

A Regional Guide to Books Published by The Hakluyt Society

SOUTH AMERICA

Compiled by John Hemming

This Regional Guide is divided into four sections: 1. The Incas, Peru and the Andes; 2. The Amazon River; 3. Brazil and the Atlantic seaboard; 4. The Guianas. In each section, Hakluyt Society volumes are arranged roughly chronologically according to their content.¹

1. The Incas, Peru and the Andes

Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Peru. By Fernando Montesinos. Translated and edited by Philip Ainsworth Means, 2nd series, 48, 1920.

This volume was a curious choice for the Hakluyt Society. Montesinos's text is short (126 pages); it is pure history with nothing about expeditions or discovery; its author was a Spanish Jesuit active in Peru for little more than a decade; he wrote in the 1640s more than a century after Pizarro's conquest and had no new sources; and Means's translation was from a flawed edition first published in Madrid in 1882.

More importantly, Licenciado Montesinos gave eight chronological tables, listing dynasty after dynasty of several thousand years of Inca rulers, starting with Noah's grandson Ophir who emigrated to 'Hamerica'. The book has brief histories of many of these fictitious reigns. In an introduction to this volume, Sir Clements Markham admitted that Father Montesinos had 'received more abuse at the hands of later critics' than any other writer about ancient America. This disregard has increased since then. In the 1980s Professor John Rowe showed convincingly that Inca expansion and hegemony started with the ninth Inca Pachacuti's defeat of the Chanca outside Cuzco in about 1438 AD. Montesinos mentioned the Chanca war, but he moved it back two thousand years to 'a century after the Deluge'.

Montesinos's lists of Inca rulers derived from another Jesuit, Blas Valera, who wrote in the 1580s. Most of Valera's history of Peru was destroyed in the Earl of Essex's sack of Cadiz in 1596, but a fragment reached Garcilaso de la Vega and greatly misled him. The only thing that can be said in defence of Montesinos and his stories of immensely long rule by the Incas is that modern archaeologists feel that the pre-Inca people of Cuzco were more advanced than Rowe argued. This is because Killke-period excavations there yield sophisticated material, but from the late fourteenth century AD, and not from Montesinos's fanciful millennia BC.

¹ All books reviewed in this Guide were published by the Hakluyt Society at London unless otherwise stated. Dates shown in brackets are those of the issue year, where these differ from the imprint or publication year.

First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas, by the Ynca Garcillasso de la Vega. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 2 vols, 1st series, 41 and 45, 1869 and 1871. (The 1869 volume contains books 1–4, and the 1871 volume books 5–9.)

Garcilaso de la Vega is regarded as the literary giant of Inca chroniclers. The son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess, he had a happy boyhood among the Inca elite in Cuzco in the 1540s and 1550s. Garcilaso left for Spain in 1560 aged twenty-one and unable to take any papers with him. After years as a soldier, horse-trader, and minor ecclesiastic, Garcilaso took up writing, inspired by pride in his Inca heritage and unfulfilled longing to return to Peru. He had to rely on the few books in print, such as the first part of Cieza de León, José de Acosta, Agustín de Zárate and Blas Valera (who misled him), and on his own prodigious memory. The *Comentarios reales de los Incas* was written during eighteen years and finally published in Lisbon in 1609. It gave a glorious picture of every aspect of Inca government, religion, agriculture, science, geography, daily life and society, interspersed with personal reminiscences. Garcilaso depicted Inca rule and conquests as benign, almost utopian, and his records of the feats of semi-mythical early Incas should not be taken literally.

Markham's translation was superseded by one by Harold V. Livermore (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1966; paperback reprint 1989). Livermore also translated the second part, published as *Historia General del Perú* in 1617, which dealt with the Spanish Conquest and civil wars. Samuel Purchas had published excerpts from the *Royal Commentaries* in *Hakluytus posthumous or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625.

History of the Incas, by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, and The Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru, by Captain Baltasar de Ocampo. Translated and edited by Sir Clements Markham, 2nd series, 22, 1907.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was a picaresque character, highly intelligent and dynamic, but in trouble with the Inquisition because of his interest in astrology and the occult and his amorous and other escapades. Expelled from Mexico, and then in internal exile in Cuzco, he was released in 1567 for a voyage that discovered the Solomon Islands. A close advisor of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, he carried the standard in the conquest of Inca Tupac Amaru's forest capital Vilcabamba in 1571, and was with the Viceroy in campaigns in what is now Bolivia. In 1579–80 he traversed the Straits of Magellan, and then attempted to colonise that southern land in 1583 (see Hakluyt Society, 1st series, 91, 1895, summarised in the Hakluyt Guide to the Southern Oceans).

