., an Amerindian grouping which emerged primarily as a result of the European presence and, consequently, the Kalina’s present sense of ethnic identity would be due to the process of interaction with the Europeans. By developing into the trusted mercenaries of the Dutch in the eighteenth century, the Kalina would have become the stereotypical ethnic soldiers or ‘martial tribe’. Similarly, the feelings of ethnic unity among the Island Caribs would have formed the product of interaction with and resistance against the European presence in the West Indies (Whitehead, 1995; Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:3).

This reconstruction is too simplistic and has an ethnocentric flavour due to its downplaying or even denying the presence of autochthonous feelings of ethnicity. There is no doubt that throughout the seventeenth century and especially after ca. 1650 several relatively small groups in the Guianas amalgamated with larger ones such as the Arawak (Lokono), Kalina and Akawaio (Kapon). This applies to, for instance, the Shebaio, Paragoto and Yaio of which the Shebaio associated with the Arawak while the Paragoto and Yaio were incorporated into the Kalina (see Boomert, 1984). However, the distribution of European goods had little to do with this development as it resulted primarily from the gradual decline of the Amerindian population in the region. In fact, it is a process which at present is still going on in the interior of the Guianas. It was not until the eighteenth century, when the Kalina received firearms from the Dutch, that the former became politically increasingly significant in the Guiana Highlands. However, due to the close association of the Dutch with the Arawaks in Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice, the latter remained a major force, balancing the power of the Kalina and Akawaio, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And this was exactly what was intended by the Dutch colonial government (see Thompson, 1987:206)! It was only farther to the east, in Suriname and the western part of French Guiana, that the Caribs took a dominant position in the coastal zone. This was not due to any particularly close association with the English, Dutch or French, but to the fact that traditionally the Kalina formed the most numerous Amerindian ethnic group in this particular portion of the Guiana littoral. In other words, the
latter did not have a virtual monopoly in the distribution of European manu-
factures until late in the eighteenth century and, consequently, such a thing
as a Carib ‘regional dominance’, supposedly achieved by their chieftains to-
wards the 1650s, hypothesized by Whitehead (1994), did not exist until per-
haps the second half of the eighteenth century and never included the west-

The traditional complex of inter-ethnic raiding, trading and prestige
competition, such as this can be reconstructed for the Amerindians of the
Caribbean during early contact times, involved long-distance expeditions from
the Lesser Antilles to Trinidad and the South American mainland in which
Island Caribs participated at home in the entire chain of islands, originally
from as far south as Grenada to as far north as Guadeloupe and Montserrat
or St Kitts. Exchange and warfare formed seemingly opposed but in fact
complementary aspects of the same social process, both taking different
points on a wide spectrum of intersocietal contacts. Raiding was motivated by
revenge, the acquisition of male prestige and human trophies, as well as by
the wish to loot valuables, exact tribute and abduct young women and boys to
be used as concubines and/or slaves in the own village (see Boomert,
2000:382–384,417). Among the Island Caribs these slaves were known as
poitos, which can be translated as ‘servants’, ‘helpers’, ‘assistants’, ‘followers’,
as well as ‘sons-in-law’, the latter connotation clearly referring to the bride
service paid by grooms to their fathers-in-law (Gullick, 1978). The Island
Caribs used to raid the villages of the Arawak (Lokono), Shebaio and Nepoio,
which were known collectively as Alouagues, situated on Trinidad and the
mainland. According to Breton (1978:76), if eight to ten Island Carib pirogues
left Dominica for such an expedition in the mid-seventeenth century, warriors
from Martinique, St Vincent and Grenada would join forces as well as Kalina.
After the successful conclusion of a raiding-and-trading voyage to the
Alouagues, a drinking and dancing party would be held on one of the islands
closest to the mainland, notably Grenada or Tobago (e.g., Boromé, 1966;
participation of Island Caribs from the entire Lesser Antillean archipelago as
well as Kalina from the mainland in these expeditions indicates that
traditionally the ‘espace politique’, such as Dreyfus (1976) characterizes the
complex system of Carib alliances without established political institutions,
formed a sociopolitical entity which, consequently, had developed a strong
sense of ethnic unity well before the European intrusion (see Dreyfus, 1977;
Gonzalez, 1988:7). No doubt these feelings of ethnicity were strengthened as a
result of the continuing loss of Island Carib territories to the invaders.

By the mid-seventeenth century Amerindian society had become
increasingly under pressure due to the European presence in the Windward
Islands. After a number of incidents the remaining Island Caribs were evicted
from Guadeloupe in 1641, while in Martinique the Indians and the French
decided to divide the island, occupying its windward and leeward sides,
respectively. It meant the beginning of marginalization of the Martinique
Indians as landing on as well as taking off from the island’s windswept
Atlantic coast was difficult, consequently hampering communication with the
Windward Islands. The peace held for a decade (e.g., Allaire, 1977:82;
Boucher, 1992:42–43). In 1640 the English of St Kitts were attacked by the
Island Caribs of Dominica who abducted the governor’s wife, an event which
deeply impressed the colonists (Beckles, 1992). Meanwhile, the French
interest in the conversion of the Amerindians was growing. In 1635 Richelieu
had dissolved the Company of St Christopher and installed the Company of
the Isles of America which considered the evangelization of the Island Caribs
to be among its duties. Accordingly, four Dominican monks set foot ashore
in Guadeloupe in 1635, a few years later followed by Capuchins in St Kitts
and Jesuits in Martinique. The most famous of these missionaries, Father
Raymond Breton, arrived with the first French settlers in Guadeloupe in
1635. He was to stay, working among the Island Caribs of Guadeloupe,
Martinique and Dominica, for some twenty years, documenting their culture,
society and language although, admittedly, having little success in their
conversion to Christianity (e.g., Breton, 1978, 1999; see Boucher, 1992:42;
Crouse, 1940:38–39). Breton’s presence in Dominica was made possible due
to the concluding of a peace treaty between the French and the Amerindians
of the island in 1640. It involved the donation of many presents and alcohol
as well as the exchange of hostages. One of them, the son of a Dominica ‘big
man’, Captain Baron, came to live with the French governor of Guadeloupe.
Besides, it is reported that in these years a French musketeer assisted the
Island Caribs during a raid on the Arouagues of Trinidad (Boucher, 1992:47;

Barbados is exemplary for the position of Amerindian slaves in an
established West Indian colony. The island never had more than a relatively
small number of Indian slaves, most of whom were employed in domestic
chores, not as field labourers. The women had household tasks while Indian
men were used as footmen and fishermen. Indeed, the use of fish poison
and torch fishing in Barbados can be ascribed to the adoption of Amerindian
methods (Handler, 1969, 1970). Besides, the planters reportedly wished
Indian women in their households because of the latter’s experience in
making cassava bread. Indian slaves were esteemed highly; in the 1650s an
Indian man and woman were appraised at 5000 pounds of tobacco in the
inventory of a Barbados estate (Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:30).
Clearly, Amerindian slaves formed a privileged group in Barbados as well as
the French islands. Occasionally contracts similar to those of the white
indentured servants were made with Indians. The governor and Council of

52 An agreement reached between the Company of the Islands of America and a private
corporation in order to colonize Tobago for planting tobacco, did not lead to anything (TTIISP 439,
1645).
Barbados decreed in 1636 that ‘Negroes and Indians, that came here to be sold, should serve for Life, unless a Contract was before made to the contrary’. In 1648 a New England Indian named Hope, possibly a Pequot, was sold to a Barbados master for a term of ten years ‘according to the Orders and Customs of English servants in the said Iland’ (Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:31; Dunn, 1973:228). Otherwise, Amerindians were fetched from the South American mainland or from the neighbouring islands while in the 1640s apparently some voluntary arrivals from St Vincent, wishing to trade in Barbados, were trapped and enslaved (e.g., Breslaw, 1991; Lorimer, 1989:336; Williamson, 1923:122-123). Famous, of course, is Ligon’s story of his house slave, the Indian girl Yarico, who was kidnapped in the Guiana coastal area by an English sailor who, with the promise of love, tricked her into coming with him but sold her into slavery as soon as they arrived in Barbados. The account of Inkle and Yarico was to become a popular narrative in the eighteenth century (Hulme, 1986:233–234). Miscegenation between whites and Indians or blacks was generally disapproved of, but presumably quite common. After all, Yarico had a child by a white indentured servant.

Luring Indians aboard ships for the express purpose of sailing away and selling them as slaves, was not restricted to the English, although Rochefort (cited by Gullick, 1985:71) accused especially the latter of often doing this under the flag of another nation. Actually, in 1643 the Dutch governor of Brazil arrested a Dutch merchant who had sold Brazilian Indians in the West Indies. Subsequently the Zeeland Chamber of the WIC adopted a resolution which forbade these practices and requested that the WIC’s Board of Directors take adequate measures to prevent such actions as ‘not only unchristian but also to the great disadvantage of the company’. Comparable decisions followed in 1645 when the commander of the Dutch colony of St Eustatius appeared to be commissioning ships in order to capture Indians on the coast of the Guianas, as a result of which the trade between the Dutch and the Amerindians in the region suffered. Similarly, the English governor of St Kitts, Sir Thomas Warner, reportedly gave commissions to Dutch sailors authorizing them to seize Indians (Goslinga, 1971:354–355; Grol, 1934/1947, I:55). In 1653 a Frenchman from Cayenne captured some Kalina Indians on the Coppename River in Suriname whom he sold in Martinique. They were bought by Father Pelleprat who returned them to the mainland (Pelleprat, 1965:53). In fact, the authorities of the French West Indies repeatedly intervened to stop privateers selling Island Caribs from Dominica and St Vincent as slaves to the Spanish of Tortuga. The French planters reportedly purchased mainland Indians, especially Brazilians, from Dutch traders as well as Arawaks, captured by the Island Caribs, for tasks such as hunting

53 As late as 1662 the Spanish of Trinidad accused the Dutch of Essequibo and Berbice to have arrived frequently at the island, carrying off ‘a number of natives commissioned to be sold in the Windward Islands’ (De Viedma, TTHSP 32, 1662).
and fishing (Price, 1966). An influx of Amerindian slaves into the Caribbean took place in 1654 when Dutch planters from Brazil moved into the West Indies together with their slaves (Gonsalves de Mello, 2001:213). Conversely, the Island Caribs were accustomed to take runaway black slaves back to their masters or to sell them to other Europeans. Otherwise, they kept them themselves.\textsuperscript{54} Using canoes or rafts, it was not difficult to escape from, e.g., Barbados as the current inevitably carried the runaways to the Windward Islands, especially St Vincent and St Lucia. Indeed, the Indians may have carried out raids on European settlements in order to capture black slaves for sale (Allaire, 1977:87; Beckles, 1992; Boucher, 1992:49).

In these years the importation of African slaves increased considerably as a result of the gradual transition towards the cultivation of sugar cane in the established colonies. In the 1640s the sugar cane processing technology was introduced by the Dutch from Brazil simultaneously in the French West Indies, Barbados and St Kitts. In addition, Dutch merchants supplied the local French and English planters the necessary credit for investment in the sugar cane machinery and black slaves (Augier et al., 1960:43–44; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:9,68–69,77–82,165; Crouse, 1940:76–77,211–213; Emmer, 1977; Klooster, 1998:42; Williams, 1970:111–115). The ‘Sugar Revolution’ led to a true social transformation as the previously predominating smallholdings of a few acres each, worked by limited numbers of white indentured servants, were amalgamated to capital-intensive, large-scale sugar estates operated by the forced labour of extended numbers of black slaves. Richer planters now bought the properties of smaller colonists and imported African slaves to do the work. Indeed, by the mid-seventeenth century the English islands especially had become one of the most populated areas in the world: in 1660 Barbados had some 20,000 black slaves (Burns, 1965:232–233; Dunn, 1973:59,62,226; Newton, 1966:196–199; Parry & Sherlock, 1971:63–67; Watts, 1987:151). This social reformation coincided with the influx of cavalier exiles and their followers from England due to the Civil War. One of these royalists, Francis Lord Willoughby, obtained a twenty-years’ lease of proprietary rights to the ‘Caribbee Islands’ from the earl of Carlisle in 1647. One year later the Company of the Isles of America went bankrupt and the governors of the individual French colonies were allowed to purchase the islands and maintain them on a proprietary basis (Burns, 1965:221–222; Newton, 1966:199). The alteration towards sugar cane cultivation in the West Indies got a further impulse due to the eviction of the Dutch from Brazil by the Portuguese in 1654. Many planters, often Sephardic Jews, now migrated to the West Indies (Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:71; Crouse, 1940:211–212). The dispossessed smallholders from Barbados and St

\textsuperscript{54} Pilotte, the headman of the Martinique Island Caribs where Fleury’s party stayed in 1619–1620, reportedly had a black slave (Anonymous, 1987:152), while in 1646 some African slaves from St Vincent murdered a few Frenchmen in St Lucia by the order of their Island Carib master (Taylor, 1949, 1951:18).
Kitts moved to elsewhere in the Caribbean, e.g., Jamaica and the new colony of Suriname which was established by Willoughby in 1651 (Williamson, 1923:151–153).

Meanwhile, the French persistently tried to settle in the southern Windwards which were still densely inhabited by Amerindians. In 1649 the governor of Martinique attempted to establish a foothold in Grenada. The leader of the first group of colonists was instructed to tell the natives that the French were just looking for fisheries. Besides, he had to ease the atmosphere with plenty liquor. The French were received by Kaierouane, the headman of the Kalina in South Grenada, who was presented with axes, scythes and other tools as well as a red coat and a hat ornamented with feathers. Kaierouane allowed the French to build a fort at present-day St George’s, but, according to Father Bresson who participated in the party, asked them: ‘We don’t go to your land. Why do you take ours? We are satisfied with ours. Why are you not with what you have?’. The French answer is unrecorded and soon dissension arose between the Grenada Indians and the Europeans. In 1650 punitive expedition sent from Martinique murdered a large party of Amerindians who had a communal feast in the northern portion of the island. Its survivors decided to commit suicide by leaping off a cape into the Caribbean Sea (Bresson, 1975:55,62,218–223; Cody Holdren, 1998:34,39,41–44,56–66; Crouse, 1940:193–198). This same year a small group of French from Martinique settled in St Lucia. The leader of the colonists married an Island Carib wife and was allowed to erect a fortification at Castries. A fragile peace was kept for four years (Boucher, 1992:49–50; Crouse, 1940:204; Jesse, 1968b). An incident in the Grenadines whereby some French fishermen looted an Island Carib canoe, incited the Indians of St Vincent and Dominica to attack the French in Grenada with eleven canoes and 1500 warriors. Warned by Captain Du Quesne, a friendly Island Carib headman, the French could effectively defend themselves and the attackers withdrew. Many Island Caribs now left Grenada and St Lucia, settling among the Kalina of Guarapiche on the South American mainland (Pelleprat, 1965:44).

Dutch and Courlanders: the later colonies (1650–1667)

By the mid-seventeenth century Tobago had become an island unoccupied by Europeans again. For a short period it was left once more to its autochthonous inhabitants. The island was only frequented by ships for watering and refreshing or by French fishers from Guadeloupe and Martinique during the turtling season, between April and September, or even by ‘some Caraïbes who came [...] to take refreshments which they needed before going to war against the Arovagues, or after returning from such expeditions’ (Rochefort, 1665a:67). Besides, in 1652 a group of Englishmen from Barbados reportedly visited the island for hunting purposes (Bresson, 1975:88). Al-
though not overwhelming, some documentary information is available on the Amerindians who occupied Tobago in these years. According to Pelleprat (1965:36,48), in the 1650s Tobago was settled by Gálibis, i.e., Kalina, while the latter shared Grenada with the Caraïbes (Island Caribs).55 This is confirmed by Bresson’s account of the French attempts to colonize Grenada in 1649. He notes that the Amerindians of Grenada, both Island and Mainland Caribs, had one chieftain, the Kalina Indian called Kaierouane (Bresson, 1975:54–55,218–219). A toponym, Galbi Point (formerly Anse des Galibis), in Southeast Grenada still reminds of the former Kalina presence in the island. Father Pelleprat, a French Jesuit missionary, was well acquainted with the Kalina of Tobago as he actually met a group of some 25 to 30 of them in the Kalina village of Guarapiche on the East Venezuelan coast in 1653/1654. He records a conversation with the principal Indian of this group who, on hearing that Pelleprat arrived from France for proselytizing purposes, wished him to confirm that the missionary had not come for trading in cotton, birds or other things (Pelleprat, 1965:83–84). According to Civrieux (1976), the Guarapiche Indians kept up lively trade contacts with the Kalina of Grenada and Tobago.56 All of this corroborates the accuracy of the statements of Father Jacinto de Carvajal, who in 1648 listed the ‘yndios Tavaccos’ among the ‘naciones caribas’, just as the Galeras and Dragos, i.e., the Indians inhabiting Galera Point and the islands in the Dragon’s Mouths in Trinidad (Carvajal, 1985:204–205).57

In 1654 both the Duke of Courland and the Dutch renewed their attempts to colonize Tobago. This time the Courlander enterprise was financed by the Duke himself. Eighty families of various nationalities, including Germans, Latvians, Dutch, French and English, and a force of 150 soldiers settled under a Dutch governor, Willem Mollens, on Great Courland Bay in May 1654. Jan de Moor’s old fortification at Plymouth was refurbished and baptized Fort Jacobus (Jekabs) while Tobago was renamed Neu Kurland (German for ‘New Courland’). A settlement called Jekabspils developed around the fort in the centre of which a Lutheran church was built (Anderson, 1956:110–112, 1959; Goslinga, 1971:439–440). A few months later the Courlanders were joined by some Dutchmen who had fled from Brazil in a ship which due to the fact that it lost a rudder was forced to make a landfall

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55 Similarly, Young (1807/1812:7) states that in the mid-seventeenth century Tobago was inhabited by the ‘Galibeis People’.

56 The French built a fort at Guarapiche in 1656 which was destroyed by the Spanish soon afterwards. Nevertheless, the trade contacts between the Kalina of the area and the French remained close (Prato-Perelli, 1983; Whitehead, 1988:96–97,100).

57 According to Civrieux (1976) and Cody Holdren (1998:164), the Kalina presence on Grenada and Tobago was due to a relatively late migration from the mainland into the Lesser Antilles. Although it has been noted already that in the late sixteenth century most likely Kalina from North Trinidad moved to Tobago under Spanish pressure, the latter island may have been inhabited by Mainland Caribs as early as the discovery.
at Courland Bay (Anderson, 1956:115; Grol, 1934/1947, II:99). In September 1654, a ship with 50 colonists from Zeeland under Pieter Becquard arrived at the windward side of the island. While antedating his arrival, Becquard later testified to the WIC that he landed most of the settlers at present Rockly Bay, then called *Roodklip* ('Red Cliff') Bay, and, after having concluded a treaty of friendship with the local Amerindians, subsequently left for St Eustatius in order to recruit more colonists. Now the Courlanders learned of the Dutch presence as they came across three Dutchmen who had reportedly been left by Becquard as hostages for the son of an Indian headman in a village in the central part of Tobago. When Becquard returned to Tobago, the Courlanders had occupied the Dutch encampment and although both parties agreed to leave each other undisturbed, the Dutch were forced to accept the Courlander sovereignty over the island (Anderson, 1956:118–119, 1962; Anonymous, 1676; Ballintijn, 1971; Mattiesen, 1940:456–457). The fact that Becquard did not attempt to land at the leeward side of Tobago, i.e., the scene of the previous Dutch attempts at settlement, suggests that he was aware of the Courlander presence on the island and wished to avoid admitting that they arrived first and, according to the practice at the time, could claim its ownership.

