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VERHAAL  
VAN DE INNEMING VAN PARAMARIBO (1665)

DOOR

GENERAAL WILLIAM BYAM

MEDEGEDEELD DOOR

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

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Een enkel woord over het hierachter afgedrukte document. Bij mijn onderzoek in de op het British Museum berustende handschriften naar bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche West-Indische Compagnie, heb ik het hier medegedeelde journaal gevonden in eene verzameling van de hand van een zekeren Majoor John Scott, bekend als Sloane MSS. 3662. Daarin vindt men verscheidene beschrijvingen van West-Indische eilanden en volkplantingen, en onder dezen eene copie van een verhaal, oorspronkelijk geschreven door den Luitenant-Generaal William Byam, Gouverneur van Wiltoughby-land of Suriname, en een vriend van Scott. Het draagt den titel: „Lieutt-Genl. Byam's Journall of Guiana 1665—1667; an exact narrative of the state of Guiana as it stood anno 1665, particularly of the English Collony in Surynam, beginning of the warr and of its actions dureing the warr, the takeing by a fleet from Zealand.” Dit journaal geeft eene omstandige beschrijving van de gesteldheid van de Surinaamsche landstreek voor den aanval van het

Zeeuwsche eskader in 1667, en van de inneming van Paramaribo door den Admiraal Abraham Crijnsen. Deze gebeurtenis is van groot belang, niet omdat zij eene heldendaad gelijkt, maar omdat Byam's verovering binnen kort aanleiding gaf, dat Suriname in ruil voor het afgestane Nieuw-Nederland in Nederlandsch bezit bleef; zoodoende vormt deze gebeurtenis een keerpunt in de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche en Engelsche koloniën. De bijzonderheden van generaal Byam's onderneming hier in 't licht te geven, behoeft dus geene rechtvaardiging.

G. E.

In anno 1665 there were seaven collonies settled on the coast of Guiana, one of the English, two of the Ffrench, and four of the Dutch: at Appiewaco, a river seaven leagues from Chyan <sup>1)</sup>, a small Dutch colony; at Chyan was the grand settlement of Ffrench, at Siñamar, ten leagues leeward off it, they had another coloney, distinct from that of Chyan. In the province of Willoughby-land, which conteines the rivers of Marracome, Surinam, Saramica and Compensham, was the English colonie. At Barbish <sup>2)</sup>, above 50 leges leeward of Surynam, the Dutch had a strong ffort and some settlements at Desseceeb <sup>3)</sup>, 30 leagues from Berbice, the antient Colonie, strongly ffortified. But there greatest of all they ever had in America was Bowroom and Moroco <sup>4)</sup>, alias New Zealand, a most fflourishing coloney, 16 leagues leeward of Dissecabe.

1) Cayenne.

2) Berbice.

3) Essequibo.

4) Bouweron of Pomeron, en Marocke, twee nederzettingen aan de gelijknamige rivieren.

In the same yeare, in the month of May, was the colony Willoughby Land in its meridian, and after this month had its declination and went ever retrograde. At this time we had neare 1500 men, but not halfe armed, nor halfe the armes fixed and provisable, no magazien, nor a gunn mounted. His Excellency Ffranciss Lord Willoughby of Parham, our generall and one of our Lord Proprietors, was then here, and sayld hence the 9<sup>th</sup> of this month, with whome and in other shipps a little after (out of discontent) went about 200 able men, and upon his Exces arivall a sickness began at the towne of Tararica <sup>1)</sup> and spred itselfe in the plantacions adjoyning, swept many away.

Att his Excellencies departure I received orders for makeing a plattform at the towne and mounted six gunns, which was accordingly done. Noe sooner was his Excellency gon but some jealousies posest <sup>2)</sup> the inhabitants, which brake out into great discontents. The Collony imployed one Capt. Iohn Parker to Barbados to his Excellcy, whose so prudent and judicious management returned him with a sattisfactory declaration, which stopped many then upon the wing, ready to desert the collony to some place, where they might not be tenants at will. In November here arrived from his Excelley. his Serjt. Majr. In<sup>o</sup>. Scott, after his victory at Tobago, with a small ffeet and a regiment ffoote, under the carrecter of Majr. Gen<sup>l</sup>. of Guiana, Cheife Commissioner and Commander in Cheife by land and sea. In few months his great ffortune and gallantry, prudent and industrious conduct made him master of all the great province New Zealand and Desseceeb,

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1) De oude hoofdplaats van Engelsch Guiana.

2) Possessed.

settled a peace with the Arrowayes, left both colonys in a flourishing condition and well garrisoned for the King of England, New-Zealand under the conduct of one Captaine Boxson, and Dessecube under the comand of one Capt. Kenn, both old soldiers and sober gent.

About two months after his arrival at Barbados the Indians, understanding he was not to returne, withdrew all commerce with the English in the fforts. Many (of) the Dutch French and Iews were soone upon ye wing to the ffrench islands Martinico and St Christophers etc., and those that remained grew discontent. I would be more particular but that I have writt lately of this gentlemans voyage to his Excellcy, which I hope will not be lost. In August ffollowing one Cope was sent with supplyes for the releife of those collonys, and one yoncker Hendryck, a Switts, to still the Indians, that greatly distressed our collonys, which runn retrograde and only for want of supplyes (notwithstanning I did my endeavour) after many brave defences were forced to submitt themselves, many to the merciless French and in Aprill following to the Dutch. The loss of such a jewell cannot be sufficiently lamented.

In the month of March 1666, before the loss of those colloneys, in persueance of my commission from my Lord Willoughby, I commissioned one Capt. Peeter Wroth with a considerable party of men and vessels to ataque the Dutch Collony of Approwaco <sup>1)</sup>, which was executed with success: their armes, slavs and goods, ingenioss <sup>2)</sup> to make sugar &c, were brought to Surynam and the collony destroyed.

The May ffollowing (viz. 1666) two of our shallops

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1) Aan de rivier van dien naam, ten O. van Cayenne.