This *Historia Indica* was presented to King Philip II in 1572 but never published. It was thought to be lost until discovered in Germany and published there in 1906. Markham promptly translated and published it as 'without any doubt, the most authentic and reliable' history of the Incas. It was based on official interrogations of (generally anti-Inca) elders from different parts of Peru, which were then attested by everyone in Cuzco linked to descendants of Inca royalty. Much of this was a propaganda exercise, intended to show that the Incas had recently conquered most of their empire, so that Spaniards were justified in overthrowing those 'usurping tyrants'. Markham assumed that every remark about the Incas being warlike was an obvious interpolation by the Viceroy, so he put these in italics within brackets. Sarmiento's *History* is full of valuable information about the reigns of each of the twelve pre-Conquest Incas. He loved and admired the Incas, but depicted them as successful

imperialists who gloried in their victories and were ruthless in suppressing opposition or revolts. The rule they brought to conquered Peru was efficient and benign. This interpretation is more convincing than Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of a gentle and idyllic empire (Hakluyt Society, 1st series, 41 and 45, 1869, 1871).

Sarmiento ended his history in 1532 with the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar, and Pizarro's capture of the former in Cajamarca. Markham augmented this volume with a 44-page report about Vilcabamba by Captain Baltasar de Ocampo, written in 1610. This movingly described the death of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the 1572 Vilcabamba campaign, and the execution of Tupac Amaru, followed by a brief description of the remote and largely abandoned Spanish province of Vilcabamba.

The Natural and Moral History of the Indies, by Father Joseph de Acosta. Reprinted from the English Translated Edition of Edward Grimston. Edited by Clements R. Markham, 2 vols, 1st series, 60 and 61a, 1880 (1879).

José de Acosta was a pioneer in describing the geography and natural history of Peru, as well as writing a fairly critical description of Inca society and 'idolatories'. The brilliant Jesuit spent thirteen years in Peru in 1572–85. He accompanied Viceroy Toledo on a campaign in what is now Bolivia, helped to found and teach at three future universities, described the workings of mercury mines and their importance in refining silver, and above all had a humanistic approach in his superbly accurate descriptions of plants and natural phenomena. Acosta's influential *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* was published in Seville in 1590 and immediately translated into other languages.

Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 48, 1873 (1872).

It was innovative of Markham to publish translations of four documents about Inca beliefs and rituals by little-known contemporaries. The first, *The Fables and Rites of the Yncas* by Cristóbal de Molina, gave detailed accounts of Inca worship and prayers (in both Quechua and Spanish) for every month of the calendar. This Cristóbal de Molina was the priest of the native hospital in Cuzco in the 1560s and 1570s, spoke Quechua, and learned much from his indigenous patients. (He is known as 'of Cuzco' to differentiate him from an earlier priest of the same name (who witnessed Manco Inca's coronation in 1533) known as 'el Almagrista' or 'of Santiago'.) More adventurous was to publish *An Account of the Antiquities of Peru* by Juan Santa Cruz Pachacutic, a pure Indian of distinguished parentage who converted to Christianity but was deeply aware of his Inca roots, which he argued were often compatible with his new faith. He told the history of each Inca ruler in relation to the evolution of native religion, and he drew a famous diagram of the spiritual relationship of human beings and celestial bodies (page 85 of this edition). Although difficult to interpret, this work is taken seriously by modern anthropologists because of its insight into native thinking. The third report is about beliefs of the Huarochiri people (in the Andes north-east of Lima) who were related to the Chimu conquered by the Incas. It was by their priest Francisco de Ávila in 1608. The fourth is by Licenciado Juan Polo de Ondegardo, corregidor of Cuzco in mid-sixteenth century and a formidable expert on Inca affairs. This 20-page report is about how

the Incas expanded and administered their empire, and the labour levies and tributes they imposed.