The Dutch enterprise of 1654 was financed by the brothers Adriaen and Cornelis Lampsins, both wealthy merchants from Zeeland, who, knowing the history of Jan de Moor’s attempts at colonizing Tobago, were satisfied that, following the Peace of Westphalia between Spain and Holland (1648), the Spanish would no longer interfere with the Dutch settlement of the island. Adriaen Lampsins was a director of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and lived in Middleburgh while Cornelis was a councillor, alderman as well as burgomaster of his home town Flushing and also served for some time as a director of the Zeeland Chamber of the WIC and as the representative of the province of Zeeland to the States General of the Dutch Republic (Anderson, 1956:116; Blussé & De Moor, 1983:83–88; Mulert, 1921a; Roos, 1992:110–111). As early as 1650 the Lampsins received permission from the Prince of Orange to establish a colony in Tobago. Due to the outbreak of the First Anglo–Dutch War they were unable to execute their plans with regard to the island until 1654. The following year their rights as the patrons of Tobago were confirmed by the States General and the Lampsins were granted a ten-years’ patent to the island. They received freedom of certain duties but had to finance the founding costs of the colony and its defence by themselves. The colonists had to travel to Tobago on their own expense or could go as indentured labourers (Ballintijn, 1971). The Lampsins started to build a town, *Lampsinsstad*, on the shore of Rockly Bay, actually at the site of present Lower Town Scarborough. It was defended by a fortification, *Lampsinsberg*, which held the governor’s residence, a strong house and an arsenal. Warehouses, residences and a church were built along present Milford Road.
which stretches along the bay. The entire expanse of the windward coast from Petit Trou and Little Rockly Bay in the southwest to Hillsborough Bay in the northeast was reclaimed and gradually brought under cultivation (Rochefort, 1665a:80–86,94–100). A road was constructed, connecting Lampsinsstad with Minster Bay where a small community of turtlers developed (Fig. 3). Behind the town a separate village was built for black slaves (Boomert et al., 1987b; Rochefort, 1665a:87–93).58

Still in 1654 Captain Caron in vain petitioned the States General for permission to establish a colony in Tobago separate from that of the Lampsins. He repeated the request two years later and although he met with a refusal from both the States General and the WIC, Caron and a group of planters from the Pomeroon settled in the southwestern part of Tobago. Threatened with arrest, he disappeared again to the mainland (Anderson, 1956:130–132; Ballintijn, 1971). In 1658 a group of Jews from Leghorn migrated to Tobago although a number of them afterwards moved to Essequibo and Pomeroon on the mainland. Two years later another group of Jews settled on the island (Oppenheim, 1907/1908; Zwarts, 1927). The Dutch colony was considerably strengthened when a number of French Huguenots who had wanted to establish a settlement on the mainland, decided to move to Tobago. They were joined by Dutch colonists who had fled from Recife and wished to found ‘a new Brazil’. All together, by 1662 there must have been some 1200–1300 white settlers next to 400–500 African slaves in the island (Anderson, 1956:134,151,195; Goslinga, 1971:440–443). Lampsinsstad now became a major centre of regional trade. Tobago was becoming the store of European manufactures for the Lesser Antilles. The Dutch planted sugar cane, ginger, cotton, cocoa, indigo, cassia fistula, roucou and tobacco for export to the mother country while cattle and horses were imported for stock breeding. Ground provisions, coconuts, oranges, lemons, beans, plantains, guavas,

58 The detailed information available on the Lampsins colony is owed to the publications entirely or partly devoted to Tobago, written by Charles de Rochefort, a protestant clergyman born in La Rochelle, France (Rochefort, 1665a, 1665b). Rochefort was employed by the Lampsins as a minister on St Eustatius and Tortuga in the late 1640s. He served the Walloon community of Flushing from 1650 to 1653 and that of Rotterdam afterwards. Rochefort may have visited Tobago in 1654 as well as in 1664–1665 (Menkman, 1942:59; Mulert, 1921b; Roos, 1992:110–111,127; Anonymous, TTHSP 359, 1667). His reputation in West Indian historiography is disputed. Through the assistance of the French Lieutenant-General of the West Indies, Philippe de Lonvilliers de Poincy, Rochefort was allowed to consult the manuscripts on the Island Caribs and West Indian history written by Breton and Jean Baptiste Du Tertre. Afterwards the latter claimed that Rochefort turned into nonsense what he had written, although it is likely that Du Tertre’s judgement was coloured by strong religious antagonism. Besides, Rochefort had first-hand information on the Island Caribs of St Vincent provided by a Sieur De Montel (see Allaire, 1977:28; Crouse, 1940:89,280; Goveia, 1980:23–26; Taylor, 1949). His major publication on Tobago, Le Tableau de L’Isle de Tabago [...], was published in Leiden in 1665 and reissued the following year under a slightly different title in Paris. It is dedicated to the Lampsins family and has a hagiographic flavour.
coconuts and vegetables were grown for local consumption. Apart from agriculture, hunting, turtling and fishing were practised. Carey turtle carapaces and timber formed valued export products while wine, beer, textiles and manufactures were imported from Zeeland for trade with the English and French islands. Coral rocks and shells for the production of lime were acquired by merchants from as far as Suriname. By 1666 there were eighteen sugar mills in Tobago, the majority of which were operated by animal traction (Anonymous, TTHSP 359, 1667; Donnan, 1969, I:151–159; Reid, CSP V:1126, 1666; Rochefort, 1665a:56–58,63,80,101–102, 1665b:11,85).

Meanwhile, the Courlander colony on the leeward side of Tobago was faring less well. In spite of regular reinforcements and new settlers, sent by the Duke of Courland, the mixed population of New Courland dwindled due to illnesses and Amerindian attacks. All together, Jekabspils never had more than some 500 inhabitants, mainly white farmers and soldiers (Anonymous, 1676; Kleyntjens, 1949; Mattiesen, 1940:470,475–476,479). From the outset Mollens wished to establish a trade relationship with the Tobago Caribs. In 1654 he reported that the latter had five villages in the island. Each of these settlements probably consisted of one extended family as Mollens notes that each village consisted of some 25 people under a captain, having one (war) canoe. He hoped to conclude a treaty of friendship with the Indians and traded iron axes, knives and mirrors for hammocks with them (Anderson, 1962, 1970:119; Mattiesen, 1940:451–453). Indeed, the Lutheran pastor, serving the Courlander community, had been instructed by the Duke of Courland to study the Indian language so as ‘to look to it seriously that the minds of the savages could be directed to proper revelation of God’. He had to avoid any kind of religious dispute, but in every case ‘to act with gentleness and tenderness’ (Anderson, 1970:120–121). One Carib village was most likely situated not too far from the Courlander settlement. An ink and watercolour manuscript map of Fort Jacob, probably drawn by Willem Mollens in 1656, shows an Amerindian village at the back of the fortification, approximately at the site of present Plymouth (Fig. 4). According to Mollens’ map, this settlement consisted of a series of (perhaps originally about 20) round (family) houses with conical, thatched roofs, encircling an open square the centre of which was occupied by a rectangular building with thatched roof, apparently a men’s (assembly) house. The drawing suggests that the walls of both the assembly house and family huts were made of closely-set poles or reeds. The structures are overshadowed by a tree of considerable size. Dark-skinned, sparingly clad Indians, holding spears in their hands, are shown inside the

59 In addition, the Dutch may have cut dyewoods in the present Bloody Bay area. This bay is called t Rasphuys and Rasphuys Bay on the Tobago maps of Anonymous (1677) and Keulen (1683). In the Dutch Republic a rasphuis was a correctional institution where petty criminals had to grate tropical dyewoods for the processing of textile dyes. It is likely, therefore, that in the Lampsins period Bloody Bay formed the centre of shipment of such dyewoods to Holland.
From the outset the Courlander settlement was under attack by Amerindians, notably Island Caribs from the Windward Islands. One month after Mollens’ arrival, the Indians killed two Courlander sailors and a few months later another one. In August 1654 he reported to the Duke of Courland that many Indians arrived at this part of Tobago, including ‘real savages in boats from St. Vincent. From here they proceed further to the continent. There are also visitors from the continent here. They are causing difficulties, have disregard for the peace. [...] I shall repay them in future for what they have done to us’. Mollens informed the Duke that Arawaks from

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60 This map was formerly kept in the Berlin archives but was lost during the Second World War. At the time it measured 78x61 cm although apparently part of its upper edge was cut off long ago (Anderson, 1970:119, pers. commun.). It is noteworthy that Mollens’ drawing is probably the oldest reliable representation of an Amerindian (Carib) village in the Caribbean. Its accuracy is proven by comparison with the known documentary evidence regarding the Kalina and Kalinago seventeenth-century villages (see Boomert, 2000:286–288). However, the number of family huts in the village contradicts Mollens’ statements on the size of the Carib settlements in Tobago. The fact that none of the documents available on Jan de Moor’s colony at this same location refers to an Amerindian community in its vicinity suggests that this Indian village was established in the period postdating the destruction of the Dutch fortification by the Spanish in 1636.
Trinidad and the mainland occasionally visited Tobago as well. The Caribs of Tobago waged war against these Arawaks who would arrive at the island in fifty to sixty pirogues each containing some 25 men. ‘Our islanders are very worried about these arawacoes for they are hellishly strong and begin large battles. These arawacoes are enemies of all Christians’ (Anderson, 1956:155; 1970:119–120; Mattiesen, 1940:451–453,466). While the Courlanders were still able to send a ship with a cargo of peppers, sugar, ginger and tobacco to Europe in 1655, within a few years the situation was aggravated to such an extent that a Dutchman reported in 1658 that the Courlanders were unable to cultivate anything for fear of leaving the fort ‘on account of epidemics and the savages who are hunting them’. The settlers could not ‘go on hunting trips because of the savages who are surrounding them’. Only twelve out of the 40 soldiers the Dutch observer met appeared to be healthy; the others looked like skeletons. Besides, only 50 settlers remained of the colony’s entire population; all others had died due to illnesses (Anderson, 1956:149–150, 1970:132; Archibald, 1987/1995, I:28–29; Mattiesen, 1940:477–478). The situation became desperate when during the Baltic War the Swedes imprisoned the Duke of Courland and blockaded the ports of the duchy, as a result of which no supplies could reach Tobago. The Dutch profited by inciting a mutiny among the garrison of Fort Jacob. Its commander had to surrender and in 1659 the Courlander colony was incorporated into that of the Lampsins (Anderson, 1956:163-171,178-180).

Documentary evidence that the Dutch settlement on Tobago’s windward coast was ever attacked by Amerindians during the 1650s and 1660s, is lacking. Nevertheless, it is recorded that individual estate owners in the French Quarter, i.e., the portion of the Dutch colony situated behind present Hillsborough Bay (Fig. 3), fortified their houses ‘against incursions of the Savages’. This suggests that these raids occasionally took place. One of these planters, Monsieur Du Chesne, reportedly had a small fortification around his house with two cannons (Rochefort, 1665a:81–82). Obviously, Lampsinsstad was too populous and well defended to be attacked by the Indians. After the incorporation of the Courlander settlement into the Dutch colony, the Plymouth fort was renamed Fort Beveren after the Dutch governor, Hubert van Beveren, and refurbished. Besides, a large sugar mill was built by the Lampsins brothers nearby, ‘below the fort’ as Rochefort (1665a:104) notes, i.e., on the flat close to the mouth of the Courland River. The danger of Island Carib attacks on the leeward coast was realised by the Dutch and accordingly a redoubt called Belleviste was constructed in the southwestern portion of Tobago, probably in the Buccoo/Mount Irvine area, in order to ‘prevent the Indians to disembark here’. The Dutch demanded that the Island Caribs obtained permission to land from the governor of the island (Rochefort, 1665a:9–10,100–101. 1665b:21). Also, the inhabitants of the small, isolated community of the Quarter of Sandy Point in Southwest Tobago, where potable water could be obtained only from wells during the dry season, fortified one of
these ‘cisterns’, undoubtedly to prevent interference with the water supply by
the Amerindians (Rochefort, 1665a:100). Nevertheless, it is recorded that in
1660 the leeward part of Tobago suffered an attack by Indians during which
the Dutch used the old Courlander supply of gunpowder at Fort Beveren

The Island Carib attacks on Tobago formed part of the general pattern of
fierce resistance against the European colonies shown by the Indians of the
Windward Islands during the 1650s. Hostilities began on St Vincent. First a
hurricane struck the island which many Indians ascribed to the bad influence
of the two Jesuit missionaries who had established themselves on the island
in 1653. The following year the bad treatment of some Island Caribs on board
of a French vessel and some other minor clashes culminated in the murder of
these priests and a few young lay-apolstles. A punitive expedition to St Vincent
sent by the French now aroused hostilities in most of the French islands,
notably St Lucia, Grenada, Guadeloupe and Martinique, as well as Island
Carib raids against the English of Antigua (Gullick, 1985:49; Plas,
1954:7.17.20.27). Everywhere the Indians were joined by fugitive blacks.
Ultimately the French succeeded in defeating the Island Caribs of Martinique.
Most of them fled to St Vincent and Dominica (Allaire, 1977:86–88;
Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:172; Crouse, 1940:193,211–221,225–
226). Island Caribs captured by an expedition sent from Barbados to attack
those who had raided the English islands were taken as slaves to Barbados.
Some were sold to Jamaican planters (Handler, 1969). In 1659 the French
 governors of St Kitts and Guadeloupe entered an agreement with English
officials of Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat for an offensive and defensive
alliance against the Island Caribs. Urged by Father Philippe de Beaumont, the
successor of Breton as the resident missionary of Dominica, not to pursue the
war with the Indians to the latter’s extermination, in 1660 the French
concluded a peace treaty with the Island Caribs by which Dominica and St
Vincent were reserved to them on the condition that they abandoned all
claims to the other islands. Fifteen Indian chiefs agreed to endorse the pact. It
was signed on their behalf by Father Beaumont (Taylor, 1949). The Indians
promised to return escaped black slaves to their masters and to allow
missionaries on St Vincent again. Subsequently, the governors of most
English colonies, except for Barbados, joined the treaty (Adelaide-Merlande,
1993; Boucher, 1992:50–51; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:167; Burns,

Not feeling bound by the agreement, in 1664 Willoughby attempted to
establish an English settlement in St Lucia, although this island had a small
French outpost for a number of years next to a large Island Carib population.
Being instructed ‘to treat with the natives, especially those of St. Vincent and
Dominica, or if injurious or contumacious, to persecute them with fire and
sword’ (English Crown, CSP, V:489, 1663), he first sought support from the
English-leaning faction of Dominica’s leeward side led by Indian Warner, the
son of Sir Thomas Warner and his Island Carib wife.\textsuperscript{61} Indian Warner was induced by Willoughby to travel to England where he was presented at court. Afterwards he was appointed by the English as their deputy-governor of Dominica. Using Indian Warner as an intermediary, Willoughby now ‘bought’ St Lucia from Anniwatta, a big man of St Vincent who was considered by the English to be the ‘Chief father of the Caribbee Islands’, for ‘divers goods, wares, and merchandizes...’ (and spirits). Subsequently, he sent a party of 1500 men from Barbados, accompanied by 600 Island Caribs in 16 canoes from Dominica under Indian Warner, to St Lucia. They established a settlement which, however, due to sicknesses and financial troubles was abandoned within three years, after which the French moved in again (Boucher, 1992:67–68; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:207–208; Burns, 1965:301–302,355; Crouse, 1943:8–9; Jesse, 1968b; McKusick, 1960b:27–29; Taylor, 1951:19–20). Following this failure, Indian Warner gradually loosened his ties with the English, finally siding with the French. In these years especially the English kidnappings of Island Caribs for enslavement damaged their relations with the Indians, which ultimately resulted in dragging most natives into alliances with the French (Boucher, 1992:52,66–67).

Meanwhile, both the French and English governments were trying to contest the Dutch trade monopoly in the West Indies. The latter supplied provisions and sold slaves on easy terms to the planters. Living as factors in the islands, they built warehouses, docks as well as town dwellings, and frequently intermarried with the locals. First the English shut the Dutch out from trading with their colonies in Virginia and the West Indies and forbade foreigners to purchase English produce in the Caribbean. Then similar rules were applied to Europe, leading to the First Anglo–Dutch War (1652–1654). The ‘navigation laws’ in question were reconfirmed in 1660 (Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:64; Klooster, 1998:42; Newton, 1966:280–282). Subsequently, the French attempted to eject the Dutch from the trade of their island colonies. In 1664 Colbert founded the French Equatorial Company in order to centralize the administration of the dominions and to monopolize the trade in the French West Indies, buying the individual islands from their proprietors. It ended the free trade much to the dismay of the local planters (Crouse, 1940:167–168,263, 1943:2; Newton, 1966:200,234). In these years the Duke of Courland, released from Swedish captivity, opened negotiations with the Lampsins in order to recover his Tobago colony. As these failed, he turned to England and was able to get the backing of King Charles II who in 1664 granted him Tobago in exchange of the Courlander possessions in West Africa (English Crown, CSP V:854, 1664; Kleyntjens, 1949). The Lampsins

\textsuperscript{61} In contrast, the Indians of the windward coast of the island associated themselves with the French. Dominica’s mid-seventeenth century political division into a windward (\textit{capesterre}) and a leeward (\textit{basseterre}) portion, was based on a traditional cleavage in its Island Carib population, based on kinship (Taylor, 1972).
now successfully sought the support of the French who at the time were allied with the Dutch. In 1662 the French monarch raised Cornelis Lampsins to a peerage and made him the Baron of Tobago. Actual support for the Dutch colony was not forthcoming from the French, although it is recorded that in 1664–1665 Father Henry de la Borde was working diligently in St Vincent to promote peace between the Dutch and Island Caribs, so that the latter could concentrate their wrath on the English (Boucher, 1992:61,69). While their patent was extended for another ten years, requests to the States General by the Lampsins for military assistance were rejected although the Admiralty of Zeeland promised some support (Ballintijn, 1971).

During the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667), the flourishing Lampsins colony came to an undue end. In January 1666 it was captured and plundered by a party of Jamaican buccaneers, commissioned by Sir Thomas Modyford. They just forestalled a force of 350 men from Barbados, sent by Willoughby. The buccaneers ‘destroyed all that they could not carry away’ and it was only due to the persuasion of the English commander, Major John Scott, the commander of the Barbadian militia, that they did not burn the fortress and the governor’s house. Scott took 500 Dutch planters and their families next to 500 black slaves to Barbados; the French planters were allowed to repatriate to Martinique. He left a small garrison in Tobago and proceeded to the Guianas where he took the Dutch colonies at Moruca, Pomeroon and Essequibo (Anonymous, CSP V:1657, 1667; Burr, 1898:77–78,90; CCVTA, 1898:37; Goslinga, 1971:388–391,395; Menkman, 1942:86; Modyford, CSP V:944, 1665; Scott, 1925b; Reid, CSP V:1126, 1666; Scott, CSP V:1525, 1667?; Willoughby, CSP V:1124,1125, 1666). After a few months in its turn the English garrison was overrun by a small French force from Grenada. The French soon left the island again after destroying what was still left standing (Anderson, 1956:209; Praetorius, 1705). Finally, the Zeelander admiral Abraham Crijnssen retook Tobago in April 1667 after having conquered the English colony of Suriname and retaken the Dutch possessions on the mainland coast. He found twenty settlers in Tobago who apparently had hidden in the forest during the hostilities. Two of Crijnssen’s crew members, including Father A. de Westhuysen, accidentally met an Amerindian while walking along the beach, probably at Rockly Bay. Invited to pay a visit to the latter’s village, they passed through a forest and arrived at the other side of the island. Here they came across a large number of ‘savages’, altogether more than 100 men, armed with bows, arrows and wooden clubs. At last they arrived at a village consisting of 50 houses where they shared a meal and some cassava beer with the Indians. They parted in friendship (Westhuysen, TTHSP 37, 1667).\(^62\) Crijnssen now restored the fortification of Lampsinsstad, leaving 29

\(^{62}\) According to Westhuysen (TTHSP 37, 1667), many of the Indians went ‘quite naked, but some had their private parts covered by a cloth’. The Dutch were presented with a knife made of coral rock and had a meal consisting of iguana and fried fish, as well as some cassava beer which,
men in order to protect the remnants of the town against the ‘savages’ (Andersson, 1956:212; Hollis, 1941:54; Warnsinck, 1936:46–47).