2) Molens.



from the Mannatoe coast, neare the great river Ancahones<sup>1)</sup>, touched at Chyan in their returne to Surynam, by whom I received news of the eruption of warr between the two crownes from monssyeur de Leysiz<sup>2)</sup>, Governor (of) Chyan, with his freindly compliment that, though he might have seized the two vessells, yet to evidence how great a servant he was to this colony, he had lett them goe in peace and earnestly solissited that, notwithstanding the warr in Europe and the Caribee Leeward Islands, yett wee might continue freinds, as the Englisch and French had done in former warres in the Leeward Islands. The same did Monsieur de Neell, Governor of Synnamarra<sup>3)</sup>, request in several letters. The collony was not at that time in a condicion to offend nor well to defend it selve. And glad I was that adresse for nutrallity came from him to me, to whom I returned this answare: that it lay not in my power to conclude an absolute newtrallity, for I was most strictly to observe the comand of my King and his Gener<sup>l</sup>. of Guiana, and till his orders comand the contrary I should continue newtre, and since he had showed him selfe soo extraordinary civill to the collony, in case orders should arrive to breake the neutrality, I should like a gratefull and noble enemy give advice thereof before I acted any hostility, but to Monsieur de Neel, who had not been so obliging, I call God to wittness I never promised any such thing, though he hath very ignobly reported the contrary.

Before this I had presented the naked state of the province to his Excellcy. and variously solicited

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1) Amazones.

2) Chevalier de Lecy, broeder van den gouverneur De la Barre.

3) M. de Noël.

for a large supply of armes and aminucion, but noe shipp ariveing and findeing our condicion very sad and exposed, I advised with the councill and summoned the assembly, which passed an act for every tenth workeing negroe throughout the colony to be sent (to) Premorabo <sup>1)</sup> to prepare materials for a ffort, and I ordered five filles with a comission-officer out of the other companies to attend constantly there to reinforce the company at Pramorabo and monthly to be releived, out of wich I ordered a watch at the riversmouth to give notice of the enemies approach.

June last the guard was fixed and the negroes began to worke, at which time a vessel arrived from Barbados with the sad news of the loss of St Christophers, and brought me orders from his Excelley to erect a ffort at Pramorabo and to send a party against Syñamara and Chyan, whereupon I issued forth a declaracion to be read at the head of any company, inviting all volunteers with great incouragement and ordering them to appeare in compleate armes at Pramorabo, ye 27<sup>th</sup> of July, and that which encreased their number was the forward profer of Serjt. Major James Bannister to conduct them, in case be could raise two hundred men well armd. In the mean time I tooke all possible care for Indians, able periagoes <sup>2)</sup>, provisions for the ffeet. At the place and time prefixed many appeared, but of vollunteers short of the number of 200 and many ill armd. At this time the assembly presented to me and the councill the great danger of sending soo many of the ablest men to windward, whilst we lay exposed to the threatned invasion of Ber-

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1) Paramaribo.

2) Periaguas, i. e. canoes.

ganasy<sup>1)</sup>, Governor of Barbece, and the Arwacas from leeward, and therefore for the prevention of the suspected danger I ordered about 70 men against the French, under the conduct of Capt<sup>n</sup>. W<sup>m</sup> Cowell, and about 80 more leeward against y<sup>e</sup> Dutch and Arwacas, and to relieve our deare countrymen at Dessecebe and Bawrooma, who we feared were in distress, under the command of Capt<sup>t</sup>. Christopher Rendar; and that Capt<sup>t</sup>. Cowell might be rightly informed of the strength and power of the enemy and that I might punctually performe my parole with Monsieur de Neell, (...) with another inclosed to Mons<sup>r</sup>. De Lesie, Governor of Chyan, importing that I had received positive orders from his Excell<sup>cy</sup>. the Lord Generall that I should have noe neutrality with them. This letter was delivered about 3 of the clock on Satterday in the afternoon, and about 4 on Sunday morning Capt<sup>t</sup>. Cowell with great courage and resolution fell on the forte and tooke it, and slew 7 men, tooke their shallope and brought away there Governor and about 50 more prisoners, utterly distroying the whole colony, and that without the losse of one man. Nor was Capt<sup>n</sup>. Rendar unsuccesfull at leeward, having stormed two warehouses of the Arwacas, and had other Bickernings with them, wherein he slew about 30 men and tooke 70 captives. But for the reliefe of our men at Dissekebe he came too late, who about 3 weekes before, thorough want of ammunicion and iresistable hungar, were forced to surrender themselves and 12 hundred slaves which they had taken, to Burgunas<sup>2)</sup>, a Dutch Generall who beseiged them, but on good articles, which these

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1) Matthijs Bergenaar, commandant van Berbice.

2) Bergenaar veroverde Essequibo, dat in 1667 voor goed in bezit genomen werd.

complaine hee afterwards broke, and as for our poore men at Bawrooma they were also for want of timely supplies destroyed by the French, who most unhumanly (after they were starved out of the fort) delivered them to the cruelty of the Arwacas at the mouth of that river to be massacred. This was informed me by one of that fort, who was absent when it was taken, who learned it from the Indians. But since I understood the maine fort was not taken untill the coming of the fleet from Zealand 1667.

And now in August Gods justice most scarpely visited our transgressions, the sickness spreading throughtout the whole collonie with that violence and continuance, that it cutt of above 200 of our men, and very many women and children, and so universall and raining was the contagion at one time, that wee could not make a hundred sound men in the country to oppose an ennemie, and not a family that I know escaped it. Miserable were the cries and dijected the spirits of all, few or none knew the nature or cure of the disease, nor were there any cordiall meanes or medicins proper for it in the whole country; it was a most strange, violent feavor, burning within, yett it had not the same operacion on all. Never was there like sad affliction seen in the collonie; most of all of our masons and many negroes, which were at worke on the fort, were most sadly visited, the which, with the difficulty of cutting our stones from under the ground with axes, very much retarding the worke. In this month Capt. John Skewes arived from Barbados, and brought us from his Excellcy 6 barrells of powder and some match, which was exceeding welcome, for wee very greatly needed it.

Att the retorne of Skewes I shipt off most of the choisest of the french prisoners for Barbados,



and also sent of Capt Ennis the Provost Marchall to present to his Excellcy the sad and dangerous condition of the collony, to sollicite for some ammunition &c.

In November I was advised by one of our men, which came from Amazonah at Chyan, he saw 7 saile of schipps. I was then weake and exceeding lame and had been so for two months ffore, where upon sent for Capt. Nathaniel Clarke, a gentleman of the councill whome I well know to be vigilant, care full and active, and gave him a comission to the Deputy-Governor, and then ordered six peria-goos to be a guard at the river's mouth till the gates of the fort were sett up, and we in a better posture of defence.

About the latter end of December Capt<sup>n</sup>. Ennis returned, but unfortunantly fell leeward te Saramica, and brought with him what possible the Governor of Barbados could procure for me, but noe powder, for none was then to bee had, and presented us with the dismall news of the burning of London and of the loss of his Excellcy and his ffeete, and that we might dayly expect a ffrench ffeete from leeward, who were victorious, there to attack us. I was then weake and soe misufferably lame with the gout, that then I was not able to stand; yet to forward our defence I went to the fort in the beginning of January, where I found the gates of it then sett up, but the wall in some places not six feet high. I then sommoned the councill and assembly about many bussinesses of great importance, and amongst other things there past an act for the paye . . . . .<sup>1)</sup> support of a standing compaignie of fifty men besides officers to be constant in the fort dureing

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1) Payement and ?

the warr, under the command of Capt. W<sup>m</sup>. Cowell. About the midle of Febry the company was compleated with volunteers. We then also resolved to fitt up a shallop, that was on the stocks, und send her with speed to Barbados for amunition and intelligence. I then disperst orders to all the officers in the collonie what they should doe upon the arrivall of ye enemy, and ordered all settlers to build private houses over swamps and in remote parts and to cary part of their provissions thither, and to remove all their cattle and their provissions out of their plantacions, that their wives, children and slaves upon an alarme might retire to them, and also ordered all able boates to be fitted up and every man to be ready and well fix'd and provided constantly with 12 dayes victualls before hand. The creeks of Para and Serenoe I ordered to be dammed up with great trees to be fallen into it, and ordered all about Promorabo to prepare themselves hutts in remote parts in the wood, or where the women and children might upon occasion fly to.

On the 15<sup>te</sup> of Febri I received the alarme of ye arrivall of eight saile, who we verily beleived to be ffrench, upon which I presently sent orders into the country, and pulled downe and fired all the houses within musquett shot of the fort.

Our fort or rather halfe a fort, was on a plaine, close by the riverside, of a pendegonicall forme, consisting of five bastions, pallizaded and perfected; the other were ten foot high, excepting one curtaine and bastion, wich faced the river, the which, by reason of the ground, was but eight or nine foot in heith. The bastion and curtaine was then finished, which were also to the face of the river, lyeing very much higher then all the rest, became soe exposed to the land, that from thence the enemy

could without danger beat our men from of them. I had twelve gunns mounted, whereof one a whole culvering, a demy culverine, a saker, the rest minjon and falcon; besides these there were nine other small gunns, for which cariages were preparing, severall of which were brought from Aparawarka and Sinnamarre. I had about a hundred men and sixty negroes, part of those which were on the worke, and all my stock of powder exceeded not four barrells, and for balls for the whole culverine, which was the most serviceable gun I had, not one that would fitt, all being to high, and the wall about the platforme where shee stood was soe low that it reached not the heith of a mans knees; nor had we sufficient earth brought in for our men to stand upon, to fix over the parapett, butt insted thereof raysed plancks on tottering stones, on which, by reason of their heith and for want of breadth, our men could not possibly oppose with the least convenieney.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of December, stilo novo, there was set forth by the States of Zealand a ffeet of seaven saile, viz. fouer frigatts, a victualler, a doggar boate and a gally, in all which were about a thousand men, soldiers and seamen, under the command of Myne heere Abraham Crynsens. In the bay of Biscaye they lost their gally, at the Canaryes they took a small Irishman. They toucht at Cheyan, where they understood that Monsieur La Barr<sup>1</sup>) was dayly expected from the Leeward Islands with a fleet, designed for this place. The Governor earnestly desiered them not to putt in here. The Dutch, concealeing their intention too be leeward on the coast for windward of this part, mett with a small New-

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1) M. Lefèvre de la Barre, gouverneur van Cayenne. Bij zijne afwezigheid was zijn broeder De Lecy commandant.

England ketch, one Evans Master, who supposing he had bene leeward of Surinam, kept five days beating up tot windward, till he became a prize to the fleet.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of Ffebry they arived in the river, eight sayle in all, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> came to anchor about halfe a league below the ffort, and then sent in this summons in Dutch and Ffrench:

Sir, Being come hither by the command of the High-puissant Lords the States my Masters, to incorporate the fort with your command, this is the reason I send you this drummer with this letter, to the end you may render it, promissing you that in such case your selfe and all the inhabitants of the countrey shall absollutely retaine the entire property and possession of what they have, without loss of the least thing, but in case you refuse it, I am resolved to atack yon by sea and land, with the designe of killing all that shall oppose, not giving quarter to any on. You may regulate your selfe here upon, whilst I attend an answer to this letter within one quarter of an hower without any delay. Dated in the ship Zealand the 26<sup>th</sup> of Ffebry 1667.

Abraham Crynsens.

Too whom I returnd this answe: Sir, I have received your peremptory summons and as you ar commanded by your masters to take this fort, soe am I commanded by my King and his Generall of Guiana to keep it, which I shall endeavour to doe against all opposers, and so you may act your hostilities as soone as you please. Willoughby Fort, Feby the 16<sup>th</sup> 1667.