In the Lesser Antilles the French, allies of the Dutch in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, were continually assisted during expeditions against the English by groups of Island Carib auxiliaries, e.g., during invasions of Antigua and Montserrat in 1666 and 1667 and a naval encounter in the latter year. Willoughby sneeringly noted that the Amerindians had become ‘the French stalking-horse’ (Burns, 1965:313). In 1668 the English opened negotiations, meeting with various Island Carib leaders. A treaty was concluded, but soon afterwards hostilities erupted when the English attempted to settle in St Lucia. Driven off the island, a Barbadian force attacked in retaliation the Island Caribs of St Vincent, capturing a local ‘big man’, but, as the governor of Jamaica complained, this drove them further into the hands of the French. Some 500 warriors now went to aid the latter (Beckles, 1992; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:172; Boucher, 1992:70; Burns, 1965:308–309,311; Crouse, 1943:60; Taylor, 1951:20). Indeed, the war had a catalysing effect on the process of affiliating the Island Caribs with the French and alienating them from the English. According to Boucher (1992:10–11,52,70) four reasons can be put forward to account for this. First of all, the Amerindians were continually in contact with French island roamers (coureurs des îles) who frequented the Island Carib islands to fish and hunt for manatees and turtles, to cut wood and trade. Knowing the customs and language of the Indians, some took Island Carib wives and went about in native dress, painted red all over. A further advantage was given by the generally positive impact of the French missionaries who, moreover, kept open the lines of communication with the French administration. The English, in contrast, were complete strangers to the Island Caribs. Furthermore, the French island officials were reasonably successful in limiting the unjust treatment of the Indians while, finally, the ability of the French militia to instill fear and respect among the Island Caribs may have played a certain role.

The French government now followed a deliberate policy of avoiding warfare with the Island Caribs and, moreover, employing the latter as ‘ethnic soldiers’ (Boucher, 1992:65,132). This attitude of douceur, strongly advocated by Colbert, would become a major factor in the growing Anglo-French rivalry in the West Indies, especially after the political role of the Dutch in the region had ended in 1678. Besides, by this time the measures taken by both the French and the English in the 1660s had reduced the Dutch commercial influence considerably. The alliance between the French and the Amerindians of the Windward Islands was reinforced by their lively trade relationship. It led as Westhuysen noted, was ‘prepared by the old women who chewed the materials’. This drink, known as perino, was quite popular among, e.g., the planters of Barbados in the seventeenth century although the traditional way of starting the fermentation process was no longer practised after the 1650s (Handler, 1970).
to heavy borrowing of French words in the Island Carib language (Taylor, 1951, 1977:75–79). According to Du Tertre (in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:131–133), the French bartered axes, billhooks, knives, metal grills, pins, hooks, needles, razors, cloth for making sails, augers, glass beads and small mirrors for hammocks, turtles, pigs, iguanas, fowl, parrots, fruits, bows, arrows, baskets, green-stone beads, and shells (carets) of the loggerhead sea turtle (Caretta caretta). The latter formed a most important merchandise from which the French made combs, cups, boxes, cases and cabinets. The green-stone beads, often made of nephrite, were obtained from the Kalina of the mainland and formed traditionally major ‘primitive valuables’ used to cement political alliances among the Amerindians of the tropical lowlands (Boomert, 1987, 2000:431–433). The Island Caribs now bought sheets of tin from the French in order to fabricate shiny fish hooks (Price, 1966). Land crabs and edible frogs were taken to the markets in Martinique by the Island Caribs of the southern part of Dominica and to those of Basse-Terre in Guadeloupe by the Indians of the northern portion of the island. In some cases the Indians left their children to be brought up by the French. Indeed, Rochefort (1665b) notes that in those parts of the French West Indies where the Island Caribs were accustomed to mixing with the French, they ‘accommodate themselves in many ways to their [i.e., the European] manner of life’, so as to be ‘more kindly received by them’. In contrast, in the years of the Second Anglo–Dutch War the relationship between the Indians of Dominica and the English was such that the latter changed flag when passing along the island.

Remarkably, the situation in the coastal zone of the Guianas was quite different. In Suriname the English had associated themselves with the Kalina who assisted them during their defence against the Dutch when Crijnssen conquered the colony in the Second Anglo–Dutch War. As the Arawak (Lokono) of Essequibo, Berbice and Pomeroon were considered to be allied with the Dutch, the governor of Barbados felt justified to grant a commission to an English force to raid coastal Arawak villages in the area in spite of the fact that peace had been signed at Breda already (1667). The English captured five Indians in Dutch territory on the Maroni River who were taken to Barbados to be sold as slaves. The Dutch protested and the Barbadians gave in, promising to punish those involved and returning the Indians (Handler, 1969). Another English attempt to ‘punish’ the Arawaks of the Corentyne and Berbice for their support of the Dutch was prevented by the latter who seized the Barbadian vessel involved and sent the crew to Zeeland (Whitehead, 1996). Apart from being induced by feelings of revenge for the Dutch capture of Suriname, the rising costs of black slaves were behind these Barbadian ventures. The rapid deforestation of Barbados during the 1650s

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63 On the other hand, Rochefort (cited by Gullick, 1985:71) notes that there were English boys and girls among the Island Caribs of St Vincent who, being abducted at a very young age, had forgotten completely about their parents.
and 1660s and the consequent lack of firewood and timber formed another problem confronting the island’s planters. The Barbadians bought fuel for boiling sugar in Antigua until that island forbade the export of timber in 1669. Tobago and St Lucia now became increasingly interesting in this respect as these islands were ‘very wealthy in large Timber Trees fit for all uses’. Accordingly, in 1667 an English naval force under Sir John Berry attempted to raid Dutch shipping at Tobago after the departure of Crijnsen, while protecting Barbadians who sailed to the island in order to cut wood for house timbers and especially cedar rollers for sugar mills (Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:269,297; Burns, 1965:311; Council of Barbados, CSP V:1428, 1667).

*Dutch and Courlanders: The Last Attempts (1667–1693)*

New settlers and soldiers from Zeeland were sent to Tobago by the Lampsins family in 1668. An attempt was made to rebuild Lampsinsstad and to resume the cultivation of cash crops. Settlement apparently took place in a more random manner than before and new areas on the windward coast were occupied (Boomert et al., 1987b). The colony was ill-fated, however. First of all, it suffered from continual attacks by Island Caribs from St Vincent, now known as ‘the Cheife seat of the Carebees’ (Scott, cited by Cody Holdren, 1995), which started soon after the arrival of the colonists in the island (Linde, 1966:40). After having prevented a Courlander landing in 1669 (Anderson, 1970:217–221), the following year the Dutch colony ‘received a great blow by the invasion of the Island Indians’ (Byam, CSP VII:508, 1670). The settlers lost 19 men, women and children when the Island Caribs attacked. The planters and the governor of Tobago, Abel Thisso, now petitioned the States of Zeeland to send more soldiers and some vessels in order ‘to keep free the coast from the barbarians’. Besides, the colonists complained that there was a great shortage of manufactures and clothes in Tobago as these were supplied by the Lampsins only to those who would immediately pay for them (Anderson, 1956:231; Menkman, 1939/1940, 1947:139; Mulert, 1919; Linde, 1966:40). William Dampier (1968:326), who was in the West Indies in 1674, later wrote that Tobago was often ‘annoyed and ravaged’ by the Island Caribs in the years it was settled by the Dutch while a letter of 1679 notes that the Indians of St Vincent were assisted by those of Trinidad during these attacks (Mattiesien, 1940:702–704). Thisso

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64 A fortified estate house, indicated as *Voermaels Castell* (‘Former castle’), is shown in the present Belle Garden area of the windward coast on a Dutch/Courlander manuscript map of Tobago dating from 1681 (Anonymous, 1681; Mattiesien, 1940:472–473, Karte C). This map is identical to the one published by Johannes van Keulen at Amsterdam in 1683 (see Map Collectors’ Circle, 1964, Pl. II), except for the fact that it has a different set of toponyms. As none of these names are mentioned in Rochefort’s description of the first Lampsins colony (1654–1666), it is likely that they refer to the 1668–1672 episode.
suggested the States of Zeeland to conclude a treaty with the French against the Indians, but under the influence of Colbert these were now actually gradually severing ties with the Dutch in anticipation of an English entente against their former allies. Thus, the French refused Dutch requests for help, even providing the Island Caribs of St Vincent with guns and food when they intended to raid the Dutch colony of St Eustatius (Boucher, 1992:74).

The outbreak of the Third Anglo–Dutch War (1672–1674), in which the French sided with the English, meant the end of the second Lampsins colony. In December 1672, just after the garrison had been reinforced with 500 men (Goslinga, 1971:446), the island was attacked by a fleet of seven vessels from Barbados under Sir Tobias Bridge. Only weak resistance was offered. Partly this was due to the presence of many Quakers and (protestant) French among the planters who decided to remain passive during the hostilities. The fort and all buildings were looted now and destroyed. After what was to become known as the ‘Tobago Plunder’, the Dutch officers were transported to Curaçao while 400 Dutch colonists and their cattle as well as 400 African slaves were taken to Barbados. The French refused to join the English and were transported to Martinique with the request to hang them. Many of the slaves escaped in the forest, however. Bridges left a small ship and a party of 30 English to hunt down and recapture them. Some French, gaining their freedom by pretending to guide the English in the forest, fled themselves. They were killed by a party of Island Caribs ‘who came thither to glean up such remains of plunder as the English had left’. The Indians took some 75 black slaves with them to the Windward Islands. After the English had left the island, the governor of Barbados pressed the Barbados Assembly to garrison Tobago. Its members were unwilling to do so, however (Anonymous, CSP VII:997, 1672; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:216; Bridge, CSP VII:995,996, 1672; Goslinga, 1971:446; Harlow, 1926:210–211; Menkman, 1942:87; Poole, TTHSP 360, 1672; President and Council Barbados, CSP VII:1131, 1673; Willoughby, TTHSP 40, 1672). By the Peace of Westminster, which ended the Third Anglo–Dutch War, Tobago was awarded to the Dutch again. It was placed under the supervision of the WIC Chamber of Zeeland until in May 1676 the heirs of the Lampsins sold Tobago to the States of Holland and West Frisia, thus ending the relationship of the family with the island (Grol, 1934/1947, II:101–102; Menkman, 1947:150).

With the Dutch still at war with France, in 1676 the responsibility for the defence of Tobago was given to the Admiralty of Amsterdam. A squadron under Admiral Jacob Binckes with 100 new colonists led by Hendrick Carloff, a Dane, was sent from Holland still this year. Binckes first conquered Cayenne and plundered Guadeloupe, Marie Galante and St Martin. Some hundreds of African slaves, captured in the French islands, were sent to Tobago. Binckes decided to construct a new fortification in Lampsinsstad, the Sterreschans, close to the old one built in the 1650s. Meanwhile, the Dutch
were able to make peace with the Island Caribs of St Vincent whom they now provisioned in order for them to attack the French settlement on Grenada (Boucher, 1992:86; Crouse, 1943:112; Newton, 1966:302). Binckes was unable to finish the work on the fortification before Tobago was attacked by a French force under the Count d’Estrées in February/March 1677. After the French had unsuccessfully tried to capture the fort from the land side, a murderous encounter between the French and Dutch fleets took place in Rockly Bay. Severe losses forced the French to withdraw. D’Estrées returned with a new squadron in December 1677. Now he attacked only from the land side and was able to take the Sterreschans after an explosion in the Dutch powder magazine had killed Binckes and half the fort’s garrison. D’Estrées took 600 prisoners whom he carried to Martinique. Some 70 to 80 black slaves, men, women and children, who had hidden in the woods during the Dutch–French hostilities, were captured by Island Caribs who, after the departure of the French, came to search for booty in five or six pirogues. They were seized by an expedition sent to Tobago by William Stapleton, the governor of the Leeward Islands, and after four years the slaves were returned to the Dutch (Archibald, 1987/1995, I:53; Burns, 1965:369; Menkman, 1939/1940; Stapleton, TTHSP 28, 1678). Only three Dutchmen were able to hide themselves and stayed on the island (Boomert et al., 1987b; Crouse, 1943:112–20; Goslinga, 1971:447–456, 478–479; Guérout & Guillaume, 1992; Hamelberg, 1900; Jonge, 1859:686–689, 699–740).

Peace was concluded between the Dutch and the French in 1678. Although throughout the 1680s and indeed as late as 1699 the States General of the Dutch Republic were petitioned for approval of schemes for settlement of Tobago, actual efforts to occupy the island were no longer made by the Dutch. Tobago was now only used occasionally by Barbadians for hunting wild hogs and woodcutting (Anderson, 1956:292; Ballintijn, 1971; Goslinga, 1971:456, 1985:20,29; Grol, 1934/1947, II:103-104; Hamelberg, 1899; Menkman, 1939, 1942:112, 1947:151; Poyntz, 1901:8). While the French similarly neglected to establish themselves on the island, the Duke of Courland seized the opportunity to make a new series of attempts to found a colony on Tobago’s leeward side. In 1680 a new fortification was built at Stone Haven Bay by a small advance group of soldiers under an English lieutenant in Courlander service, Robert Bennet. Lack of provisions induced him to trade cargoes of wood in Barbados and Martinique as well as to sell some of his weaponry and even 11 to 12 soldiers (serfs) as indentured labourers in Barbados. After attacks by Indians from the Windward Islands Bennett left Tobago with most of his group in 1681, apparently just before the arrival of the appointed governor of the colony, a Scottish colonel in Courlander service, Monck, who was accompanied by a mixed group of in all 135 settlers consisting of Scotchmen, Germans, Danes and Latvians. Finding the colony in a bad shape, he decided to construct a new fortification at Rocky Point.
between Mount Irvine Bay and Stone Haven Bay. While being instructed by the Duke of Courland to conclude treaties of friendship with the Indians of the Windward Islands and Trinidad, Monck was soon assaulted by Island Caribs from St Vincent and St Lucia, aided by French interlopers, ‘as wild and savage’ as the Indians themselves, as the governor of Barbados noted. Illnesses decimated his people and as a relief party never reached Tobago, in 1683 Monck decided to abandon the colony (Anderson, 1956:279–286; Boomert, n.d. 1: Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:217; Dutton, TTHSP 366, 1681, TTHSP 367, 1682; Lynch, TTHSP 368 and 369, 1682; Mattiesen, 1940:722–723,756–757,795–796; Stapleton, TTHSP 392, 1683). Again, Tobago was left for some years to be used only for turtling and hunting purposes or woodcutting by visiting foreigners. Probably during a Barbadian woodcutting trip in 1684 an English longboat was taken by the ‘natives’ at Tobago and the crew killed (Donnan, 1969, I:333–335).

Meanwhile, Duke Jacob had entered an agreement with an English merchant-adventurer, Captain John Poyntz, to have Tobago settled by Englishmen under Courlander flag. Poyntz reportedly visited Tobago from Barbados in 1678 and 1679 and met one of the few then residents of the island, a Dutchman who, with his family and at least one christianized Indian servant, had fled from Suriname (Poyntz, 1901:4–5). After extended negotiations with Duke Jacob, who died in 1682, and his successor, Duke Friedrich Casimir, Poyntz was granted 120,000 acres of land while he promised to send 1200 colonists to the island within six years (Anderson, 1956:58,288–293, 1970:244–250; Kleyntjens, 1949; Mattiesen, 1940:477,722). In order to attract these settlers he wrote a glowing prospectus on Tobago and its possibilities of colonization, The Present Prospect of the Famous and Fertile Island of Tobago [...], which was published in London in 1683, together with a new edition of John Seller’s map of the island, first put out in 1679 (Seller, 1683). Poyntz’s prospectus, which was reissued in 1695, characterized Tobago as not less than ‘the most Convenient, Commodious, and Salubrious Island in the Caribes’ and extolled its virtues and opportunities (Poyntz, 1901:2). Poyntz’s prospectus was to become Daniel Defoe’s main source for his description of the uninhabited island in the Caribbean on which his immortal hero Robinson Crusoe was shipwrecked (see below). In detailing Tobago’s animal and plant life as well as its agricultural products, it represents an important source of information which, however, has to be consulted with caution. Nothing came of Poyntz’s schemes, however, as in 1683 the British Crown or-

65 The remnants of Fort Monck were still visible in 1765 as Thomas Jefferys notes on his map of Tobago ‘Remains of a Fort or House in the Dutch Taste’ at approximately this location.

66 This Dutchman, Otto Eden, apparently left Suriname due to the Kalina revolt which, threatening since the Dutch conquest of the colony in 1667, resulted in open conflict in 1678 and brought the colony almost to an end. It lasted as a guerilla war until as late as 1686 (Buve, 1962; Whitehead, 1996).
dered him to cease all preparations for settlement, revoking the old grant to the Courlanders the following year. Fears that Tobago, if properly cultivated, would be able to compete favourably in sugar production with Barbados and, moreover, would ‘steal’ the English trade to the latter island were behind this decision (Anderson, 1956:294–298, 1962).

Poyntz’s description of Tobago shows several inconsistencies (Young, 1807/1812:19–22) while the references he makes to the Amerindians living on Tobago when he visited the island in the late 1670s, include Algonquian words, suggesting that the writer was more acquainted with the North American Indians than those of the West Indies (Poyntz, 1901:12,16). At the time Poyntz befriended the Indian ‘Emperor of Trinidad’ whom he allowed to board his vessel together with his ‘war captain’, their wives and sons. This Indian, who would have been travelling to Tobago ‘with thousands of his vassals’, assured Poyntz of his peaceful intentions. The latter took the Emperor’s son to Barbados where he was presented to the governor. Afterwards Poyntz exchanged names with him, i.e., the traditional Amerindian way of accepting individuals as linked by kinship (Poyntz, TTHSP 776, 1699). As late as 1704 one of Poyntz’s associates, Moses Stringer, refers to this Indian chief as ‘the Emperor of the Carib Nation’ stating that the latter ‘comes once a year, in his periagoes processioning round the Island of Tobago, claiming it as his own’. Stringer (TTHSP 778, 1704) adds that this Indian and his people have ‘many times disturbed settlements on Tobago’. Poyntz notes on the Amerindians of Tobago that they used gourds for vessels and coconut shells as cups, spoons and dishes. The leaves of the coconut palm would serve them for thatching and as the raw materials for baskets as well as fishing lines and ropes. The latter were also made of silk grass. Similarly, the leaves of the cabbage palm were used for thatching while ‘of the hard, and outmost Rind, the Indians by the use of fire make Piles for their Arrows’. According to Poyntz, mauby, a lightly fermented Amerindian drink made of red potatoes, sweetened with sugar, is the ‘universal drink in Tobago’, as it was among the planters in Barbados (Handler, 1970), next to cassava beer, known as pereno or perino. Finally, Poyntz mentions that the Amerindians consider the sea turtle to be ‘sacred; for they call it Gods fish, by reason of the extraordinary vertue that’s found therein’: its consumption would be effective against venereal diseases (Poyntz, 1901:6–7,10,16,19). Indeed, the latter idea, which was shared by many European settlers in Barbados and Jamaica (Dunn, 1973:308), appears to have been adopted from Island Carib and Taíno beliefs (e.g., Boomert, 2000:473).