William Byam.

This was done on Satterday in the afternoone,



about 7 or 8 of the clock. On Sunday morning neare high waters they all weighed and came all fower frigatts to an anchor just before the fort, which we never suspected, and then wee mutually plyed our gunns as fast as we could, which continued for the space of 2 or 3 howers, and then the enemie sent their doggar boate, a ketch and a shallop, as full of men as possibly they could hold, and rane ashore in a bay above the fort, and to welcome them I had commanded an ensigne with fower files out of my small number to attend their arrivall.

That part of the fort, wich was imperfect towards the river being very low, the enemy shott over and commanded from their decks a quarter deck, above halve the inside of the fort scowring two of the curtains, where oure men were to oppose. In one of our bastions, where we thought our men secure, they shivered two of our mens leggs and thyghs, and placed some of their shott within 3 foot of the foundation of the wall withinside. Besides, the fort being high where the curtaine and bastion were compleated and low towards the land, but ten foote, the enemies shott would not permitt a man to stand on them. Our negroes, whome I had armed with launces to oppose an assault, lay fflatt on their bellies, two of our guns were dismounted, our powder began to be very low, but a barrell of fifty, and a quarter lost. In this condition, foreseeing an impossibility to keep the fort from the aproaching storme, I sent for all the commission- officers and one of the councill, who was then with mee, and the cheife gunner, who with the rest of the gunners behaved thiem selves exceeding well, and advised with them whether the place were tenable or not, who all concluded it was not, because we wanted ammunition, and the enemies shott commanded the inside

of the curtaine, where our men should stand to defend, and therefore I thought it discesion to yeild on honorable termes if to be had, then to oppose to noe purpose. But if conditions of honour were denied us, we were resolved to dye in the fort with honour, whereupon I caused a flagg of truce to be hung ont and a parley to be beaten, and proposed my termes to the admirall which he granted, and they were these:

Willoughby-fort, Feby 17<sup>th</sup> 1667.

Itt was this day concluded and agreed upon between Lieutt. Gen<sup>ll</sup>. William Byam, Governor of the province of Willoughby-land, and Monsieur Abraham Crynsens, comander in cheife of the Dutch fleet, now before the said fort, that the said Lieutt. Gen<sup>ll</sup>. Byam is to march forth without of the said fort with all his officers and soldiers with flying coulers, light matches, drum beating, ammunicion for every soldier, viz 12 shott a peice, with their armes; and both they and all the poore people aboute the fort to have liberty to take away all that they have therein as soone as they can, and also to have free liberty to goe up into the country or where they please. And the said fort with all the ammunication or artillery therein and all the provisions that were set in for the use of the soldiers, to be delivered up to the said monsieur Crijnsens or order, butt anything else that is not here expressed besides the artillery, ammunicion and the said provisions, the said monsieur Crynsens is not to expect. In wittness whereof the said Lieutt. Gen<sup>ll</sup>. William Byam and the sayd monsieur Crynsens have interchangeably sett their hands and seales to two of these articles of the same tenor and date. Abraham Crynsens.

The fort being surrendered, the commissioners

who were appointed by the States for the land, required the armes of the soldiers after they were marchd out, which I tould them was contrary to the articles, whereupon there arose a dispute, to suppress which they published a declaracion at the head of the company, assuring all the inhabitants in and about the fort, that they should fairely enjoy their estates and have all priviledge, if they would lay downe their armes and sware fidellity to the States, the which some for gaine, others for feare, did, and soe were dismiss.

This day Capt. Goose arrived in the river and was taken. Before night severall of our men inlisted themselves in the Dutch servis and told them they would show them every creeke and corner of the country and direct them where our provisions, cattle and negroes were hid.

The sixty negroes that were in the fort marcht forth with me, and I ordered a person to launch a boate and cary them up into the country, which whilst he was doing the soldiers by order stopt and put them into the fort and contrary to the articles detaind them.

That night I left the fort and about 2 o'clock in ye morning, two leagues from ye fort, I mett Capt. Clark with 14 periagoes from above, coming downe to my assistance, whome I informed the necessity of the surrender, and soe wee went up to the towne of Toorarica, where I expected severall of my soldiers, which were in the fort, would have followd me, but the enemy had putt all the boates adrift, that they could not come up. Here I found our men divided: some were for peace, heareing the faire pretences of the enemy that they came not to distroy but to build, and that all should enjoy their estates; and others were for warr and would

stand it out till the last and goe up the falls, or breake into the woods and destroy all before the enemy should enjoy it, and those that would cleave to the enemy and refuse to joine with them should be the first whose houses and caves they would turne, and whose plantacions they would ruine. I was exceeding sorry to heare of these divisions which aboded not good, and to see that many had not observed my orders in bringing downe with them 12 dayes provisions, for they already called out for want, and would needs home, whose dwellings were remote. I then tooke some care for there present supplie and sent for the councill and assembly to meet on Thursday following, and immediately dispatched two men to remaine at the mouth of Saramica, to advise how things stood, if any of our ships should fall in there, for we were advised that Capt. Colliete and others would suddainly be on the coast.

The next day I was advised from Barra that the ensigne there, when he heard the fleet were Dutch and not French, stript his colours and refused to fight, and some of the soldiers; others mutined against their officer, others remained at home and would not stir, and of 90 men in the creek but 40 appeared in armes, severall of ye cheifest gentlemen, who intended to stand it out, foreseeing the incurable ruine and misery in case of long opposition, and the French fleet dayly expected, and how they must leave many of their freinds, who lay exceeding sick, as a pray to the enemy, inclined to peace, soe it might bee on very honorable termes, and having received some overtures from the enemy, of his compliance in honor, I thought it prudence to prevent the ruine of severall of the most considerable plantacions which lay exposed to their furie and rapine as they came up, and before they had treated with



us, and therefore I sent the marshall with a letter to the admirall, that, if he intended the good of the inhabitants as hee profest, I desiered him to forbear the acting any hostillity till wee had treated, and in the meanetime I advance towards him with a periago-fleet, consisting of fourteene, in which were Christians and Jews, 168 men, ould and young, sick, lame and sound, besides negroes and some Indians, that padled the beates. I had many Indians come with me with bundles of warre-arrows, but broughte not a bitt of bread, soe that hungar enforced them quickly to returne. I cannot omitt the gallantry of the inhabitants of Serynoe, who, after they had dam'd their creek with store of imoveable trees, they nobly sent unto me that they desiered (the enemy knowing their habitacions were inaccessible) and would readily come over into the river whenever I would apoint them, who had noe less then eight myles of sad way to travell over.

On Wednesday night I received a freindly answere of my letter from the Admirall, who desiered two gentlemen for hostages in lieu of two he would send us.

On Thursday as many of the councill as were able, which were three, whereof but one (viz. Capt. Clarke) was well, mett, to whome I imparted the reallity of all transactions and sent for the assembly, and told them: though I might now by force take from the inhabitants what necessity required, yett as I never yett levied any thing without their consent, soe neither would I now in time of warr without their aprobaton, soe long as I could call them together, and earnestly desier(ed) now in this grand necessity, they would speedily order sufficient provisions for the present supply of our fleete from all the neighbouring plantacions, and a store up

stand it out till the last and goe up the ffalls, or breake into the woods and distroy all before the enemie should injoy it, and those that would cleave to the enemie and refuse to joyne with them should be the first whose houses and caves they would turne, and whose plantacions they would ruine. I was exceeding sorry to heare of these divisions which aboded not good, and to see that many had not observed my orders in bringing downe with them 12 dayes provisions, for they already called out for want, and would needs home, whose dwellings were remote. I then tooke some care for there present supplie and sent for the councill and assembly to meet on Thursday following, and imediately dispatched two men to remaine at the mouth of Saramica, to advise how things stood, if any of our ships should fall in there, for we were advised that Capt. Colliete and others would suddainly be on the coast.

The next day I was advised from Barra that the ensigne there, when he heard the fleet were Dutch and not French, stript his colours and refused to fight, and some of the soldiers; others mutined aganist their officeir, others remained at home and would not stire, and of 90 men in the creek but 40 appeared in armes, severall of ye cheifest gentlemen, who intended to stand it out, foreseeing the incurable ruine and missery in case of long opposition, and the Freuch fleet dayly expected, and how they must leave many of their freinds, who lay exceeding sick, as a pray to the enemy, inclined to peace, soe it might bee on very honorable termes, and haveing received some overtures from the enemie, of his compliance in honor, I thought it prudence to prevent the ruine of severall of the most considerable plantacions which lay exposed to their furie and rapine as they came up, and before they had treated with

us, and therefore I sent the marshall with a letter to the admirall, that, if he intended the good of the inhabitants as hee profest, I desiered him to forbear the acting any hostility till wee had treated, and in the meantime I advance towards him with a periago-fleet, consisting of fourteene, in which were Christians and Jews, 168 men, ould and young, sick, lame and sound, besides negroes and some Indians, that padled the beates. I had many Indians come with me with bundles of warre-arrows, but broughte not a bitt of bread, soe that hungar enforced them quickly to returne. I cannot omitt the gallantry of the inhabitants of Serynoe, who, after they had dam'd their creek with store of imoveable trees, they nobly sent unto me that they desiered (the enemie knowing their habitacions were inaccessible) and would readily come over into the river whenever I would apoint them, who had noe less then eight myles of sad way to travell over.

On Wednesday night I received a freindly answere of my letter from the Admirall, who desiered two gentlemen for hostages in lieu of two he would send us.

On Thursday as many of the councill as were able, which were three, whereof but one (viz. Capt. Clarke) was well, mett, to whome I imparted the reallity of all transactions and sent for the assembly, and told them: though I might now by force take from the inhabitants what necessity required, yett as I never yett levied any thing without their consent, soe neither would I now in time of warr without their aprobatation, soe long as I could call them together, and earnestly desier(ed) now in this grand necessity, they would speedily order sufficient provisions for the present supply of our fleete from all the neighbouring plantacions, and a store up

higher in thee river, where wee might be furnished when wee should bee forced to retreat. The gentlemen after consultation returned with this answere, that their persons and estates were devoted to serve their king, and for the defence of their country they desired that I would send officers to take what I wanted and where I pleased, but humbly desired that I and the councill would seriously pruse and consider of the paper which they presented, which containeth this:

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Lieut.-Gen<sup>l</sup>. William Byam and the rest of the councill, to his Excellency Ffrancis Wilmoughby of Parham. The humble address of representation of the Assembly, being y<sup>e</sup> representative body of the colony of Suryname, sheweth:

That whereas wee being deeply sencible as well of the trust reposed in us by the inhabitants of this coloney, as of our present dangerous estate, haveing so powerfull an enemy in the midst of us, whose force we ar neither able to resist or expell, and it being the earnest and important desiers of the good people of this colony, that this present juncture of affaires, even when wee are engageing unto blood with soo much disadvantage and in all probability soo little hopes of success, wee should now represent unto your honors their miserable and sad condition under the following consideracions, which we humbly offer to the prudent judgments and most seriovs thoughts.