The last Courlander attempts to colonize Tobago were made in the late 1680s. A new group of settlers, consisting of Danes, Scotch, Germans and Latvians, the latter mainly unemployed soldiers, serfs and convicts, arrived in 1686. Led by a German commander, Captain Schmoll, they built a new fortification, Fort Casimir, at Mount Irvine. Reinforcements were sent by the Duke of Courland the following year. An effort to exchange timber for
provisions and manufactures at Barbados failed as the governor of the island forbade the trade, obeying London’s new policy which rejected the Courlander rights to Tobago. Nevertheless, an English frigate assisted the settlers to fight a party of Amerindians, probably Island Caribs, and a French barque from Martinique (Anderson, 1956:303–307, 1962). A diary kept by a Dutch sailor in Courlander service, Jan Waebes, from 1686 to 1688 (Mattiesen, 1940:821–854), records the hostilities with these Amerindians who apparently mingled with local Indians from the southwestern part of the island, near present Crown Point. The latter are described as ‘well built’ and ‘very smooth and fat as to stature’, only clothed by ‘a small piece of cloth covering the genitals’. Waebes’ diary suggests that the local Indians ‘wished to trade in all friendship’ with the Courlanders and indeed did so, e.g., by supplying the settlers with fish. Some thirty of them visited the fortification with their wives and a few children. After a month the first ‘foreign’ Indians appeared, significantly showing French flags at their canoes, simultaneously with a French barque. An English frigate from Barbados which subsequently arrived in Little Courland Bay, captured the French vessel and some pirogues ‘full of Indians with some white men among them’. During the hostilities which followed several Courlanders were killed by the Indians (Stede, TTHSP 768, 1686). After a few months Schmoll surveyed the southwestern part of Tobago but was unable to spot any pirogues here. Nevertheless, the hostile encounters between the Courlanders and Indians continued (Anderson, 1956:308).

Meanwhile, the number of settlers steadily diminished due to sicknesses which reached epidemic proportions in the rainy months at the end of the year. By then already one-third of the colonists had died. As the Indians kept harassing the Courlanders, Schmoll attacked some of the Indian encampments near Crown Point. Several Latvian soldiers now deserted into the woods, but were killed by the ‘savages’. In March 1687 Schmoll left with most colonists and soldiers, sailing to New England and ultimately to Scandinavia. Only two months afterwards a ship with provisions and 80 new settlers reached Tobago, discovering that the fortification and buildings had been abandoned and afterwards destroyed by a French party which had just visited the island and planted a cross and the King’s coat of arms (Hamelberg, 1900). As the Indian attacks ceased temporarily, the fort could be refurbished. However, after the Courlanders had been warned by a French barque with turtlers from Martinique, the hostilities started again in July 1688. In all 800 Indians reportedly now assaulted the colonists who were forced to use artillery and did not dare to leave Fort Casimir any longer. Finally, some seventy Courlanders shipped on board of an English vessel bound for Barbados with a cargo of wood chopped in Tobago. In 1693 a Danish captain, David Jantson, reached Tobago and met a few Courlanders still living on the island, led by a Lieutenant Fenton. They said that they had not seen a Courlander ship for six years. Apparently, the colonists had been left in peace by the Indians for some time as they claimed to have piled up a large quantity of tropical produce for
shipment. This represents the last report of Courlanders on Tobago as soon
the last survivors left for Barbados (Anderson, 1956:319–322; Mattiesen,
1940:912). Although the Duke of Courland held to his claims to Tobago
throughout the eighteenth century, actual attempts at settling the island were
no longer made by the Courlanders.

The French flags which the Island Caribs showed during their attacks on
the Courlander settlement of Tobago in the 1680s, are illustrative of the alli-
ance which gradually developed between the Indians of the Windward Islands
and the French in this period. While the English government urged the colo-
nial administrators to keep peace with the Island Caribs and to punish se-
verely any settler provocations against the Indians (Boucher, 1992:64), the lo-
cal planters and their representatives were eager to join Stapleton’s opinion
that the destruction of ‘all the Caribbee Indians’ would be the ‘best piece of
service for the settlement of these parts’ (Beckles, 1992). In the long run this
attitude appeared to be counterproductive. The English government similarly
attempted to protect the Kalina, their allies on the coast of the Guianas. Con-
sequently, when in 1673 an English party from Barbados under Capt. Peter
Wroth kidnapped 11 Indians, probably Kalina, on the Amacura River, the lat-
ter was reprimanded for violating the agreement to protect the enemies of the
Dutch and instructed to return all those ‘captured and enslaved’ as it was
considered important ‘to keep a fair correspondence between the Carib Indi-
ans and the English’. In 1674 Wroth was back in Amacura, possibly to return
them. Now he came back in Barbados with eight women and two children,
probably Arawaks, whom he could sell as slaves without opposition. This
same year an Island Carib raid on Antigua induced Stapleton to commission
Philip Warner and a group of Antiguan planters to punish the Indians of
Dominica. During this encounter, which resulted in a massacre of 80 Island
Caribs, the capture of others and the destruction of villages, canoes and pro-
vision grounds, Indian Warner was killed, allegedly by his halfbrother. It led
to further raids on Antigua and Montserrat in 1676 and the definite forging of
an alliance between the natives of Dominica, including those of the leeward
cost, and the French. Besides, in 1679 the Island Caribs of St Vincent
pledged to fight for France in all future wars and promised to inform the
Kalina of Trinidad and the mainland of this agreement and to try to gain their
assent (Boucher, 1992:75; Burns, 1965:278,343–345; Handler, 1969; Taylor,
1951:20). In 1676 the further importation of Amerindian slaves was prohib-
ited by the Barbadian Assembly, probably because of fear that the Indian
wars of New England and their atrocities would spread to the Caribbean. The
act was repeated in 1688 (Beckles, 1992; Breslaw, 1991; Handler, 1969).67

67 In these years there were several Indian slaves in Jamaica who had been captured in New
England during King Philip’s War between the natives and the English (Dunn, 1973:269–270).
In 1684 Barbados had only 72 Indian slaves (Breslaw, 1991).
The Island Carib attacks on the English settlements of the Leeward Islands continued throughout the 1680s. In 1681 the Indians of Dominica and St Vincent raided Barbuda, in 1682 Montserrat, and again two years later. This year the Island Caribs of Dominica, St Vincent, St Lucia as well as Tobago and the Kalina of the mainland strengthened their bonds (Cody Holdren, 1998:169). In retaliation Stapleton asked for approval from the English Crown to attack the Island Caribs. If their destruction cannot be ‘total’, he insisted, at least we should try to ‘drive them to the main’. When permission was granted, he requested Barbados for funds, but the governor of this island, Sir Jonathan Atkins, did not want to be part of the undertaking as the Barbadians wished to safeguard their woodcutting parties in St Lucia and Tobago. Atkins wrote to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations that Barbados was ‘in amity with those Indians and needed their friendship’ to the latter end. Nevertheless, in 1683 Stapleton went ‘Indian hunting’ as he called it, assaulting the ‘hellish villains’ of Dominica and afterwards St Vincent, killing many natives and destroying villages and pirogues. His success was limited. Clearly, the Indians sided with the French who had supplied them ‘with firearms, powder and bullets’. Moreover, according to Stapleton, the French ‘buy the plunder and negroes taken from the English islands’ (Boucher, 1992:88–89,92; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:173; Burns, 1965:345–346,354–355; Handler, 1969; Taylor, 1951:21). Finally, a neutrality agreement was concluded between the French and British with regard to Dominica in February 1686. They agreed that this island should be left to the Island Caribs and neither nation would settle it. In spite of this, as late as 1693 an act was accepted by the Assembly of Antigua to destroy the Indians (of Dominica) and take their pirogues (Boromé, 1967; Boucher, 1992:87; Luke, 1950:133).

Poyntz’s reports on the visits of Trinidad Caribs to Tobago and the various references to these Indians suggest that the Kalina emigration from the northern third of Trinidad had come to an end and was probably reversed from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. The Spanish population of Trinidad was still small and restricted to its northwestern portion: in 1671 St Joseph had only 80 vecinos next to a garrison of 47 men (De Aldaña, TTHSP 152, 1671). The planters subsisted on the cultivation of tobacco and cocoa which were grown on small estates, assisted by Indian slaves obtained from the mainland and the Nepoio and Arawak living in the five encomiendas of the island. As Scott (1925a) states of Trinidad, ‘Cocoa groweth heere in great Plenty, and the best of the sort in all the Indies’. Nevertheless, the island suffered from neglect by the Spanish Crown: in 1687 its governor complained that no registered ship had visited Trinidad in four years (Newson, 1976:141).

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68 The mainland Indian slaves were acquired from Cumaná, the Orinoco and the Venezuelan/Colombian Llanos. About half of them came through the Llanos from the Spanish territories in western South America (Newson, 1976:21; Whitehead, 1988:165).
The local planters themselves lacked the manpower and capital for agricultural development. Besides, the island was regularly raided by foreigners: in 1670 by the Dutch, two years later by the English, in 1674 and 1677 by French buccaneers, and in 1682 again by a party of French assisted by Kalina (Borde, 1982:28–32; Whitehead, 1988:101,168). In an attempt to pacify the still about 5000 Amerindians living on Trinidad and to assimilate them to Spanish culture and Christianity, the Spanish decided to invite Capuchin priests from Catalonia to establish a series of missions, typical ‘frontier’ institutions (Bolton, 1917), in those parts of the island which were densely inhabited by Amerindians. The first missionaries arrived in 1687, founding mission settlements \( (\text{reducciones or misiones de viva conversión}) \) especially in the southern and central parts of Trinidad while simultaneously the existing \( \text{encomiendas} \) were transformed into missions. Some of these missions were shortlived but four of them survived well into the eighteenth century. They were typically agricultural colonies cultivating food crops for themselves and commercial crops for sale. The Indians had to work two days a week on the mission estate and under the \( \text{mita} \) system of forced labour outside the mission for the Spanish landowners during 16 days a year. The rest of the time they were free to work on their own plots. The authority of the missionaries over the Indians was complete (Borde, 1982:42–55; Leahy, 1980a:99; Newson, 1976:162–165,169).

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Amerindian population in the Caribbean had started to decline steeply. Although it is extremely difficult to estimate the size of the Indian population at the time of the discovery, it has been suggested that in the early sixteenth century there were some 7000 to 15,000 Indians living in the Lesser Antilles. Apparently, St Vincent, Martinique and Guadeloupe represented the most densely settled islands (Boucher, 1992:35). The demographic impact of the Spanish slaving and raiding activities of the sixteenth century is unknown, but notwithstanding all strife the Island Caribs were still fairly numerous in the early 1600s. Indeed, according to a Spanish report, in 1607 Dominica still had some 3000–4000 inhabitants (Moreau, 1991). In the 1640s La Paix estimated this number to be even higher, reporting the island to be occupied by 4000 to 5000 Indians. Knowing that they were much more numerous in former times, the Island Caribs attributed their decimation to massacring by the Europeans and the \( \text{Alouagues} \) (Breton, 1978:54; Myers, 1978). In 1672 the total number of remaining Island Carib bowmen in the Windwards was estimated at only 900 while shortly before Sieur de la Borde believed the Island Caribs to amount to 4000 persons in all. Besides, in 1683 a French official stated that only 600 Indian warriors were left on Dominica (Boucher, 1992:96; Bridenbaugh & Bridenbaugh, 1972:173; Gullick, 1985:49). Imported diseases such as smallpox, measles, influenza, chicken pox and diphteria, spreading through human contact, obviously formed the major factors in the diminution of the Indi-
ans. According to Kiple & Ornelas (1996), the Island Caribs probably were in relatively good health as late as the 1650s due to their dispersed occupation pattern of the Lesser Antillean archipelago and the separation of their villages on the various islands, all of which contributed to isolation of potential focuses of infection. The steep decline seen in the second half of the seventeenth century may have been due to the importation of African diseases such as yellow fever and malaria, which probably spread due to the increased presence of escaped black slaves among the Island Caribs in these years.

A Peaceful Interlude: Tobago as an ‘Uninhabited’ Island (1693–1763)

After the final demise of the Courlanders, Tobago became a no man’s land for more than half a century. Though claimed by both France and Britain, it was only used occasionally for refreshing and refitting by warships of either of these countries in order to uphold their rights to the island. To this end, e.g., a French squadron called at Tobago in 1706. The English refused to abandon their claim to Tobago because of its strategic situation to the windward of Barbados, their most prized possession. As the governor of Barbados stated, in French hands Tobago ‘will cut off the trade here by hostilities’ in times of war while ‘its fertility is such that in times of peace it will undo this island by its crops’ (Archibald, 1987/1995, I:68; Boucher, 1992:100; Pares, 1963:198; Williams, 1964:53). With respect to the latter, governor Worsley informed the Secretary of State in 1725 that Tobago ‘is esteemed the most fertile of all the Charibbees’ (CSP 478). Accordingly, following petitions by Sir William Waller and, again, Poyntz for permission to settle Tobago by English colonists under Courlander auspices in 1699, the British declared the Duke’s grant void in law and forbade the settlement of all persons in Tobago as any of such projects would be ‘prejudicial to the trade of Barbados’ (Council of Trade and Plantations, TTHSP 775, 1699, and 782, 1709). This policy was held throughout the first decades of the eighteenth century, but was reversed in 1721 when, following a new request to settle Tobago, the Board of Trade gave in and allowed the granting of lots of not more than 300 acres of land on the island, provided that the planters in Barbados or any other of the Caribbee Islands were excluded from such grants and that sugar cane would not be grown. Instead, the planting of cocoa, indigo and anatto was envisaged (Archibald, 1987/1995, I:68; British Crown, TTHSP 285, 1721; Pitman, 1967:336). Nothing came of this due to the fact that Britain wished to avoid war with France which would certainly have considered the settling of Tobago by English colonists as a casus belli. Similarly, the persistent Anglo–French

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69 Waller had entered into an agreement on the settling of Tobago with the Duke of Courland although the British Crown had revoked the latter’s grant. This contract contained an article permitting the ‘heathen natives who will live peaceably and quietly’ next to English settlers, that they will ‘enjoy their lands and habitations without disturbance’ (Waller, TTHSP 584, 1699).
rivalry created a stalemate in the contest for St Lucia and underwrote the neutrality of Dominica and St Vincent.

Meanwhile, the northern part of Tobago developed into a pirates’ nest in spite of regular expeditions sent from Barbados to suppress the buccaneer activities (TTHSP 282, 1699). In 1694 a Barbadian sloop, which had called at Tobago in order to trade with the local Indians, was captured by French privateers. It had the sons of some Indian ‘kings’ from Trinidad on board who wished to visit Barbados ‘to make peace and settle trade with us’. The sloop was taken to Martinique and a ‘very considerable cargo’ was lost (Russell, TTHSP 582, 1694). In 1723 an English man-of-war surprised a group of pirates under the feared Captain Finn who were using Man-of-War Bay for refitting their vessels. The outlaws fled into the woods but were reportedly taken by the British as a result of treachery by some Amerindians who had originally befriended them (Archibald, 1987/1995, I:74,77–78; Southe, 1827, II:331–332; Young, 1807/1812:35,52). Yet, the following year some French turtlers were robbed of their catch by a sloop from Barbados and in 1733 Spanish privateers stripped all sailors of a vessel from Barbados, cutting timber at Hog (Carapuse) Bay, and took the ship to Margarita. Indeed, groups of Barbadians frequently visited Tobago in these years for periods of two or three months for the ‘conveniency of cutting Timber, for a large Supply of the most excellent Sorts of which this Island was ever famous’. The ever ‘wood-hungry’ Barbadians even declared that ‘Tobago is to Barbados as a piece of woodland to a private person’ (Agents of Barbados, TTHSP 650, 1699). Furthermore, Tobago was inhabited by a fluctuating group of Amerindians and some dozens of French turtlers (coureurs des îles) from Martinique and Guadeloupe who came to the island periodically during the turtling season. A few Barbadians similarly visited Tobago on a regular basis for turtling purposes as well as for the cutting of dyewoods.

Tobago’s status as an ‘uninhabited’ island formed one of the main reasons that it was chosen by Daniel Defoe as the scene of the adventures of his hero Robinson Crusoe (1719). That Defoe had Tobago in mind cannot be doubted, although the idea for the book was probably suggested to him by an almost five years’ stay by one Alexander Selkirk on the island of Mas-a-Tierra in the Juan Fernández archipelago in the Pacific Ocean. However, Crusoe’s is-

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70 The Indians may have been the sons of the Indian ‘emperor’ and his ‘war captain’ reportedly met by Poyntz.

71 At present part of Man-of-War Bay is still known as Pirates’ Bay. It is indicated on Thomas Jefferys’ Tobago map of 1765 as ‘The Pyrates Careening Place’.

72 This activity is also suggested by the toponym Bloody Bay for the large inlet on Tobago’s Caribbean coast which in the Dutch period was known as Rasphuys Bay and, as noted above, probably derived its name from the cutting of dyewoods at this location. The name Bloody Bay is mentioned for the first time in the mid-eighteenth century (Anonymous, 1762; Drummond, TTHSP 324, 1751). It most likely originates from the fact that the dyes in the wood coloured the waters red. Besides, the best-known dyewood tree of Tobago, Croton gossypifolius, is still locally known as ‘Bloodwood’ (Boomert, n.d. 2).
land was to be found in the West Indies, not in the Pacific; after all he was steering for Barbados when he was shipwrecked and his Man Friday was a Carib Indian (Lichtveld, 1974:19–20). The latter told Crusoe that their island was situated close to the mouth of ‘the mighty river Oroonooka’ and that the larger island they ‘perceiv’d to the W. and S.W. was the great island Trinidad’ (Defoe, 1975:156). Clearly, Defoe’s detailed description of Crusoe’s island was inspired by Poyntz’s contemporaneous prospectus for the settlement of Tobago (Poyntz, 1901) and, of course, Crusoe’s successful attempt to cultivate his uninhabited island in the Caribbean resembles Poyntz’s Tobago colonisation project. The vicissitudes of Crusoe and Friday adequately reflect the knowledge among the English general public on Tobago and the Amerindians of the West Indies in the early 1700s. As Dampier noted in 1697, Tobago ‘still lies waste [...] as being too near the Caribbees on the Continent, who visit it every Year’ in order to ‘preserve their own right, by endeavering to keep out any that would settle themselves’ (Dampier, 1968:326). The alleged cannibal nature of the Caribs was quickly realised by Crusoe who encountered remnants of ‘their inhuman feastings’ on the beach of his island and admits that the Indians of the Wild Coast ‘are indeed the worst of savages; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters’ (Defoe, 1975:81,92,120–121,134,157; Lestringant, 1997:138,143). Other details such as Friday’s refusal to eat salt, Crusoe’s manufacturing of ‘a canoe, or periagua’, his reference to the ‘club or wooden sword’ used by the Indians, and Friday’s explanation that revenge formed the reason of Carib warfare (Defoe, 1975:93–94,147,154,169) suggest that Defoe was acquainted with several aspects of Carib culture (Boucher, 1992:125–126).

By the early-eighteenth century the Amerindian population of Tobago had become nearly as fluctuating as that of the French and English turtlers and woodcutters. Understandably, the island now became a refuge area for Indians from the mainland as well as the Lesser Antilles (Woodcock, 1867:20). Both the French and British attempted to influence the local Amerindians by gifts and signs of friendship. Accordingly, in 1714 the acting governor of Barbados informed London that he had encouraged the Indians of Tobago to continue their alliance to the British Crown (TTHSP 732, 1714). An act of wishful thinking as the Amerindians instead closely associated (and intermarried) with the French turtlers who formed the majority of Europeans on the island. Frequent traffic and communication took place between Tobago and Northeast Trinidad. The Spanish feared the Kalina of Trinidad’s Caribbean littoral, calling those living on the islets of the Dragon’s Mouths ‘wild and savage’ (Dampier, 1968:326; see Beaumont, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:176). Indeed, the island’s north coast was beyond any Spanish control. In 1699 it formed a refuge area for the Nepoio Indians of the Arena mission in Central-East Trinidad after they had revolted and killed the resident priests as well as the governor who was visiting the mission village. Pursued by the Spanish and auxiliary Indians from the missions of the Naparima area in Central-West Trinidad, part of the rebels committed suicide by throwing themselves off the rocks at Point Radix on the island’s east coast while a
group of ten Nepoio, men and women, reportedly fled to the Caribs of Arrecifes (present Reefs Point), just west of Galera Point (Anguiano, 1928; Buissink, 1938:1). As early as 1689 it was said that the Indians living at Chacachacare, one of the islets in the Dragon’s Mouths, could speak French and around 1700 French itinerant traders from the Windward Islands travelled along the entire northern coast of Trinidad as far as the Paria Peninsula and Guarapiche, bartering with the local Amerindians (Carrocera, 1968, III:67; Newson, 1976:174). In 1733 a vecino of St Joseph learned from Indian fishers at Galera Point that some Frenchmen, probably traders or turtlers, had passed there in a vessel, saying they were on their way to Tobago (Council of the Indies, TTHSP 593, 1733).