That thorough the late heavie visitacion of sickness one forth part of y<sup>e</sup> ablest men are swept away, and of those few of us which remaine alive, one third part are still sick, weake, unfitt for service and unable to contribute any thing of defence against an enemy so farr surmounting us in numbers, equipage and all for warr, and such of us as are



healthy are divided and dispersed at great distances, which of necessity must be so, otherwise they or their familys must sudainely starve and perish, provisions being at this time in so great a scarcity;

That both the Lieutt-Gen<sup>l</sup> by his infirmity and great distemper, and also his Serjant-Major at present very dangerously sick, are unable for action and destitute of their conduct in this our great necessity;

That if we stand out in long opposition, the enemy will dayly burne, ruine and distroy our habitacions and settlements, and we unable to check or hinder them, and our slaves, when once in distress, if not sooner, will fly away from us;

That from the French, of whose merciless cruelty the English in the neighbour islands have lately had very sad experience, a fleet is howlerly expected, and we also feare the invasion of the Arwaca Indians, who will effect such mischeife as will consequently produce the inevitable ruining of us all;

That many of our men are already most traytously fallen to the enemie, who will prove very pernicious to us in guiding them to all our creeks and private places and discovering our provisions, cattle and goods as also all or most of our Christian servants and persons dishonest and in debt will undoubtedly very speedily desert us and repair to them;

And lastly considering that, as we have few or no medicines for wounded men, our whole store of ammunicion exceeds not six barrells, and, that expended, we must surcease ye contest by warr and betake our selves to the miserable refuge of flying into the woods with our wives, children and familys for safety, and at last, after a fineall ruining if we escape all other perils, the necessities of nature will force us to a shamefull yeilding up ourselves, for

any releife, as in all licklyhood we can expect none from his Maj<sup>ys</sup> most gracious Sovereigne, soe have we not soo much hopes of any from our proprietors, who never yett assisted us but with six barreles of powder and a little match, nor can we have thoughts of any kindness or succour from Barbados, who soe lately were very unwilling to spare a little limestone, for all which reasons we doe as well in the behalfe of ourselves as of the inhabitants of the colonie intrusting us, earnestly pray your honors as well for the removeing of the before recited danger and sad inconveniences, soe for the preserving of those fortunes and estates which many of us brought hither, and others by many yeares industry and the painefull swet of of their browes have attained, that you will rather seeke a speedy accommodacion and embrace composition upon safe and honorable termes then to perish in a warr, which we have noe abillitties to performe, and which must unavoydably procure the utter ruineing of us all our children and posterity;

But in respect that we suppose the enemie, for their owne interest and out of their desier to settle the trade of this collonie in themselves, which will undoutedly much promote their advantage and gaine, or we conceive in themselves inclinable to a treaty, and that we onely for the causes aforesaid, to prevent that soudaine devastacion, which they will bring upon us, have made this motion of peace, we humbly desier that such articles of treaty as shall be proposed, may be such as may certainly secure us in our estates and liberties and leave noe staine of dishonour or cowardice upon us, or have any concequence of abjuring that allegiance wee owe to our naturall souveraigne Leige-Lord his Maj<sup>tie</sup> of Great-Britain.

And we also humbly desier for ourselves and the

people (the) high favour of your honours that the body of articles you agree upon may be imparted to us before sent to the enemie.

Robert Collinsin, Stephen Neale, Iubz Whittaker, Angus Story, Tho. Sergeant, In<sup>o</sup>. Hespeth, William Parker, In<sup>o</sup>. Thorne.

After a considerable view of the paper we found the representatives had fully and truly stated our condition, and heareing the defection of many of our men flyeing to the enemys and of the insolencies of our negroes killing our stock, breakeing open houses, threatening our women and some flyeing into the woods in rebellion, and finding the generallity inclyning to a peace (the enemie haveing sent emisaryes) our owne men applauding their cruelty, extoling their promises and asserting the assurance of supplies, which we ever wanted, we sent Capt Angus Story and Mr W<sup>m</sup> Parker ffor hostages aboard and in the meane time drew up these proposals.

#### PROPOSEALLS TO THE ENEMIE.

1. Whatever revenue, guift or land is or hath bene set apart for the use of the Church, the maintenance of ministers, especially the rent of Allen's Estate, given for that end by his Exclle Fran. Lord Willoughby of Parham, be intirely reserved for that purpose;
2. That our present ministre Mr Geo. Vernon be sattisfied his arreares out of the produce of the said estate;
3. That the English, who shall remaine here, have ministers of their owne nacion and chooseing and of the Church of England, and that their anuall exhibicions be paid them out of the produce of the sayd estate;
4. That all of what nacion sooever who are pre-

- sent inhabitants of this colonie, whose tenants and practise are not inconsistent with Government, have free liberty of conscience;
5. Noe oathes be imposed on the English that shall inhabit here, which may in the least grate against their allegiance to their king;
  6. That the heirs of his Excellence Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham may and shall possesse and inherite all and every the lands, plantations slaves, servants, cattles, stocks, coppers, stills, boates &c., that did and doe of right belong to his said Excellence as he is a planter here, and that the said heires have free liberty att any time by themselves or agents to transport their estates or part thereof from hence, in shippes of their owne sending or in Dutch bottomes, to any place whatsoever without the least lett or mollestation or hinderance;
  7. That all persous whatsoever of what nacion soever, whither English, Iews &c, whither absent or present, who have estates in this province in lands, slaves, servants, cattle, stock, coppers, stills, barkes, boates, commodities, goods, debts &c. have them intirely reserved and confirmed unto them, their heires &c., to possess, injoy and inherit for ever without the least lett, mollestacion or hindrance;
  8. That ye persons aforesaid have full freedome and lyberty to sell or transport when or where they please all or part of their estates aforesaid and that, when sufficient freight presents, the Governor for the time being order shipping for the same at moderate rates;
  9. That no imposition or taxe be layd on or



exacted from any of the present inhabitants, towards the erecting of fortifycations, maintenance of governement or garnisons;

10. That a shipp or two, if needs require, be provided to transport forthwith such as are unwilling to live under the Dutch Governement, both they, their families, slaves &c. to Barbados with a convoy with them;

11. That all present inhabitants of what nacion soever have and shall enjoy all equall priviledges with the Dutch as shall cohabite here;

12. That the late act, made for the preserveracion of the inhabitants estates, be confirmed;

13. That noe inhabitants be denied the liberty of fishing in any parts as formerly, or to turtle on the bayes or to goe and trade with the Indians;

14. That they be furnished with all sorts of Indian trade;

15. That they have freedome to cutt specklewood in the river;

16. That all lawes, acts or declaracions conserning the inhabitants here be published in the English tounge;

17. That very great care be taken for the preservations of all orphans estates;

18. That every familly be permitted to have a towling peice in their howses with powder and ball, we being otherwise utterly unable to defend ourselves from the Indians, our slaves, and tygers and other vermins, which devour our stocke;

19. That our men belonging to this colonie, taken by (the) Governor of Barbice, be released and all such of our cuntrymen as were taken in the English shippes by your fleete bound for this

river, or in this river, and that for the French prisoners here we may have liberty to transport them to Barbados in a shallop of our owne, they being promised to be sent thither for exchange of our men at the Carreebe Islands, and that we may send up a French prisoner to Chyan for release of one of our men, that lies prisoner there;

20. That such goods as are sent ont and appertaine to the inhabitants of this colonie by Capt. Robt. Colville, dayly expected from Barbados (or shipps from other parts, which may be designed hither) be delivered unto them in case the said vessell shall arrive after the conclusion of this agreement, and the said vessell to be free soe far as the said colonie or any here share in the same shall extend, he being an inhabitant in this colonie;
21. That the inhabitants have free liberty to send off either sugar or any other commodities for Holland or elsewhere without excise or custome, and receive ye product thereof in what merchandige they please, without incumbrance;
22. That no prohibition be against the planter here inhabiting for makeing any man<sup>n</sup> of commodities for his advantage;
23. That noe president obligacion stop any that are minded to goe of, and that all debts that are and shall be contracted between English and English, we may have full power to order and determin if under 10000  $\text{ff}$  of Sugar, and for what publique charges the colonie stands inbedted, we may be impowered to make a leavie for the same on the present inhabitants, and distraine in case of refusall to pay, that all may beare an equall share;

24. That all negroes, that either were runn away about Pramorabo or detained in the fort, may be delivered to the owners;
25. That the Carrebees our neighbours be civilly treated nor abused by the Arwacas, and that we and our estates be protected from the French and Arwacas and other Indian enemies;
26. That all persons in Cummaween and Mapauny be included in these articles;
27. That all and every expression in all and every y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid articles be alwayes sure interperated, according to the plaine meaning, just sence and true intencion of the words and expressions, and never torested to the pregu-dice of the present inhabitants.

On Friday the 4<sup>th</sup> March, stilo novo, came the States-commandors to Toorarica, viz Capt. Lidenborge and Capt. Rame, commanders of standing companies in Zealand. There were with me the Councill, Serjt Major Tho: Neell, miserably weake, hardly able to goe, Capt. Nathan Clarke and Mr. Olliver Humphreys, who was very weake thorow the long sickness. The first and sharpest (...) in our treaty arose about our allegiance to our King, and after a long contest we concluded on the oath in the article, which we presume noe subject in our condition but might take it salvo honore et conscientia;

The next thing wich they bogled at was his Excellcy's estate and the interest of all absent persons, which we stood stiffly to reserve and uphold, but at lenth they told us that they could proseed noe further unlesse we yeilded to the confiscation of them, for they were strictly bound up by their ordens from the States not to treat unlesse we consented to the forfeiture of them. Att lenth we

desiered to lay aside and (...) not such Articles as for the present we could not agree upon and proseed and see what we mutually would assent unto;

The treaty was tedious, we not understanding Dutch well neither they English, so that all things were twice translated, by which delay thorough the insinuateing infidellity of some of our men the better understood the distraction and weakness of our condicion, which made not them onely receed from what they intended to grant, but to impose more difficult termes on us, and amongst the rest they demanded no less than 50000 of Sugar for a present to the States. We profered them 30000, and they would have taken 50000, had not the forward and ignoble prodigality of some profered in their heareing very laregely, so that a peace were concluded, and that they might save their estates, which made them not abate an ounce of 100000. Every day they would alter some thing and propose higher demands, and therefore we thought it best considering our tottering condicion, and howlerly feareing the arrivall of ye French fleet, which would have lessened the honour and goodnees of our articles, to delay no more time, but to hasten to a conclusion, for we could not expect the least releife, and therefore on the 6<sup>th</sup> of the aforesaid month about twelve at night these articles were signed:

ARTICLES CONCLUDED UPON BETWEEN COMMANDT. ABRAHAM CRYNSENS, ADMIRALL OF A SQUADRON OF SHIPPS, BELONGING UNTO THE NOBLE UND MIGHTY LORDS THE STATES OF ZEALAND, AND COLL. WILLIAM BYAM, LATE LIEUT.-GEN<sup>LL</sup>. OF GUIANA AND GOVERNOR OF WILLOUGHBY-LAND.

1. All revenues whatsooever, guifts or land, which are apponited for the use of the church



and maintenance of ministers, especially the rent of In°. Allens estate, given for that end by mylord Willoughby, bee absolutely reserved for that end, to witt as well for the payment of Dutch as English ministers; that the English shall have the election of their owne ministers, the same to be payd their exhibitions as well as the Dutch from the said revenue; that the present minister Mr Geo. Vernon be sattisfied for arreares from Mr Marcus Mannick out of the said rents, and that all persons of what nacion sooever have free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, whose opinion and practice is not inconsistent with the Government.