Meanwhile, cocoa was flourishing in Trinidad and the need for labour concomitantly increased. Under pressure of the landowners, who resented the missionaries’ virtual monopoly over the labour of the mission Indians, the mission villages were abolished. In 1708 they were transformed into misiones de doctrina, in which the priest exerted only religious authority and a corregidor, responsible to the governor, acted as magistrate and distributed the Indian labour to the landowners. After idle protests by the Capuchins in Madrid, the order was implemented in 1713 and the missionaries left the island (Leahy, 1980a:99). The missions were handed over to the secular clergy, but as these priests did not speak Nepoio, they fell in grave neglect. In 1716 the four encomiendas were ended as well. In order to control these villages, corregidores were appointed. The pressure on the Indian labour eased in 1725 due to the failure of the cocoa industry. It resulted in a dwindling of the Spanish population. A partial recovery followed in 1735 (Borde, 1982, II:75–82,90; Newson, 1976:109,152,166). In these years Northeast Trinidad and Tobago were invaded by groups of Chaima and Paria Indians from Cumaná and the Paria Peninsula who wished to escape from the attempts of Aragonese Capuchins to concentrate them in mission villages. This must have involved missions in both East Venezuela and Trinidad as it is recorded that in 1739 a group of 150 pagan Chaima was living in the four mission settlements of Naparima (Newson, 1976:157,166). Between 1736 and 1745 many Chaima fled from the missions of Irapa, Soro and Amacuro on the west coast of the Gulf of Paria, especially after a smallpox epidemic broke out. The disease promptly spread to Trinidad, ravaging the Indian population of the island. Another outbreak took place in 1741 (Borde, 1982:108; Joseph, 1838:142,148–149). According to Spanish records, many Chaima were induced by French itinerant traders to go with them to Tobago (Carrocera, 1968, I:296–299,311, III:52,140–141). Other Chaima fugitives settled near Arrecifes (Reefs Point) and Cumana Point. Of course, the latter name is significant (Pamplona, 1928:232,235).

73 A Spanish document of 1732 states that 'el idioma Comun' of the mission Indians of Trinidad 'es el Nepuyo, y Naparima que distan mucho de los idiomas de la [...] Provincia de Cumaná' (Rionegro, 1918, II:237).
Apart from Chaima, in the early 1740s groups of Island Caribs from St Vincent sought refuge in Northeast Trinidad and Tobago. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the escaped African slaves on St Vincent had become so populous that they began to form a menace to the Island (Yellow) Caribs of the island. The first of these blacks were captured by the Island Caribs from the Spanish in the sixteenth century and incorporated as ‘slaves’ in Carib society. They were allegedly augmented by blacks who were rescued by the Amerindians from wrecked slavers in the Grenadines in 1635, 1657 and 1675, but clearly most of them were escapees from the plantations especially on Barbados. Indeed, the political status of Dominica and St Vincent as Carib reserves served as a magnet on the black slaves of the nearby islands. While intermarrying with the local Amerindians, the Africans acculturated to the Island Caribs to such an extent that they adopted the name Carib and were accepted as (Black) Caribs (Anonymous, 1961; Gonzalez, 1988:26; Gullick, 1985:44–46; Robert, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:172–174; Taylor, 1951:21–23). Besides, they fully assimilated the Amerindian beliefs and social structure, e.g., burying their dead in squatting position under their house, flattening the foreheads of new-born infants and binding girls’ calves. The men painted themselves entirely with anatto, just like the Yellow Caribs. In warfare the Black Caribs added the use of the musket to the Indian weaponry (Gonzalez, 1997).74 In 1706 they had as many as about 1000 bowmen and the Yellow Caribs only 600; a report of 1713 refers to 4000–5000 Caribs of both sorts. By the 1740s there were some 5000–6000 Black Caribs on St Vincent and only about 1300 Yellow Caribs (Boucher, 1992:97,106). The conflicts between the two groups, which most likely involved the kidnapping of Indian wives by the Black Caribs, induced the Yellow Caribs to turn to the French for help. In 1700 the governor of Martinique divided the island longitudinally by drawing a line (the barré de l’île) from north to south, assigning the eastern, windward, half to the ‘wild’ Black Caribs (Boucher, 1992:101; Kirby & Martin, 1972:10). The Yellow Caribs wished to remain on the more accessible west coast as it was easier to communicate and trade with Martinique from here. By 1726 St Vincent was reportedly occupied by two political groupings, i.e., the Black Caribs led by a ‘chief’, and the Yellow Caribs, led by a ‘general’ (Gonzalez, 1988:16).

Knowing that they were increasingly outnumbered by the Black Caribs, the Yellow Caribs now attempted to get assistance from the British. In 1714 it was reported to the Barbados Council that the ‘King of the Indians’, a certain William who reportedly functioned as the ‘overlord’ of all Island Caribs and resided on St Lucia, had requested help against the Black Caribs of St Vincent, who were allegedly supplied in ammunition by the French. ‘King’ William visited Barbados with a delegation of his people. The Barbadians

74 The Black Caribs started to practise skull deformation in order to distinguish themselves from the black slaves of the French.
grasped the opportunity to encourage the St Lucia Caribs ‘to continue under H.M. protection, and to reject any dependence upon any other Prince’. However, by the time the English had sent some vessels to St Lucia to establish a ‘pax Britannica’, the two groups had settled their differences (Archibald, 1987/1995, I:75–76; Sharpe, CSP XXVIII:244, 1715; Watson, 1987). In contrast, the Yellow Caribs of St Vincent turned to the French. In 1719 they even induced the French to attempt to conquer the entire island. Hoping to carry away the entire group of Black Caribs as slaves, the governor of Martinique sent 400 volunteers, but the promised Indian auxiliaries did not show up and the Black Caribs started an effective guerrilla war. After some time the French retreated to Martinique; only individual Frenchmen went to live among the Yellow Caribs, buying land from the Indians in the western portion of St Vincent, the hilliest part of the island (Burns, 1965:454; Kirby and Martin, 1972:14–16; Lafleur, 1996). The French occupied small holdings, cultivating provisions for trade to the French sugar islands and raising livestock (Anderson, 1983:45; Gonzalez, 1988:15–16; Gullick, 1985:50–51). Finally, many Yellow Caribs left St Vincent due to the pressure exerted on them by the Black Caribs, fleeing to Northeast Trinidad and Tobago in 1740 and shortly afterwards. In Trinidad they settled among the Kalina, Chaima and Paria close to Galera Point, i.e., one of the regions of the island still largely beyond Spanish control (Coke, 1808/1811, II:165–166,183; Gullick, 1978, 1979, 1985:52; see also Beaumont, in Hulme & Whitehead, 1992:174–177).

Meanwhile, the Island Carib population of Dominica and the other Windwards dwindled as a result of which their role in the intercolonial conflicts of the West Indies practically ceased. (The last Island Carib raid on Antigua took place in 1705.) Martinique had a small remnant community in its southeastern part until 1730, while on Dominica only some 350–400 Indians were reportedly left in 1709. Most of them lived on its eastern, windward, side. From the beginning of the eighteenth century they were closely allied with itinerant French woodcutters from Martinique (Allaire, 1977:88–94; Boromé, 1967; Boucher, 1992:94–96; Myers, 1978). The French established themselves officially on Dominica in 1727, buying land from the Island Caribs for rum, iron goods, cloth and arms. The latter produced ‘canoe shells’ for adaptation into European-styled pirogues and baskets for plantation use as objects which were traded with the French (Honychurch, 1997). In 1727 the governor of Martinique sealed the French–Carib friendship in Dominica with liberal presents to a party of Indian ‘chiefs’, distributing 30–40 pistoles to each in return for their loyalty. This was the first recorded instance that money was being given rather than trade goods (Boromé, 1967). Five years later the French suggested to the English, who claimed the ownership of Dominica, St Vincent and St Lucia, to consider these islands as neutral until their status could be agreed upon (Burns, 1965:456). The British did not react, however. In St Vincent the French continued to coexist
peacefully with the Black Caribs, regularly giving them presents, including arms and ammunition, as well as sending missionaries. The Black Caribs now adopted French names and agricultural techniques. Catholicism, next to pidgin French (patois) as their means of communication. Some of their chiefs, employing black slaves themselves, began to grow crops of tobacco, cotton and indigo for sale to the French on Martinique (Anderson, 1983:63–64; Gonzalez, 1990; Kirby & Martin, 1972:17–18; Taylor, 1951:23).

After a final attempt to settle Dominica in 1699 had turned out to be a failure, the English kept sending presents to the local Island Caribs, but due to the population increase in the established colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe and St Lucia the immigration of French (and Irish from Montserrat) into the island continued. The French established small holdings, planting commercial crops such as tobacco, cocoa, bananas, cotton and ground provisions, next to raising cattle, pigs, horses and poultry. The close association between the settlers and the remaining Island Caribs led to the adoption of pidgin French as the lingua franca in Dominica as well (Boromé, 1967). In these years a series of laws were implemented in Barbados in order to prevent the clandestine removal of slaves from the island. In 1719 it was stated that ‘Negroes and other slaves’ were kidnapped by sailors or otherwise lured aboard ships and sold to the French in Martinique or St Lucia. Indians obviously formed part of this trade (Handler, 1969). The Island Caribs could visit Barbados with apparent immunity. An English traveller noted in 1730 that the Dominica Indians set out on trading expeditions ‘once or twice a year […] to the number of forty or fifty’ in order to visit Barbados, the Leeward Islands as well as Martinique and Guadeloupe carrying ‘with them a cargo of Indian baskets, bows, arrows, crabs, etc.’. Staying three to four days on these islands, they would exchange them for ‘old clothes, hats, ribbons, and trinkets’. While there were still Amerindian slaves on Barbados in the early 1730s, its governor could report to the Board of Trade in 1747 that the island had no Indian slaves any longer. In 1739 the French policy of douceur to the Indians led to the prohibition of Indian slavery in the French islands (Fallope, 1993).

A bold attempt to break the status quo between the French and the British was made by the governor of Martinique, the Marquess de Caylus, in January 1749. Some 300 buccaneers from the French West Indies assisted by Island Carib auxiliaries were sent to Tobago who started the construction of a fortification at Lambeau Hill on Rockly Bay. In order to establish friendly relations with the local Amerindians, the French took along a great quantity of glass beads and some 60 Flemish knives (Nardin, 1969:65–70). On learning of this expedition, the governor of Barbados sent some men-of-war to Tobago, ordering the French to depart. The incident ended peacefully with the French ships sailing back to Martinique, leaving some 150 French settlers. Meanwhile, the governments of France and Britain had followed up on the French proposition of 1732 and concluded the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, assigning a neutral status to Tobago, Dominica, St Vincent, and St Lucia
The agreement was signed the following year. The French agreed to evacuate all four islands 'until the propriety thereof be amicly determined' (British Crown, TTHSP 319, 1749). Both parties sent a commissioner to Tobago in order to monitor the destruction of the French fort, which was burned, and the emigration of the settlers (Archibald, 1987/1995, 1:87–95; Burns, 1965:47,484; Nardin, 1969:70–79; Pares, 1963:208–209). Again, Tobago was left to the Amerindians and the French and English itinerant traders, woodcutters and turtlers who visited the island seasonally. This situation would last until the outcome of the Seven Years’ War between a Franco-Spanish coalition and Britain. At the Treaty of Paris the issue of sovereignty of the ‘neutral islands’ was finally settled: France acquired St Lucia while St Vincent, Grenada, Tobago and Dominica were ceded by the French to Britain (1763).

The diplomatic controversy following Caylus’ attempt to settle Tobago and the following detailed surveying of the island by the British until the conclusion of the Seven Years’ War resulted in a number of reports and topographic maps which offer a unique insight into the composition of Tobago’s Amerindian and European population in the 1750s and early 1760s. In all some 20–25 groups of turtlers, most of them French but also some English and a few Spanish, were estimated to live on the island in these years (Sayer, TTHSP 313, 1748). The Europeans predominantly occupied the southwestern part of the island, i.e., the area of the major turtle beaches (Fig. 5). The number of Frenchmen among them may have risen somewhat due to the influx of Caylus’ colonists from Martinique in 1749, not all of whom apparently returned to the French West Indies afterwards. Although most of the turtlers visited Tobago seasonally, there were settlers who lived on Tobago on a permanent basis. In 1748 the oldest French inhabitant was André Jadouin, a fisherman originating from La Rochelle who lived on Great Courland Bay. Asked for the reason he and his friends had ‘for settling in such a savage place rather than in the French Colonies’, he answered that ‘they found all the necessities of life and liberty at Tobago, both of which they were deprived when in a civilised country’ (Nardin, 1969:65–66; Tyrrell, TTHSP 311, 1748). Married to an Island Carib woman, Jadouin was still living at Great Courland Bay when in 1752 the next Tobago survey was made by the British (Nardin, 1969:80).75 Two years later the number of French in Tobago

75 In 1757 another long-time resident of Tobago was by accident encountered by a midshipsman from a British naval vessel who, wandering in the woods, came across a ‘venerable-looking man’ who declared in French that he had resided 21 years practically in solitude. Only the Indians of the island ‘would sometimes call at his hermitage, when hunting, give him part of the game, and shave his beard off with their knives’. He had been a priest in Martinique but after having advanced some tenet which gave offence he had been seized in the middle of the night and transported to Tobago (Southey, 1827, II:322). This recluse may have lived on present Minster Bay (from French ministre, ‘priest, clergyman’), a name which is first mentioned in 1751 (Drummond, TTHSP 324).
Map of Tobago, showing the settlement of Amerindians and French turtlers ca. 1750. Footpaths indicated by interrupted lines. Underlined names are present toponyms of Amerindian origin or reflecting former Amerindian habitation. Legend: (1) Amerindian habitations; (2) European, predominantly French, habitations; (3) Mixed French/Amerindian habitations. Sources: Anonymous (1762); Bladwell, TTHSP 323, 1751; Byrne (1762); Drummond, TTHSP 322 and 324, 1751; Jefferys (1765); Killingly (1762); Salt, TTHSP 318, 1749; Sayer, TTHSP 313, 1748; and Simpson (1765b). Inset: map of Northeast Trinidad, showing the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Amerindian villages and Spanish/Amerindian mission sites. Abbreviations: GP, Galera Point; RP, Reef’s Point. Bar=3 km.
was estimated at approximately one hundred. Apart from fishing, hunting and turtling, the settlers planted ground provisions including sweet potatoes and cassava, plantains, pumpkins, and some corn next to commercial crops such as cotton (Bladwell, TTHSP 323, 1751; Drummond, TTHSP 322 and 324, 1751; Nardin, 1969:80). In addition to the French and a few English turtlers, some Spanish from Trinidad visited Tobago seasonally in this period (Nardin, 1969:66). Young (1807/1812) even states that Spanish missionaries had a ‘petty settlement’ intended for the ‘conversion of the Indians’ at La Guira on Tobago’s southwest coast, but no contemporary documentary evidence can be put forward to substantiate this claim.76

Amerindians still formed the majority of Tobago’s inhabitants in the mid-eighteenth century. Most of them lived on the windward coast from Little Tobago to Rockly Bay although there were Indian hamlets on the Caribbean coast as well, e.g., on Man-of-War Bay (Drummond, TTHSP 322, 1751; Nardin, 1969:79). Elsewhere, the Indians resided together with the French settlers, of which several apparently had an Indian wife (Fig. 5). In the 1740s there may have been a few dozen Chaima in the island next to less than a hundred local Kalina (Galibis) and some 40 Island (Yellow) Caribs who had fled from St Vincent. Caylus’ expedition led to the settlement of a further group of 80 Island Caribs from Martinique. A British observer noticed that he saw ‘a good many of them’ at Tobago (Nardin, 1969:66; Salt, TTHSP 318, 1749). The French buccaneers appointed Jeannot, a ‘Caraïbe’ born on Tobago, as the ‘governor’ of all Amerindians in the island. He had to call to arms all Indians when need arose to defend the French fort against the English. However, at the first opportunity that such an attack was likely, only three of them showed up: the rest reported sick (Nardin, 1969:73). After a survey of Tobago in 1757 Capt. Tyrrell notified the governor of Barbados that there were about 300 families of Indians in the island of whom two-thirds belonged to ‘the flat headed tribe’, most likely Island Caribs, who inhabited the southern part of Tobago, and one-third were ‘Red Indians’, probably Kalina (Galibis), occupying its northern portion. The two nations were ‘at peace, and behave in a friendly manner to each other, and both seem to live in great union with the French’. Most of the Indians of each tribe spoke French. They often went to Grenada and Martinique where ‘they trade for some trifling commodities’. One of them got the title of ‘general’ from the French of Grenada, with a commission ‘which however is very little regarded by them at their return to Tobago’. According to Tyrrell, it does not seem that ‘there is any form of government [...] among them, every man living in an entire independence from another’ (Nardin, 1969:291–292; Pinfold, TTHSP 325, 1758).77 Besides, Tobago was visited seasonally for fishing purposes by the

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76 Apart from La Guira, only three other Spanish toponyms are still preserved in Tobago. At least two of them equally date from the first half of the eighteenth century (Boomert, n.d. 2).

77 According to Gibbs (in Young, 1807/1812:42), in 1764 the ‘Charaibbee or Galibais Indians’ were the only natives living on Tobago, scattered along its coasts and river banks.
Indians of the Guianas as late as the 1760s (Macartney, cited by Wise, 1934/1938, III:78).

Maps drawn after British surveys of Tobago in the early 1760s indicate that at the time the principal Indian village was situated just west of the mouth of the Great River on present Goldsborough Bay (e.g., Anonymous, 1762). The Tobago map of Thomas Jefferys, published in 1765, shows an ‘Indian Town’ here (Fig. 5).78 The Indians may have moved to this location a few years previously as according to a British report of 1751 no Indians were living on the Great River while a hamlet of nine huts with 30–40 Indians was to be found on Petit Anse between the Great River and Cochon Gras or Fat Hog Bay (present Barbados Bay), further to the southwest (Drummond, TTHSP 324, 1751). Other, smaller, Indian settlements were to be found on, e.g., Little Hog Bay (present King’s Bay), at Belle Garden on Carapuse Bay (then also known as Great Hog Bay), and Richmond Bay. Jefferys’ map shows the abode of a certain ‘Indian King Cardinal with his Wives and about 80 People’ on a hill at the back of present Prince’s Bay, west of the Roxborough River. Besides, according to Jefferys (1765), a ‘King Peter the Indian Chief with about 14 or 16 People’ lived on the Caribbean coast, actually close to the inlet which at present is still known as King Peter’s Bay.79 Finally, Jefferys’ map shows the residence of the ‘Indian King Rouselle with his Wives and People about 30 in Number’ on present Signal Hill at the back of Lambeau. However, this was not a ‘pure’ Indian but apparently the son of André Jadouin Rochelle and his Island Carib wife, who were living on Great Courland Bay in 1748 and 1752 (Nardin, 1969:80). According to Jefferys’ map of Tobago (1765), a bridle path connected Rouselle’s abode with Petit Trou, while another one connected La Guira with Buccoo Bay, passing through present Canaan (Fig. 5). The cartouche of an English manuscript map of Great Courland Bay by John Byrne, dating from 1760, shows the picture, highly conventionalized according to eighteenth-century standards, of an Amerindian couple, provided with bows and arrows, from Tobago (Fig. 6).

The close association between the French turtlers and the local Amerindians of Tobago, who apparently had become thoroughly gallicized, led to the French renaming of many geographical features of the island (Boomert, n.d. 2). Several of these toponyms have persisted until at present, e.g., names for bays (typically called anses, after French anse, ‘bay’) such as Anse Bateau (from French bateau, ‘boat, ship’), Anse Brisant (from French brisant, ‘sunken reef’), Anse Flamengo (from French flamant or flamingo, ‘scarlet ibis’), Anse Fourmi (from French fourmi or formiques, ‘scattering of rocks, islets’), Anse

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78 Boomert et al. (1987a:25, 1987b) searched in vain for the site of this Indian ‘town’ during their archaeological-historical survey of Tobago. They suggest that it may be situated at the location of present Goodwood.

79 The present name of an estate just east of Moriah, Indian Walk, probably reminds of this same ‘King Peter’. This toponym is first mentioned by Davy (1854:239) and Woodcock (1867, Appendix).
Fromager (from French *fromager*, ‘silk-cotton tree’), Buccoo Bay (from French *bouceau*, ‘harbour entrance’), Parlatuvier Bay (from French *paletuvier*, ‘mangrove’), and Petit Trou (from French *petit trou*, ‘small opening, inlet’). Besides, a number of Dutch toponyms, coined in the period of Dutch occupation of Tobago, survived from the seventeenth century but now became gallicized. These names include, e.g., Carapuse Bay, originally *Carpoes* or *Carepoets* Bay (Anonymous, 1677; Keulen, 1683; from Dutch *karpoets* or *karpoes*, ‘cap’), which became *Carapouse* Bay (Drummond, TTHSP 322 and 324, 1751), and Rockly Bay, originally *Root-clyp* Bay (Rochefort, 1665a:8), from Dutch *rode klip*, ‘red cliff’, after the rocks in the middle of the bay, which now became *Roquela* Bay, *Roquele* Bay and *Rockly* Bay (Drummond, TTHSP 321, 1749; French Crown, TTHSP 317, 1749; Salt, TTHSP 318, 1749), thus preserving the *l* of the old Dutch name. The latter name has persisted. Finally, the original name of Man-of-War Bay, *Ian Moris Cuilsacq* (Anonymous, 1677), underwent a similar proces. This honorific toponym, called after Jan de Moor, the patron of the Dutch colony of Tobago between 1628 and 1636, to which the now obsolete Dutch word *kuiizak*, ‘bay’ (from French *cul-de-sac*, ‘dead end, bay’) had been added, was gallicized in the mid-eighteenth century into,
e.g., Jean L’Maur, Jean de Maule, Jean le Mort, Jean le Maure and Jean le Maur Bay (Anonymous, 1762; French Crown, TTHSP 317, 1749; Drummond, TTHSP 322 and 324, 1751), which was translated into English by Thomas Jefferys (1765) as John Moores Bay. Of course, all of this points to some form of continuity of settlement.

It has been suggested that the present name Man-of-War Bay is simply a meaningful English corruption of the Dutch name or at least one of its gallicized variants (e.g., Wise, 1934/1938, II:42–43). The fact that the Dutch double o vowel in moor is pronounced similarly as the English a in war, has been taken as the main confirmation of this derivation. However, it is more likely that the present toponym represents a corruption of the local West Indian name of the magnificent frigatebird (Fregata magnificens), the man-o’war bird, which is common in the waters of Tobago (Allsopp, 1996:370; Bingham Wesche, 1972). This bird is reported with reference to Tobago as early as the 1680s. According to Poyntz (1901:14), it ‘makes to the shipping some distance from the Coast, ere ever the Seaman can discover Land’. The local West Indian name of the bird is clearly derived from that used by the Island Caribs as early as the seventeenth century, mânhora (Breton, 1999:175), a name which is still used by the present Garífuna, the descendants of the Black Caribs, in Central America (Taylor, 1951:52). Accordingly, in the early-nineteenth century the name of the bay was recorded as Manouvar Bay (Young, 1807/1812:35,52), Manawawa Bay (Davy, 1854:261) and Manowa Bay (Woodcock, 1867:162). This indicates that the present name of the bay, nowadays spelled in hyphenated form, represents a meaningful English corruption of an originally Amerindian toponym, called after the magnificent frigatebird. Consequently, the toponym Man-of-War Bay is comparable to an obsolete name of the Crown Point promontory, Man of War Point (Simpson, 1765a), which indeed was recorded in Dutch as mannenaer or mannewaer point in 1686 (Mattiesen, 1940:839,847). This suggests that the name Man-of-War Bay is the only genuinely Amerindian toponym which has survived in Tobago until the present.

From Marginalization to Extinction (1763–ca. 1810)

The British occupation of Tobago and its development as a plantation colony after the conclusion of the Seven Years’ War in 1763 led to further numerical decline and the definite disappearance of the island’s Amerindians. A year before the signing of the peace treaty admiral Rodney of the British Navy could report home that the Indians of Tobago had ‘made their submission’ during the taking of the island. Actually, at the outbreak of the war a warship had been sent to Tobago to occupy it officially by reading a proclamation. This took place with a single Amerindian forming the public (Nardin, 1969:83–85). The actual occupation of Tobago followed in November 1764 when the first lieutenant-governor, Alexander Brown, landed with the schooner Melville in
Little Hog Bay (present King’s Bay). According to the journal kept by his private secretary, George Gibbs, the ship was welcomed by the ‘Charaib chieftain’ of Tobago’s windward district, Cardinal, who ‘came off in his Canoe, to pay a visit of Respect, to Gov. Brown; and thenceforward his People, were on the most friendly terms with the British’. This, obviously, is the same ‘Indian King’ Cardinal mentioned by Jefferys (1765) as occupying ‘with his Wives and about 80 People’ a hill at the back of present Prince’s Bay, west of the Roxborough River. Gibbs described the Caribs of Tobago to be short in stature, but well proportioned, muscular and active, showing a copper-coloured skin and ‘long and coarse black hair’ flowing ‘loosely on their shoulders’. Men and women went naked ‘with the exception of a small clout passing between the legs, attached by a girdle of twines of different colours, in which was held their knife’. Besides, the men wore necklaces of animal teeth (Gibbs, in Young, 1807/1812:42–43).

In April 1766 Gibbs visited Rochelle, i.e., the ‘Indian King Rouselle’ of Jefferys (1765) who ‘with his Wives and People about 30 in Number’ lived in the Signal Hill area at the back of Lambeau. In spite of Rochelle’s mixed parentage, Gibbs calls him ‘an Indian chief […] settled in a vale, at a short distance from Rockly Bay’. He had noted already that the Carib women did all the house work and the labour of the garden, also making ‘articles for domestic use’. Rochelle showed Gibbs a separate hut where his wives and daughters were at work, some making cassava bread and others spinning ‘from the distaff’. One woman was weaving a cotton hammock, using a loom. On a plot of ground, close to the hut, the women cultivated Indian yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, plantains and sugar cane. The men occupied themselves solely with hunting and fishing. Using bow and arrows, they hunted especially peccaries of which Gibbs testifies that they were numerous in the forests of the island at the time. Tobago’s present national bird, the rufus-vented chacalaca or ‘Tobago pheasant’, which after its raucous call is locally known as the cocrico, formed a favourite game bird.80 As Gibbs observed, apart from being excellent archers, the Carib men were also experts in shooting fish. Rochelle offered Gibbs and his party huts to stay overnight and supplied the British with wild meats and fowl next to conchs, river mullets and fine oysters from Buccoo Reef. Also, he accompanied Gibbs on a trip to the Great Dog River, called after the numerous ‘water dogs’ (otters) living under its banks, nowadays known as the Richmond River. The Indians shot fish for Gibbs and his party who found their hospitality remarkable (Gibbs, in Young, 1807/1812:43–47).

Meanwhile, the British plans for the settlement and agricultural development of Tobago were in an advanced state of preparation. First the island was surveyed and mapped while fortifications were established at Barbados Bay (Fort Granby) and Great Courland Bay (Plymouth). By mid-1765 the settle-

80 This was noted already by Poyntz (1901:14) in the 1680s.
ment plans, which had been drawn up by the Board of Trade for the 'ceded is-
lands', now called the Southern Caribbee Group, were finalized. Tobago was
divided into seven parishes, several of which were to have a town. Each parish
was divided into lots of 100–300 acres, in rare cases 500 acres, which were
put up for sale to planters. The forested area on the Main Ridge was reserved
as Crown lands for the supply of timber and to conserve water supplies. Be-
sides, small lots of 10–30 acres were allocated to 'poor settlers'. These were
situated on the edges of the swampy lots of larger river estuaries or on water-
less tracts in the southwest of the island (Lords Commissioners Trade and
Plantations, TTHSP 330, 1764; Niddrie, 1966, 1980:127). Part or all of the
land set aside for 'poor settlers' was apparently meant for resident
Amerindians. Also, specific lots were assigned to them. For instance, lot 32 in
the Courland Division (St David's) was unclaimed in 1811. It corresponds to
the area on the Caribbean coast which, according to Jefferys' map of 1765,
was settled by 'King Peter the Indian Chief' and his family (Clement,
1995:249). Similarly, a lot of 100 acres (lot 11) in the Rockly Bay Division (St
Andrew's) was allotted in March 1764 to 'Rochelle, an Indian'. It corresponds
to the area of Signal Hill which is indicated on Jefferys' map as the residence
of the 'Indian King Rouselle'. He sold it in March 1767 (Fowler, 1774:56–57;
Nardin, 1969:67,80,111; Woodcock, 1867, Appendix). Finally, a lot of land
marked 'S' between lots 46–47 and 60–61 at Studley Park in the Great River
Division (St Mary's) was allocated to 'the Indian Francis and his family'.

Land sales continued from 1765 to 1771. By the latter year the entire
island had been given out to private enterprise. Planters from Barbados,
England, Ireland and especially Scotland flocked in (Clement, 1995:40–49,
1997). Population grew exponentially: in 1770 Tobago had 238 white
inhabitants of whom 209 were males. Their number increased to 474 in 1780
while the black slave population grew from 3090 in 1770 to 10,613 in 1780.
Land clearing operations rapidly progressed. Most land was brought under
sugar cane or cotton cultivation although pimento (allspice), cinnamon,
ginger, nutmeg and indigo were grown as well. In 1780 all 41 sugar factories
were operating; many estates also had rum distilleries. In this same year
there were 1637 cattle and 946 mules and horses in the island. While the
agricultural development thus took place along the lines envisaged by the
Board of Trade in 1765, the planned towns did not develop so easily. In fact,
the projected capital, Georgetown, did not come off at all and only the towns
of Scarborough, the present capital, and, to a lesser degree, Plymouth
materialized. Unfortunately, the official censuses of Tobago neglected the
Amerindians still living on the island. However, according to Dauxion-
Lavaysse (1820:348), the island had some 200 Indians as late as 1777, while
this very year a Corsican pirate carried off a schooner, 37 black slaves and
two Carib Indians from Man-of-War Bay, selling them as slaves in Port-of-
Spain, Trinidad (Wise, 1934/1938, III:79–80). The excessive labour involved
in the land clearing operations and in general the harsh living conditions of
the black population led to slave insurrections in 1769, 1771 and 1774. They were put down by the militia; the runaway slaves either took refuge in the 'high woods' or fled to the Toco area of Northeast Trinidad (Archibald, 1987/1995, II:6–7, 12; Craton, 1982:153, 155). They were joined by groups of Tobago Amerindians. According to Young (1807/1812:44), due to the clearing of the forests the hunting grounds of the Indians became more and more limited 'and their dwellings were open to intrusion', as a result of which parties of them yearly migrated to the northeastern part of Trinidad where there were still vast forests.

The course of the post-1763 British occupation of Tobago and Dominica contrasted distinctly with that of St Vincent. In Dominica the Island Caribs were reduced to in all 50 families in 1763 (Myers, 1978). In 1776 a portion of land in the central part of the windward coast (Salybia) was allotted to them in return for the promise that they would not harbour any runaways. It still forms the main centre of Dominican Island Carib habitation (Niddrie, 1966). In these same years a group of Island Caribs, originating in Martinique, settled on St Lucia’s south coast. This community still exists as well, albeit mixed with the local black peasantry (McKusick, 1960:28, 30–32; Vérin, 1961). In St Vincent there were only some 100 Island Caribs left in the 1760s, next to an estimated 5000–6000 Black Caribs (Gullick, 1985:78; Marshall, 1974). As the latter inhabited the windward side of the island, they possessed the largest tracts of level terrain, i.e., the land best suited to sugar cane cultivation (Kirby & Martin, 1972:24; Thomas, 1984). In 1763 some 700 French planters with 3400 black slaves occupied the hilly leeward part of St Vincent, growing crops such as cocoa, coffee, indigo, cotton, and tobacco (Craton, 1982:147; Gonzalez, 1988:16–17). After the Treaty of Paris had been signed, British colonists flocked in from, e.g., Barbados and Antigua, while many French left the island. Primarily interested in sugar cane cultivation, the British planters attempted to buy land and settle in areas situated to the east of the barré de l’île, i.e., the region which the Black Caribs considered as their own. Almost inevitably this led to armed conflict with the British government. In 1769 the construction of a road, facilitating the surveying of the island, and a British land grant of 4000 acres in Black Carib country led to the outbreak of the first hostilities. Two regiments had to be called in from North America in order to subdue the Black Carib forces in 1773. The English now offered peace provided that the Black Caribs would accept their sovereignty. This was agreed upon and a portion of land, actually the entire

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81 The possibility that in this period the Caribs of Tobago assisted in the capture of escaped black slaves is suggested by the proposal in 1775 of Sir William Young (Senior), then acting governor of the Southern Caribbee Group, to form a militia in St Vincent consisting of whites, free coloureds and Caribs, a method he 'had found of the greatest utility in all the insurrections of Tobago' (Nardin, 1969:221).

82 It is noteworthy that the Toco area has remained a favourite settlement area for migrating Tobagonians until the present (Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947; Niddrie, 1961:38).

In the ensuing six years of peace the Black Caribs coexisted on good terms with the British, several of them using their canoes in loading and unloading vessels for the planters and supplying the market in Kingstown with tobacco, poultry, fruits and cassava bread. Paid in money, their subsistence economy was gradually integrated in the island’s commercial system (Gullick, 1976:21). Illegal occupancy of British settlers in Black Carib country continued, however, and when in 1779 the British were occupied overseas the French, who had joined the Americans in their war of independence from Britain, sent five armed vessels with 500 troops from Martinique to St Vincent. The French advanced on Kingstown while an army consisting of Black Caribs, runaways and free coloureds (brigands) overran the windward side of the island. The British soon capitulated (Gonzalez, 1988:17,20; Kirby & Martin, 1972:41–44). St Vincent remained in French hands until the island was restored to the British by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. By this time the Black Caribs had developed an incipient chiefdom political organization which became more and more institutionalised towards the end of the century. They were divided into five mutually hostile ‘tribes’, probably kinship groupings, each led by a ‘chief’, all subject to a paramount chief, the famous Chatoyer. The latter’s brother and deputy, Duvallé, was chief of one of the ‘tribes’. Chatoyer was an outstanding commander who was highly regarded because of his age, experience and wisdom. When he died in battle in 1795, his only 12-year-old son immediately succeeded him. Both Chatoyer and Duvallé had plantations of their own, worked by seven slaves each, growing cotton, indigo and tobacco which they traded with the French for arms, tools, ornaments, wine and rum (Gonzalez, 1988:31,47, 1990; Gullick, 1976:19,22,24, 1985:77; Kirby & Martin, 1972:18,23,52-53).83 According to Anderson (1983:57), in the 1780s the Black Caribs carried on a lively trade with the French islands, especially Martinique, next to St Lucia, Grenada and even Trinidad, using canoes capable of carrying some 30–40 men. The bulk of their trade consisted of tobacco which they bartered in Martinique for arms, ammunition and ‘trifling bagatelles of dress’ (also Gonzalez, 1988:108,129; Gullick, 1976:12).

By this time the Caribbean coast of Trinidad was still largely beyond effective Spanish control, functioning as a refuge area as it had for more than a century. In the last decades of the eighteenth century not only escaped black slaves from Tobago and elsewhere found their way to the Toco region, but also Island Caribs from the Windward Islands as far north as Dominica. Although

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83 Chatoyer was portrayed several times by Agostino Brunias, a travelling artist who was befriended by Sir William Young (Senior), the governor of Dominica. One painting shows Chatoyer surrounded by his five wives while another one depicts the moment that Chatoyer and his following conclude peace with the British in 1773 (see Hulme & Whitehead, 1992, Pl. 15,17).
the Capuchin missionaries had returned to Trinidad in 1744, due to the lack of funds new proselytizing activities would not be undertaken under the island’s Amerindian population until the era of reform later in the century. Influenced by its French allies the Spanish Crown now became convinced that the only way of developing the agricultural potential of the island was the immigration of experienced planters and their slaves. By issuing decrees in 1776 and 1783 authorizing grants of land and tax incentives to settlers, provided that they adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, the Spanish government was able to attract many planters, whites as well as free coloureds, from the French West Indies and Grenada especially. While by 1765 the total population of Trinidad amounted to 2503 people of which 1277 christianized Amerindians, next to an unrecorded number of ‘wild Indians’ (Noel, 1966:56), this had grown to 7446 people of which 2741 freemen, 3300 black slaves and 1405 Indians in 1785 (Brereton, 1981:16). The island’s plantation economy indeed progressed rapidly: much land was brought under cultivation of especially commercial crops such as sugar cane, cotton, cocoa, and coffee. In order to take over the extensive and largely uncultivated lands belonging to the former encomienda villages and grant them to new settlers, the Spanish governor, Chacon, had the Amerindians living here, predominantly Nepio, gathered and resettled at the mission of Arima in 1785. Some Spanish families were allowed to settle here as well (Fraser, 1891/1896, II:99; Leahy, 1980a:102; Newson, 1976:220,224).

Attempts to get some grip on the Amerindians of Northeast Trinidad through missionary activities were undertaken by the Spanish from the late 1770s onwards. In these years Chaima Indians, who had established themselves at Toco and Cumana, continued to migrate into the island from East Venezuela, while Island Caribs from especially St Vincent settled at Salybia, close to Reefs Point (Carrocera, 1968, III:439–440). They were joined by Island Caribs from Dominica who fled from that island during the 1780s (Dauxion-Lavaysse, 1820:426). In 1786 Chacon reluctantly granted land on Trinidad’s east coast to Island Caribs from St Vincent who had lived in Trinidad previously (Joseph, 1838:173; Newson, 1976:222). Meanwhile, French coureurs des îles mingled with the Amerindians of Northeast Trinidad,

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84 The name Salybia is significant. This toponym, nowadays referring to a bay rather than a village, is first mentioned on Cramer’s map of Trinidad (Cramer, 1777). It is clearly related to the Island Carib name for Trinidad. Chaléibe, recorded by Breton (1999:25,205). According to Taylor (1951:33), chaléibe or saléybe can be compared with Island Carib chalkaboue and modern Kalina solibia, both meaning ‘separate’ (Breton, 1999:64). This suggests that the name refers to the crossing over from Trinidad to Tobago, Grenada and St Vincent (Laurence, 1975; Thompson, 1959). Similarly, the present Island Carib village on Dominica called Salybia may refer to the crossing over to Guadeloupe and Martinique.