2. That no other oath shall be required of the English but the following:

I. A. B. doe in the presence of allmighty God promise from my heart and faithfully sware to be true and faithfull to the noble and mighty Lords the States of Zealand here in Surynam whilst I shall live in it, and will neither directly nor indirectly endeavour to oppose or undermine the same and shall to my utmost assist and fight against all their enemys, whatsoever that shall come to attaque or anoy them, but in case my sooveraigne Lord the King of England, my Lord Willoughby ar any whatsoever of the subjects of the King of England shall come to attaque Surynam, in that case I doe sware that I will keepe my selfe quiet and neither directly nor indirectly assist them, and, if it shall please the Governor, render my selfe a prisoner in his hands;

3. That all persons whatsoever of what nacion soever, whither they be English, Iews &c., that at present doe personally inhabite Surynam

with their families, shall have absolutely reserved and continued unto them their estates, lands goods of what nature and condicion soever, to injoy, inherit and possess them to themselves and their heires for ever, without the least mollestacion or hinderance. But that all those that doe not live in Surynam, and yett have estates therein, be absolutely excluded out of this article, notwithstanding that they have persons that doe represent their persons and famillies, and that all their estates of what nature and species soever, from hence forth be absolutely confiscated unto the Province of Zealand, according to their Lordships order;

4. That all presents inhabitants of what nacion soever shall have and enjoy all equall priviledges as the Netherlanders that shall cohabit with them;
5. That in case any inhabitants of this colonie shall now or hereafter intend to depart hence, he shall have power to sell his estate, and the Governor in that case shall procure that he bee transported at moderate freight together with their estates;
6. That the liberty of fishing and turtling upon the bayes as before and to trade with the Indians is permitted, provided they have a ticquelt from Governor;
7. That they shall have liberty to cutt speakele wood;
8. That we shall be fuernished with Indian trade;
9. That all acts, lawes and declaracions shall be published in the Dutch and English tounes, because the inhabitants doe not understand the Dutch languish, and that the inhabitants shall be governed by the Netherland lawes;

10. That there be no prohibicion upon the planter to make any thing a commodity for their best profitts;
11. That the Carrebees our neighbours shall be used civilly, and that care shall be taken that we and our estates shall not be endamaged by Dutch, French or other Indian nacions.
12. That all persons, present inhabitants in the rivers of Camaweene and Mapauny, are included within these articles;
13. That the inhabitants shall keep only so many armes as every one in his family shall need to keep his negroes in awe and to defend themselves against the Indians, wild beasts and all other vermins, the rest of the armes to be delivered up;
14. That the inhabitants shall raise 100000  $\text{t}$  of sugar for the noble and mighty Lords the States of Zealand to tak it with them;
15. The inhabitants shall pay till further orders the same impositions and beare the same charges which were imposed upon them before the country was conquered, acording to the tenor of an act, made by my Lord Willoughby, which shall be put into our hands;
16. That the records shall be delivered and secured in the hands of the governor, and that a perfect list shall be given in of the inhabitants, slaves, catell, coppers &c., which are in the country, as also a perfect list of the Cristians and hebrew inhabitants, that are in every devision;
17. That sixty negroes shall be sent by the inhabitants to worke at the fort for four months, if occasion shall require them soe long;
18. That all inhabitants which are willing to goe

of with the fleete, shall not be detained in the least by any debts, contracted before the date of these articles, and that commissioners shall be appointed, who best understand the nature of these matters, with full power to examine the debts, as well of such as goe of as of those which remaine inhabitants, and of such as leave atturnys behind them, and to make them to pay the same the Governor, after sentence of the commission being to assist them, that those that are condemned may be compelled thereunto;

19. That such as intend of (...) shall be furnished with a vessell to transport themselves with their slaves and goods &c., with a pass from commandor Crynsens, and be permitted to take their sloops with them, provided they sett sayle together with us;
20. That all and every expression in every article aforesaid shall att all time and ever be interpreted according to the right meaning, minde and true intent of the words and expressions, and at noe time torested to the prudence of the inhabitants;
21. That the present treaty be confirmed by the Lords the States of Zealand as soone as itt is possible, and that an authentick coppie thereof be sent hither with all expedicion for further security of ye inhabitants of this colonie, and the sayd authentick coppie be delivered unto them. This done aboard the ship Zealand the 6<sup>th</sup> of March, stilo novo, 1667.

Abraham Crynsens. William Byam.

In April 1667 Capt. Crynsens sayld for Surynam for the takeing on the Island of Tobago, leaving



Capt. Ram, commanding of this land for Governor for the Lords of Zealand. Besides these there were others which the commandor (of) Surynam would not have placed in the generall articles, for the performance of which they engaged their honour:

1. That absent orphans estates should be reserved unto them;
2. That Capt. Colvile, who was dayly expected in, should have what part he had in his ship reserved unto him and what goods &c. did properly belong both them and any other inhabitants;
3. That the prisoners at Berbice should be released and our men at Chyan, and that the seamen taken coming hither or in the river shall be sett a shore at Barbados;
4. That all persons now liveing on the confiscated estates and by virtue of any articles made with their employers, shall have the possession thereof, accordingly they paying for it to the Lords the States of Zealand what they were bound to doe to their imployers dureing ye time of their agreement, and afterwards surrender up the possession thereof unto whome they shall appointe;
5. That our men comeing from Baurooma shall have free liberty to goe off or stay for Lieutenant Everward, who was Lieutenant to Dissekebe, with 12 more as I was informed comeing up to Surynam, he sadly wounded in the belly and the other in a most miserable condicion, being all that were left of our men at Baurooma and Dissekebee, all the rest perishing for want of supplies;
6. That the proportion of negroes detaineyd in the fort which we averre to be contrary to the

articles, and they avouch the contrary, be left to the decision of the States of Zealand.

It may be expected that I should give a perfect account what men were in the colony at the fleets arrival, which I shall very faithfully doe. In July last I had an exact list of all the four companies, which amounted to more than seaven hundred men; I have now received perfect lists, which I am to deliver to the commissioner according to the articles, and I find in all, both officers and soldiers, about 500 men, from which if we deduct the superannuated, the sick, the weake, the lame, which were really so at present, I justly averr we had not 300 men sound in the whole countrey, and those at very remote distances by reason of their dispersed settlements.

To conclude, an universall and continued sickness, an imperfect half-built fort, the vast distance of our settlements, an unable and divided people, the age, sickness, weakness, and backwardness of many, the infedellitty of more, the want of ammunition, the insolent disorders of our owne negroes, the dayly expectacion of the merciless French and the utter dispaire of any releife, were the confluence of united judgments, which our sinns had ripened, all concurring to subject us under the yoke of our enemies.

WILL. BYAM.