85 According to Borde (1982, II:218–219), these were Black Caribs, but most likely he confuses this migration from St Vincent with one of Black Caribs that took place after the latter had been defeated by the British in 1796.
exploiting the turtle beaches and coconut groves of Manzanilla. In 1776 the presence of these French interlopers prompted the Spanish government to suggest that the villages of Toco and Galera Point (Salybia) should be transferred to the centre of the island in order to avoid further French–Amerindian interaction (Newson, 1976:166,171,174). In the 1770s and 1780s Trinidad got the reputation of a sanctuary among the slaves which escaped from Tobago and the Windward Islands. In fact, the immigration of runaway French and British slaves was encouraged by the Spanish Crown which in 1789 instructed its colonies to welcome all escapees who could show a ‘legitimate’ claim to freedom (Scott, 1996). The Spanish now attempted to transform the non-native Amerindian villages in the northeast, i.e., Toco, Salybia, Cumana and Matura, into misiones de doctrina, appointing capitanes pobladores to act as government officials with functions similar to those of the corregidores in the established missions. However, throughout the 1780s and 1790s the shortage of missionaries reduced the effectiveness of these measures considerably. Although in 1789 Cumana reportedly got a curate for some years, the other villages were without resident priests until about 1810 (Leahy, 1980a:106, 1980b:117). Indeed, an English observer remarked in 1788 that the ‘Charaibs’ of the north coast were ‘inoffensive and indolent’ and seemingly ‘in the same savage state as they were at the first settlement of the island’ (Newson, 1976:223; Ricketts, TTHSP 175, 1788).

The Anglo–French/Spanish wars after 1778 caused considerable instability in the West Indies and acute insecurity among the settlers of both Trinidad and Tobago. Efforts were taken now to organize Tobago’s defence. The construction of Fort King George was started in Scarborough while a series of batteries, manned by the militia, were established along the coast. An abortive attempt to capture Tobago by the newly-independent United States in 1778 and an American raid on the Man-of-War Bay area in the following year showed that these were opportune measures. However, they proved insufficient when a French force attacked and conquered the island in 1781 (Burns, 1965:526–527; Nardin, 1966). Two years later Tobago was officially ceded by Britain to France. Few French planters immigrated, however. Sugar production increased at the expense of indigo, ginger, coffee and cotton. In this year almost 2.5 million pounds of sugar was shipped. Population increased moderately. In 1786 the island had 437 white inhabitants, 149 free coloureds, 11,638 black slaves, and as few as 24 Amerindians, the latter residing on Man-of-War Bay (TTHSP 689, 1787). Four years later only five Amerindians were counted, living on the island of Little Tobago (TTHSP 691, 1790). In 1793 Tobago changed hands again when a British force disembarked at Great Courland Bay, marched across the island to Scarborough and took Fort King George, renamed Fort Castries by the French (Laurence, 1995:7–8). The British Crown now allowed Tobago a separate government. The island thus got a governor next to a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown and an elected House of Representatives (General Assembly). Sugar exports peaked in the 1790s while due to falling prices
cotton cultivation declined drastically. The expression ‘as wealthy as a Tobago planter’, current in these years, is suggestive of the prosperity of the island’s plantocracy.

The few remaining Amerindians of Tobago led a marginalized existence, far from the island’s major centres of population. According to Sir William Young (Junior), the owner of Betsy’s Hope (present Louis d’Or) estate on Queen’s Bay, three families of Red (Yellow) Caribs lived in a corner of his estate, opposite Queen’s Island, in the 1790s. At present this part of Louis d’Or is still called Indian Point. Young, a wealthy planter who was to be governor of Tobago between 1807 and 1815, visited the island, inspecting his estate, in March 1792 (Young, 1807/1812:45–46, 1819:274–279). Recording his meeting with ‘chief’ Louis of the ‘Charalbes’ living at Louis d’Or, Young notes that the latter was only five years old when his father and family fled from St Vincent some fifty years previously, i.e., ca. 1740, because of Black Carib pressure. The family since divided into three distinct ones by increase in numbers. Louis, the headman, is portrayed as ‘a very sensible man’ who ‘in his traffick of fish and other articles, has obtained some knowledge of the French language’. Young was impressed by the appearance of two of the young women in Louis’ family, calling them ‘really handsome’, but continuing that the ‘old Indian dress is lost, and they wore handkerchiefs, cotton petticoats, and jackets like the negroes’. He describes the Carib houses as ‘scarcely weather-tight, being wattled and thatched, crowded with all their filth and all their wealth; the latter consisting of a great variety of nets for fishing, hammocks for sleeping in, and different sorts of provision, stores, &c &c. Beasts, stores, and people all in one room’. Questioning Louis as to his religious beliefs, the latter claimed to be Roman Catholic now, being converted during the French occupation of Tobago, although he stated that the Carib convictions were ‘always in a future state’. Formerly the (male) dead were buried in a sitting posture, ‘holding his bow and arrow’, but now they were interred au long et ‘droit’, which is better for when sitting, the body ‘got re treci and could not easily unbend to fly up to heaven when calld’, while nowadays ‘it could dart up directly’. Finally, Louis taught Young a small number of Island Carib words although the latter may have made some mistakes in interpreting them (Taylor, 1951:122).

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86 This name is first mentioned by Young (1804:7–8). Another promontory on the windward coast locally known as Indian Point is situated just east of Bishop’s Bay, southeast of Speyside (Humphrey Almandoz, pers. commun.).

87 Shovel testing at the possible slave quarters of the Courland and Les Coteaux estates on Tobago’s leeward coast has yielded European ceramics, bottle glass and ironware dating from 1775–1825 associated with small quantities of largely undecorated, grit- and sand-tempered, ‘unglazed coarse earthenware’ which, according to Clement (1995:187,189–192,250, 2000), may represent Amerindian pottery which was traded by the local Caribs with the black slave population of Tobago. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that these potsherds date from late prehistoric times and became admixed post-depositionally with the European materials. Alternatively, it may represent a yet insufficiently recognized Afro-Caribbean ware manufactured by the slavery population of Tobago.
Concurrently, the revolutionary spirit which kept France and St Domingue (Haiti) in its grip, was felt in the Lesser Antilles. In 1795 emissaries sent to St Vincent from Guadeloupe were able to incite the remaining French planters and Black Caribs to revolt against the British. Chatoyer was killed almost immediately after the hostilities broke out, which left the Black Caribs dumb-founded for a while. They soon regrouped, however, and supported by French revolutionary troops (brigands), the entire island was conquered except for Kingstown. The British retook the offensive the following year by first capturing St Lucia which cut off the Black Caribs and their allies from French supplies, arms and ammunition. Afterwards landing some 4000 troops at St Vincent, the British now forced the French to surrender. The subsequent devastation of Black Carib country finally led some 5080 Black Caribs, among them Chatoyer’s son and Duvallé, to give themselves up. Subsequently, the British carried out a plan that was initially contemplated in the 1770s, namely deporting all Black Caribs from St Vincent. First, the prisoners were transported to the island of Balliceaux in the Grenadines. Here about half of them succumbed due to the outbreak of a yellow fever epidemic. The survivors were sent to Roatán offshore Central America from where the Spanish allowed them to settle in the coastal area of present Honduras (Craton, 1982:190–194,204–207, 1996; Gonzalez, 1988:21,35,39–47, 1990, 1997; Gullick, 1979, 1985:85–86; Hulme, 1986:259–263; Kirby & Martin, 1972:45–48,56–57; Marshall, 1974). In St Vincent the war continued in some muted form until 1805 as groups of Black Caribs managed to hide in the forested interior of the island (Gullick, 1985:85–86). After finally having concluded peace, these Black Carib survivors were allotted land on the slopes of the Soufrière volcano while the about 100 Yellow Caribs, who had stayed out of the hostilities, were given a reservation in the Sandy Bay area of northeast St Vincent, where their descendants still reside, mixed with the local black peasantry.

According to Joseph (1838:185), directly after the British had put down the Black Carib insurrection, ‘many’ of the latter escaped deportation by flying to Trinidad. Shortly afterwards Trinidad was taken from Spain by a British expeditionary force (1797); Spanish civil and criminal law was maintained, however. The first British governor of the island, Lt.-Gen. Thomas Picton, allowed the fugitive Black Caribs to settle in the island (J. Patricia Elie, pers. commun.). Besides, it is recorded that in 1801 three male Yellow Carib prisoners of St Vincent were press-ganged onto a ship as fishermen and some women and children were sent to Trinidad (Gullick, 1979, 1985:85). They probably took up residence on the island’s north coast, joining the Island Caribs of Salybia. According to Dauxion-Lavaysse (1820:364,426), in 1803 only three families of Island Caribs, in all 26 individuals, still lived in Tobago. (The island was ceded to France for a second time at the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, but was recaptured by the British as soon as the Napoleonic Wars reopened the year afterwards.) Some seven years later reportedly only one
Amerindian (Island Carib) family of some twenty people, that of Louis, was left in Tobago. According to Young (1807/1812:44–46), Louis now resided on the north coast of the island ‘amidst the woods and near the beach of a small unfrequented bay (for fishing)’. When inspecting the coastal batteries about 1810, Young was introduced to two European-dressed Caribs, probably members of Louis’ family, who had been enrolled with the militia artillery. Louis visited Young three times during the latter’s governorship of Tobago, each time accompanied by his two sons who were carrying a turtle. One of Young’s well-known watercolour drawings, made in these years, shows an Amerindian provided with a bow, standing in front of a rectangular house with thatched, semi-circular roof on Lambeau Hill, viewing to Scarborough (Young, 1807/1812:46). This watercolour and Young’s notes represent the last documentary references to Amerindians living on Tobago.

Apparently the last of the Tobago Indians settled on Trinidad’s north coast in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1803 an English navy officer noted that there were two villages of Caribs in this area, one at Toco (Salybyia) and one at Cumana, estimating the total population at 300 people. Calling the Indians ‘very indolent and lazy’, he observed that the ‘greatest part of the time is spent in swinging in their hammocks’. All the work ‘is done by the women, planting the bananas, getting shell fish from the rocks and cooking’ while the ‘husbands go out in their canoes fishing’. The women carried ‘great baskets of shell fish supported upon their backs by a band pressing over their foreheads’. Wearing no dress except for ‘a small bit of cloth before and another behind’, the women stuck pins in their lower lips, carrying many strands of beads around their necks while tying narrow bandages of cotton below the knees and above the ankles in traditional Carib fashion. The Englishman was offered a beverage of rum mixed with banana juice and coconut water, known as vico (TTHSP 204, 1803). According to Dauxion-Lavaysse (1820:426,432), who functioned as a corregidor in the 1810s, at the time there were seven or eight families of Island Caribs in Trinidad, many of whom he had in his service as hunters, fishers and servants. These Indians called themselves Califournans, obviously a corruption of Kalípuna, the Island Carib autodenomination. An almost blind shaman called Captain Sylvester, about sixty years old, reportedly exercised an ‘almost absolute power’ over the Caribs of North Trinidad in these years, being offered many women by his people. In 1806 and 1807 many Indians left the coastal area, however, as they were under pressure of the local planters, especially the local military commander who forced them to work on his personal estate while also abusing their women (Dauxion-Lavaysse, 1820:423–424,437).

By this time Amerindians formed a relatively small minority in Trinidad. In 1807 there were 1467 Indians in the island next to some 8500 whites and free coloureds and 21,000 African slaves (Verteuil, 1973:16). A new immigration of Black Caribs took place when the Soufrière volcano on St Vincent erupted in 1812, causing the death of many who had been allotted land on its slopes
seven years previously. The noise of the eruption could be heard as far north as Antigua while volcanic dust darkened the skies of Barbados and Trinidad (Gullick, 1979, 1985:97–98). London allowed the governor of Trinidad to grant land to the fugitives who may have settled on Trinidad’s east coast, probably at the present site of Salybia village on Saline Bay. The name of this settlement represents the second example of the toponym Salybia in the island (TTHSP 309, 1812). Other Black Caribs were assigned land in the Spanish mission village of Arima, together with Island Caribs from Trinidad’s north coast and St Vincent next to Amerindians from Cumaná in East Venezuela. Until ca. 1830 the baptismal and death registers of the mission, dedicated to Santa Rosa de Lima, quite often recorded Caribes born in St Vincent and Chaima from Cumana, rarely Indians from Guayana (Ramcharan, n.d.). Verteuil (1884:286–287) notes that in his time the Arima Indians still called themselves Califournans, thus stressing their Carib ancestry. The name ‘Carib’ now superseded all other tribal affiliations in Arima. This same process took place in the missions of Cumana and Toco. In the latter, dedicated to the Blessed Mary of the Assumption, as late as 1837 the baptismal registers invariably described an Indian mother as Caraibesse (Leahy, 1980a:32). Meanwhile, the Indian population of Trinidad as a whole diminished due to diseases. Indeed, it is claimed that almost the entire north coast of Trinidad was depopulated due to a cholera epidemic in 1854 (Cothonay, 1893:406). On the other hand, miscegenation as a result of mixing with the black peasantry which grew out of the former slave population is taken to have been a causal factor as well (Joseph, 1838:102–103; Verteuil, 1884:164). Still at present both Arima and Toco/Cumana form modest centres of population of mixed Amerindian heritage in North Trinidad.

Epilogue: the Amerindian Heritage of Tobago

Reviewing the development of the Amerindian peoples of the West Indies during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, it is obvious that the steep population decline which decimated their number especially from about 1650 onwards first reduced and later eliminated the role of the Island Caribs as a feared and independent factor in the political arena in which the Caribbean had been reshaped by the European nations. In fact, throughout the eighteenth century their dauntless and self-determined stand was taken over by the Black Caribs, i.e., their mixed offspring with escaped African slaves. Surely, in view of the differences in sociopolitical structure, economic and demographic

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88 In 1809 one of these Vincentian Caribs was accused of stealing in Port-of-Spain and afterwards tortured and killed (Naipaul, 1973:331).

89 The present Roman Catholic church of Toco stands at the site of the former mission village to the west of the main population centre of Toco. A Kalifonia Road in this hamlet, which is still known as ‘Toco The Mission’, undoubtedly reminds of the Island Carib autodenomination.
resources as well as military capabilities between the Amerindians and the European invaders the effort of the natives to keep their autonomy was bound to fail. However, the duration of the struggle, the determination with which it was fought, and the political cleverness behind the occasional Indian moves to play the European nations off against each other cannot but impress the observer. As an island situated close to the South American mainland, Tobago was positioned to play a specific part in this contest. Being the indispensable link for the Island Caribs and Kalina between the Windward Islands and the coastal zone of the Guianas, the successive European colonies on the island were attacked incessantly by the Indians until by the early 1700s the European nations decided to leave Tobago ‘unoccupied’. Indeed, neither Spanish, Dutch, English, nor Courlanders were able to establish themselves permanently on the island in the seventeenth century. While this was due partially to the rivalry among the European nations themselves, the fierce resistance against the settlement of Tobago offered by the Island Caribs of the Windwards as well as the Kalina of the island itself formed a similarly constant factor in the contest for its possession.

Although the Amerindians disappeared from Tobago nearly two hundred years ago, by no means did their linguistic and cultural influence vanish with them. It is true that only one present toponym, Man-of-War Bay, is of genuinely Island Carib origin, while merely four other names, i.e., King Peter’s Bay, Indian Walk, and twice Indian Point, form English names reminding of the former Amerindian habitation of the island. Compared to the Amerindian toponymic heritage of islands such as Trinidad (Thompson, 1959; Laurence, 1975) as well as St Vincent and Dominica (Bingham Wesche, 1972; Taylor, 1956, 1958a), this is a very small number indeed. It reflects the limited Amerindian presence in Tobago at the beginning of the unbroken colonial settlement of the island in 1763 and the gallicized character of its Island Carib (and Kalina) remnant population by that time. Moreover, it illustrates the importance of the ‘overlap factor’, as Wilson (1997) calls it, i.e., the period of time during which the Amerindians uninterruptedly lived and interacted with the peoples of African and European descent who were to replace them.

The longer this period, the higher the chance that considerable linguistic loans and transference of ways of living from the natives to the newcomers took place. Historical change took place differently on the various islands of the West Indies and, consequently, nearly everywhere these transfers took place in different ways with different results. Transmission of lifeways occurred predominantly between the Amerindians and the African slave population of colonial times as well as the island peasantry which evolved out of the latter after the abolition of slavery. They involved a wide range of ecological knowledge, subsistence practices with respect to horticulture, fishing and collecting, next to techniques of food preparation, material culture, traditional medicines, and religion. The significance and impact of these transfers are insufficiently appreciated in the Caribbean.
As to material culture, especially former peasant house construction and several domestic crafts owe much to the Amerindian legacy. In the 1840s Kaye Dowland, a special magistrate in Tobago, noted that the black peasantry built houses from one-inch pine planking using gru-gru palms and cane trash for roofs (Niddrie, 1963). Small, thatch-roofed houses, occasionally showing walls of tapia, i.e., a mixture of clay, water, grass and/or cow manure, are known in Trinidad, Tobago and the Windward Islands as ajoupas (Allsopp, 1996:119; Joseph, 1838:142; Mendes, 1985:4; Newel Lewis, 1983:4). Contrary to what is often thought, this is not an Amerindian word indigenous to the Caribbean, but derives from the language of the Tupi Indians of the Brazilian coast. It was adopted by the French who had trade relations with the Tupi since the early sixteenth century (Friederici, 1931, 1960:27,46–47) and subsequently introduced the word to the Antilles and the Guianas. Finally, it was transferred to Trinidad with the French immigration into the island in the late eighteenth century. House construction traditionally takes place as a collaborative undertaking by a group of affines, neighbours and friends, known as gayap (gaiappe) in Trinidad and as lend-hand in Tobago. After completion of the task the members of the group are awarded with food and drink and, of course, the reciprocal commitment of assistance by the beneficiary to the other members. This system of mutual support and assistance further includes help in garden clearing, boat building, and, in Tobago, pulling the seine to shore (Allsopp. 1996:252,326,343; Graham, 1993:9; Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:62–63,290–291; Laurence, 1970:258–259; Mendes, 1985:60; Niddrie, 1961:38). The gayap or lend-hand form of teamwork is of Amerindian derivation and represents a still quite viable social phenomenon in Trinidad and Tobago. The term, which is first recorded in the 1780s with respect to the Venezuelan coastal zone, appears to derive from a Cariban language (Boomert, 2000:314).

Significant cultural transfers from the Amerindians to the African slaves and their descendants, the island peasantry, took place with respect to the technology of subsistence agriculture and the species of food crops and fruits cultivated. In fact, present peasant agriculture in the Windward Islands as well as Tobago and Barbados can be considered to form a syncretic adaptation worked out by African slaves who incorporated African and European elements into the already existing aboriginal system of cultivation (Berleant-Schiller & Pulsipher, 1986; Hills, 1988). Four crops are allotted most space in West Indian ‘provision grounds’, i.e., the Amerindian cultigens cassava, maize and sweet potatoes, next to pigeon peas, an African domesticate. They are often complemented with other indigenous crops and vegetables such as tannia, sweet peppers and kidney beans, as well as African tubers and fruits as dasheen, yam, plantains, and bananas. In Tobago especially the intercropping of maize and pigeon peas next to that of banana, tannia and yam are popular (Ali et al., 1973:2,34–36; Brown et al., 1965:36; Niddrie, 1961:35). The description by Charles Kingsley of a Trinidadian provision ground in the
1870s forms the most elaborate account of the variety of food crops, fruits and utilitarian plants raised on a traditional West Indian garden plot. Apart from tubers and cereals such as cassava, arrowroot, Indian yam, tannia, and maize, all Amerindian domesticates, he lists indigenous fruit trees, including avocado, guava, mammee apple, papaw, sapodilla, star apple, sweetsop, next to an Old World introduction as the orange, as well as various legumes and vegetables, i.e., pumpkin, an Amerindian cultivar, and African/Asian domesticates as banana, mango, okra, and plantain (Kingsley, 1877:309–314).

Apart from the plant species cultivated, especially the techniques of peasant agriculture and the pattern of sex division associated with the labour on smallholders’ plots reflect the transmission of Amerindian attitudes to the black slaves and their descendants. The heavy work in clearing the forest and breaking the ground, ‘making garden’ and ‘cutting land’ as the Tobagonians say, is typically men’s work, whereas both men and women plant the crops but exclusively women weed and reap the harvest (Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:45–47). Traditional West Indian provision grounds show a heavy intercropping of food plants, fruits and vegetables, next to medicinal and utilitarian domesticates, resembling long-standing Amerindian practices (Boomert, 2000:94–95). The complicated, seemingly chaotic, packing of cultigens, each of which is represented only by a relatively small number of individuals, maturing at different rates and under different densities in the garden, in fact represents the best possible adaptation to the amounts of space, light, moisture, and nutrients under the available circumstances, carefully imitating the closed-nutrient cycle of the tropical rain forest (Hills, 1988; Mintz, 1983). In this respect it should be kept in mind that the slaves were assigned provision grounds principally on the marginal lands of the estates, often on steep, inaccessible and unfertile lands where erosion was rampant. Plots were small: in Tobago generally between 1/2 to 5 acres. Besides, the slaves’ agricultural equipment, being restricted to iron hoes, had not much progressed beyond the Amerindian wooden digging sticks (Shepard, 1947). In the Coral Lowlands of Tobago, where soils are shallow, sweet potatoes and cassava are generally planted in piles of soil, occasionally ridges, while in the Main Ridge area Amerindian-style slash-and-burn cultivation prevails on the mountain sides close to the villages and main roads. Everywhere in the island peasant cultivation is traditionally combined with the raising of small livestock, i.e., cows, goats and pigs, next to poultry. This, obviously, follows European/African customs (Niddrie, 1961:34–39, 1980:155–159).

Fishing and hunting are typically male occupations among present Tobagonians while food collecting is women’s and children’s work; crab catching is done by little boys. In these aspects of the traditional division of labour, too, the peasantry of the island closely resembles its Amerindian predecessors

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90 For a listing of the medicinal plants and folk cures of Tobago, see Taylor (1986).
(e.g., Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:45–47). Many of the traditional fishing techniques, e.g. torch fishing, fish poisoning and the use of scoop nets and fish pots, were adopted by the African slaves of the Windward Islands and Barbados from the Amerindians (Handler, 1970). Price (1966) has pointed out that the Caribbean fishing slaves, first Amerindians and later Africans, formed a privileged subgroup within the plantation system. Their descendants, the present fishermen of the islands, while forming a minority within the total population, still consider themselves to form an independent and proud elite. In Tobagonian fishermen’s villages, such as Speyside, Castara, Parlatuvier, and Charlotteville, fishers, owning boats, are persons of property who are economically independent and have considerable status within the local social fabric (Graham, 1993:11). Still today a catch of fish is heralded by the blowing of a conch shell. Such conch trumpets were formerly used by Caribbean Amerindians of various tribes for signalling during war expeditions. In the days of slavery the blowing of a conch marked the beginning and end of a day’s work on the sugar cane fields (Meikle, 1955; Wise, 1934/1938, III:22).91

Little is known about the cultural transfers between the Amerindians and African slaves regarding hunting practises. The most favourite hunting fauna comprise animals some of which still carry Amerindian names in Trinidad and Tobago, e.g., the collared peccary, known as the quenk (from Island Carib boînkê or coînkê), and two opossum species, both known as manicou, a probably Cariban name (Allsopp, 1996:369,434,460). The names of other such game animals were transmitted, just as ajoupa, by the French from the Tupí language of South Brazil to the West Indies and, finally, to Trinidad and Tobago, e.g. agouti (agutí) and tattoo, i.e., the local name of the nine-banded armadillo (Allsopp, 1996:549; Friederici, 1960:27).92

Amerindian cultural traditions were still very much alive among the methods of food preparation by the black peasantry well into our time. The processing of bitter cassava, the tissue of which contains the highly poisonous hydrocyanic acid, by using a press made of a long tube of twilled basketry which is closed at one end, forms an example. By forcibly elongating this press, the poisonous juice is expelled from the cassava pulp after which the acid evaporates. The juice, known as casareep, is thickened due to boiling over a slow fire and thus processed forms an indispensable ingredient of the traditional Amerindian pepperpot. This is a dark-brown stew prepared by boiling together a variety of wild or regular meats or fish with some water, red

91 Numerous beliefs surround subsistence agriculture and fishing. For instance, both men and women should abstain from sexual intercourse during working in the yam gardens and bathe well before entering such a plot; it is forbidden for menstruating women to do so (Dick, 1986). Similarly, fishers should abstain from sexual intercourse and bathe themselves and their boats using bushes and limes before going to sea (Caesar, 1986).

92 The same applies to e.g. the French word for mangrove, paletuier (Friederici, 1931, 1960:27).
peppers, and casareep. It became a most popular dish on the plantations of the West Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Allsopp, 1996:138,436; Handler, 1970; Mendes, 1985:114). The stew was kept simmering on the fireplace in a large, open earthenware pot, known as canari or conari, a term afterwards used for a similarly employed, round-bottomed iron basin (Bowman & Bowman, 1939:213; Mendes, 1985:28).93 A mildly intoxicating Amerindian drink, called paiwari in the Guianas, was made by fermenting burnt cassava with grated sweet potatoes and some sugar cane juice (Boomert, 2000:305). It formed a favourite beverage among the African slaves, especially in Barbados. Anatto, the pigment traditionally used by the Amerindians in order to cover their skins, has remained in use as a food colouring until today. In Tobago it is used in addition with coconut juice to obtain the gravy which forms an ingredient of many dishes (Guillaume, 1986). Anatto is known as roucou in Trinidad, Tobago and the Windward Islands. This probably represents another word (urucu) of the Tupi Indians of Brazil which was introduced by the French to the West Indies as early as the seventeenth century (Allsopp, 1996:30,477; Laurence, 1970:251; Mendes, 1985:127).

In Tobago the traditional kitchen of the black peasantry often formed a separate building in the yard, away from the house (Guillaume, 1986; Solomon, 1986). The fireplace consisted of three ‘rock stones’ which, just as the three earthenware vessel supports the Amerindians previously used, were placed to hold the pot. In the 1840s it was noted that among the Tobago peasants fire in the kitchen was ‘made on the floor, of dried sticks encompassed by a few bricks or stones; the culinary implements are [...] simple [...], consisting merely of an iron pot, and a pannakin though some indulge besides in a little frying pan, also a sieve and grater for cassava and a water pitcher’ (Dowland, cited by Niddrie, 1963). Apart from basketry squeezers and sieves next to wooden, later iron, graters for cassava processing, the African slaves adopted the use of griddles for baking cassava bread from the Amerindians. The latter’s earthenware platters were soon replaced by iron griddles, known as ‘baking-irons’ and ‘baking-stones’ or platines (Creole French) in Trinidad and Tobago (Allsopp, 1996:72,443). Other domestic utensils, transferred by the Amerindians to the black slaves, include calabash or gourd containers, called bolee (Guillaume, 1986; Mendes, 1985:18). Basketry of Amerindian style and design was soon adopted by the slave population of the Windwards Islands, Trinidad and Tobago and continued to be made until recently. It was very much in demand by the Europeans as well, as were silk grass fishlines and cotton hammocks (Gonzalez, 1988:28). In Trinidad the African slaves and free blacks bought baskets, back-packs and cassava strainers which were

93 This name is of unknown derivation; it was used by the Kalina and Island Caribs as early as the 1650s (Allsopp, 1996:166,168; Friederici, 1960:125; Laurence, 1970:257).
manufactured by the Caribs of Arima from the ribs of warimbo (Creole French: *larouman*) leaves. This reed-like plant (*Ischnosiphon arouma*) is to be found in the high woods of the island. The Yellow Caribs of Dominica and the Black Caribs of St Vincent used this same plant for making basketry (Brereton, 1979:131,133; Gullick, 1976:18; Kingsley, 1877:139,157–158,264; Taylor, 1938:127–132). According to Young (cited by Clement, 1995:243,249, 2000), in the early-nineteenth century such ‘Charaib baskets’ were preferred by ‘mulatto hucksters’ to display their wares on the roadsides of Tobago. By this time their art of manufacture may have been transferred from the Amerindians to the local black population.

Finally, the African slaves and their descendants were profoundly influenced by the Amerindian religious views and cosmological concepts. These centre around a common belief in a vast number of spirits, including spirits of nature, of the forest, sky, rivers and mountains, as well as ghost spirits, the shades of the deceased. Among the Amerindians esoteric knowledge and ritual were kept and transmitted by the village ‘shaman’ who functioned as a curer, advisor and diviner, and as such was able to make spiritual flights to heaven in order to contact his tutelary spirits during trances induced by taking hallucinatory drugs (see Boomert, 2000:445–454). This animistic religious belief was transferred from the Indians to the African slaves, which was facilitated by the fact that it lasted until the final years of the eighteenth century when the first attempts at christianizing the slave population were made. Besides, comparable beliefs may have been dominant among the West African peoples that were enslaved. Vague ideas about the highly spirited nature of the universe are still alive among the present peasantry of the West Indies, although the various spirit characters, which were formerly revered and feared, have been marginalized gradually to folkloristic phenomena. This applies to, for instance, *Manman-dlo* (Creole French for ‘mother of the waters’), the major female water serpent (anaconda) spirit of Trinidad, Tobago and the Windward Islands. She is identical to Amana, the virgin serpent mother of the Kalina and the *watramama* of the black population in the Guianas which the Amerindians typically associated with sexuality, menstrual blood, fecundity and everlasting life (Boomert, 2000:459). *Manman-dlo* is generally imagined as a beautiful, long-haired woman, the lower body of whom resembles a snake, living in pools and rivers (Allsopp, 1996:223,365,593; Besson, 1989:15–16; L’Etang, 1991; Mendes, 1985:93). The mermaids and fairy maids of Tobagonian folklore are related. Mermaids, who are believed to live in the sea, are considered to be male, showing a human upper portion and a lower half in the form of a fish. They are supposed to mate with the fairy maids who inhabit caves behind waterfalls, rivers and secret mountain pools. Fairy maids have one foot in the shape of a deer’s hoof, hinting at their diabolical character, and always try to lure men in order to take ‘he shadow’ (Besson, 1989:20–24; Guillaume, 1986; Meikle, 1958).
A good example of the syncretism of Amerindian and African elements in present Tobagonian folk tales is formed by the story of *gang-gang* Sara.94 When still young, one stormy night this woman had flown from Africa across the sea to Tobago in order to become the trusted housekeeper of the owner of Golden Lane estate on the west coast of Tobago. *Gang-gang* Sara lived to a great age as a respected and wise witch, but after her husband had died she wished to fly back to Africa. Climbing into a great silk-cotton (kapok) tree, she tried to fly but found that she had lost the art of flying as a result of having ‘eaten salt’ (Besson, 1989:34). Elements in this tale which derive from Amerindian beliefs include the flight from Africa to Tobago of the woman, which clearly represents the shaman’s spiritual flight to heaven, next to the importance of the silk-cotton tree, and the loss of *gang-gang* Sara’s magical powers due to the ‘eating of salt’. The latter is a well-known theme in Tobagonian folklore: black slaves who refrained from ‘eating salt’ were believed to be able to fly back to Africa (Guillaume, 1986). ‘Eating salt’ has been assumed to mean actually the intermarriage among slaves of various African nations (Elder, 1972:14, 1994:73-76), but a more literal interpretation seems more likely. At present, the ‘launching down’ (christening) of a boat is accompanied by a ceremony involving the eating of a ‘foul’ chicken, cooked with seasoning, and rice cooked without salt. This is supposed to welcome the spirits of deceased relatives as a protection against evil influences (Graham, 1993:12–13). Still some 50 years ago salt was taboo among the many Tobagonians who lived in Toco (Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:67). The abstaining from salt goes back to the Island Caribs who believed that the salinity of the sea was caused by the fact that rain formed the urine and sweat of a huge and dangerous anaconda spirit associated with the rainbow (L’Etang, 1991). Similarly, the religious connotations of the silk-cotton tree (French Creole: *fromager*) among the African slaves were inherited from the Amerindians. The massive branches of this tree are believed to be inhabited by numerous, often malevolent, ancestral spirits, locally known as *jumbies* (Allsopp, 1996:317–319; Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:66–67,163–165,233–236). The silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) may have acquired these associations as it invades open spots, e.g. abandoned villages and cemeteries (Boomert, 2000:99). At present, a huge specimen, which is known throughout Tobago and forms a place of worship for local black shamans (*obeah-men*), grows in the valley below Golden Lane (Clement, 1995:147).

Anti-social spirit characters of modern Tobagonian folklore associated with sorcery, which originated from the syncretism of Amerindian (Island Carib), African and European beliefs, include the *djablès* (from French *diablesse*, ‘she-devil’), the *soukouyan* (perhaps from West African *sukunya*, ‘man-eating sorcerer’), and the *lugarhoo* (*legarou*, from French *loup-garou*).

94 *Gang-gang* (‘old woman, granny’) is a word occurring in several West African languages (Allsopp, 1996:250).
The *djablès* is an evil female spirit who solicits or woos male passers-by at night, leaving them lost in the forest by changing herself into a peccary and then disappearing. Often frequenting cemeteries and cross-roads, she can be recognized by a cloven foot on one leg (Allsopp, 1996:194,336; Besson, 1989:11–14; Boomert, 2000:448; Mendes, 1985:85; Ottley, 1979:19). The *soukouyan* is a male or female spirit who takes the form of a vampire bat. He or she is portrayed as an old hag who takes off her skin and changes into a blood-sucking ball of fire at night, flying through the sky in search of a victim (Allsopp, 1996:279,414–415,520; Besson, 1989:28–32; Boomert, 2000:469; Guillaume, 1986; Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:252–255; Mendes, 1985:138; Ottley, 1979:20,24–26). The *lugarhoo* is a traditional sorcerer who takes his name from his nocturnal ability to change in size from tiny to very large in an instant and to metamorphise from the torso down into a half-animal, either a dog, pig or jack-ass. This parallels the powers of the Amerindian shaman who could use them both for good and bad ends, either to cure or to kill (Allsopp, 1996:337,346,355; Besson, 1989:25–27; Boomert, 2000:452; Mendes, 1985:9; Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:252, 255; Ottley, 1979:20). Clearly, the French Creole names of many of these spirit characters as they are known from the folklore of Trinidad, Tobago and the Windward Islands reflect their origin in Island Carib culture. They may have been introduced to Trinidad by the slave population from the French West Indies who came to this island with the French immigration of the 1780s.

A major spirit character of clearly Amerindian origin is *Papa Bois* (Creole French for 'father of the forest'), the protector of the animals in the high woods, known under this name in Trinidad, Tobago and the Windward Islands. He is imagined as a short, bearded and hairy creature with a human body, an animal-like, horned head, and cloven hoofs. Leaves are supposed to grow from his beard. *Papa Bois* carries a hunting horn in his hand which he sounds whenever he rescues one of the animals under his protection from hunters. He cures wounded animals and takes vengeance on hunters who kill but take home only part of the game by making them lose their way. *Papa Bois* is supposed to be capable of transforming into a deer (Allsopp, 1996:427; Besson, 1989:1–6; Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:75–76,291; Mendes, 1985:113). He is the transformation of the Amerindian Master of Animals. This is a bush spirit, known throughout the Tropical Lowlands of South America, which is believed to control the number of animals killed by humans. In order to compensate for the game taken from the forest due to hunting, a certain number of souls of the human dead have to be pledged by the Amerindian village shaman to the Master of Animals who acts as both the protector and the procreator of game (Boomert, 2000: 449–450). His counterpart, the Master of Fish, is known as the *Maît source* (Creole French for 'master of the spring') in Toco folklore (Herskovits & Herskovits, 1947:67).

Spirit characters such as *Papa Bois*, *Maît source* and *Manman-dlo*, the story of *gang-gang* Sara, and the numerous transfers in terms of subsistence and
material culture which, as we have seen, took place from the Amerindians of the West Indies to the African slave population of colonial times, all suggest that although the Amerindians disappeared physically from Tobago in the first decades of the nineteenth century, many of their cultural traditions lived on amongst the island’s slave population and their descendants, the black peasantry.

Abstract

This paper discusses the vicissitudes of the Amerindians of the West Indian island of Tobago from the first European voyages to the Caribbean until the migration of the last surviving Indians to the northeast coast of Trinidad in the early-nineteenth century. It is concluded that at the time of the European discovery Tobago as well as North Trinidad were inhabited by Carib Indians linguistically belonging to the Kalina, i.e., the mainland branch of the Carib nation. The documentary sources suggest that Tobago traditionally formed the major half-way station on the Amerindian routes of trade and war between the southern Windward Islands, especially St Vincent, and the Guiana coastal zone. When during the seventeenth century the island’s possession was fiercely contested by the Spanish, Dutch, English and Courlanders (Latvians), apart from the rivalry among the European nations themselves, owing to the resistance of joined forces of the Kalina and the Island Caribs these attempts at settlement on Tobago were thwarted. It was only due to the sharp demographic decline of the Amerindians in the West Indies and the Guianas towards the end of the seventeenth century that their power waned. Britain and France continued to contest the possession of Tobago throughout the eighteenth century, leaving the island ‘neutral’ for more than half a century. In this period the island was inhabited by a fluctuating group of Europeans, predominantly French, and perhaps a few hundred (gallicized) Amerindians. Tobago’s actual transformation into a plantation colony, based on the production of cash crops for the world market, took place after the island had been ceded by France to Britain in 1763. The influx of white planters and thousands of African slaves led to the rapid marginalization of the remaining Amerindians and their inevitable decline. The last survivors disappeared from Tobago ca. 1810. Nevertheless, it can be shown that many of the Amerindian linguistic and cultural traditions, including their ways of subsistence, food preparation, manufacture of domestic utensils, and housing, as well as various religious beliefs and cosmological concepts, lived on among the African slave population of colonial times and their descendants, i.e., the black peasantry which developed on Tobago and elsewhere in the West Indies after the abolition of slavery.
Resumen

Este papel discute las vicisitudes de los amerindios de la isla Caribe de Tobago desde los primeros viajes europeos al Caribe hasta la migración de los últimos amerindios sobrevivientes a la costa noreste de Trinidad a principios del siglo diecinueve. Se concluye que, en el tiempo del descubrimiento europeo, Tobago así como el norte de Trinidad estuvieron habitadas por amerindios Caribes, lingüísticamente pertenecientes a los Kalinas, es decir, la rama continental de la nación Caribe. Las fuentes documentales sugieren que tradicionalmente Tobago constituyó la estación intermedia más importante en las rutas amerindias del comercio y de la guerra entre las sureñas Islas de Barlovento, especialmente San Vicente, y la zona costera de las Guayanas. Durante el siglo dieciséis, españoles, holandeses, ingleses y courlandeses (latvios), se diputaron violentamente la posesión de Tobago. Dichos intentos de colonización se vieron frustrados gracias, por una parte, a la resistencia que ofrecieron los Kalinas y los Caribes insulares unidos y, por otra, a la rivalidad existente entre las mismas naciones europeas. Pero, hacia finales del siglo dieciséis el poderío indígena se vio debilitado a causa del gran descenso demográfico sufrido por los amerindios de las Antillas y las Guayanas. La Gran Bretaña y Francia continuaron disputándose la posesión de Tobago durante el siglo dieciocho, de modo que la isla permaneció ‘neutral’ durante más de medio siglo. En este período la isla fue habitada por un grupo fluctuante de europeos, predominantemente franceses y, quizás, unos cien amerindios (galicistas). La verdadera transformación de Tobago en una colonia de plantación, basada en la producción de cosechas para el mercado mundial, sucedió en 1763 después que Francia cedió la isla a Gran Bretaña. La llegada de plantadores blancos y miles de esclavos africanos llevó a la marginalización rápida de los restantes amerindios y su disminución inevitable. Los últimos sobrevivientes desaparecieron de Tobago aproximadamente hacia 1810. No obstante, se puede mostrar que muchas de las tradiciones amerindias lingüísticas y culturales, incluso sus modos de subsistencia, la preparación de alimento, la fabricación de utensilios, y las viviendas, así como varios conceptos religiosos y cosmológicos perduraron entre los esclavos africanos de los tiempos coloniales y sus descendientes, es decir, el campesinado negro que se desarrolló en Tobago y en otra parte de las Antillas después de la abolición de la esclavitud.

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