***Reports on the Discovery of Peru.* Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 47, 1872.**

This volume contains three important eye-witness accounts of Francisco Pizarro's capture of Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca in 1532. These were basic sources for William Prescott and every later author. 1) Francisco de Xerez was with Pizarro on two of his tough early voyages, and was then the illiterate Francisco Pizarro's secretary during the first months of the conquest of Peru. His was the most detailed and factual account of the capture of Atahualpa and his ransom. Xerez related conversations between the Inca and his captor, but never mentioned individuals other than Pizarro and gave no subjective opinions. He included in his report a fascinating 20-page account by Miguel de Estete of Hernando Pizarro's reconnaissance deep into the Inca empire to the temple of Pachacamac, in 1533. Xerez's *Narrative of the Conquest of Peru* was published in Seville in 1534 just after the author's return to Spain and was immediately published in major European languages. 2) Markham included Hernando Pizarro's letter to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, written in November 1533 during his first return to Spain with some Inca treasures for the King that even the conquistadors hesitated to melt down. The 15-page letter is a good account of Inca society and the events at Cajamarca, by the expedition's second-in-command. 3) The third document is an inventory of the gold and silver from Atahualpa's melted ransom paid to each participant in the conquest. It was by Pizarro's next secretary, Pedro Sancho, who later wrote a fine account of the capture of Cuzco which was translated by Philip Means for the Cortes Society, New York, 1917.

***The Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman, a Knight of Seville, of the Order of Santiago, A.D. 1518 to 1543.* Translated by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 29, 1862.**

Clements Markham was told about this unpublished manuscript, and found it in the Spanish National Library in Madrid. So its first publication was in this translation. Alonso Enriquez de Guzman was an impoverished nobleman, one of very few gentry in the first conquest of Peru. The first 35 chapters of this memoir deal with the author's tedious campaigns in Morocco, the Balearics and Italy, and his attempts at advancement in the royal court. He reached Peru in 1535. His account of Pizarro's capture and ransom of Atahualpa three years previously is valid. He got on well with Francisco Pizarro in Lima, but later became a staunch supporter of Pizarro's former partner Diego de Almagro. This memoir is useful because of its detailed account of the civil war ending in the battle of Las Salinas and Hernando Pizarro's execution of Almagro (see Cieza de Leon's account of it in Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 54, 1923). Enriquez de Guzman fought in Manco Inca's siege of Cuzco in 1536–7 but says little about it. He may possibly have been the author of a splendid anonymous account of the siege: *Relación del sitio del Cuzco...* (1539, first published in 1879).

The travels and writings of Pedro de Cieza de León

The humble Spanish soldier Pedro de Cieza de León is hailed as the prince of chroniclers by all modern authors, because of his historical accuracy, impartiality, eye for detail, clear style of writing, huge volume of work, vast travels in much of the Andes, and above all his reaching New Granada and Peru as early as the mid-1540s. Cieza was a devout Christian, but he respected Inca and other American civilizations and sympathized with oppressed Indians. So Clements Markham, who was passionate about Peru and was the driving force in the Hakluyt Society, translated and published all available works by Cieza.

The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León, A.D. 1532–50, contained in the First Part of his Chronicle of Peru. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 33, 1864.

This volume is a wonderfully detailed gazetteer of what are now Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, with ethnographic descriptions of its peoples, places (including the Inca's lost northern palace at Tumibamba (Cuenca) and their road system), conquests by Spaniards, produce, natural history, and even sailors' navigation. There are chapters about the silver mines of Potosí, the pre-Inca ruins of Tiahuanaco, and even the Amazon forests. Cieza de León traversed all this territory, when going from Panama to Cuzco in 1541 to 1548 and after the civil wars. (He had actually sailed to the Caribbean in 1535 when in his teens.)

This First Part was published in Seville in 1553 and frequently thereafter. It was a main source for Garcilaso, Herrera Tordesillas and others. It was first roughly translated into English by John Stevens, London, 1709. Markham occasionally omitted or mistranslated passages that were unfavourable to natives.

The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru by Pedro Cieza de León. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 68, 1883.

Here, in seventy-three chapters, Cieza tells the history of the eleven Inca rulers and the start of the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar. The account is roughly the accepted version of expansion starting with the defeat of the Chanca. But Cieza has many variations that are worth study because, although not related to Inca royalty, he was a diligent researcher who would have interrogated these descendants. There are descriptions of Sacsahuaman and other Inca ruins, whose destruction he deplored.

This Second Part, *El Señorío de los Incas*, was known to Prescott, but not published until 1873. Harriet de Onis made a fine translation of both the First and Second Parts, and Victor von Hagen blended them geographically, in *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de León* (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1959).

The Third Part of Cieza's opus, about the Conquest and Manco's rebellion, came to light only in the late twentieth century. It was translated by Alexandra and Noble Cook as *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru* (Duke University, Durham N.C., 1998).

The Fourth Part of Cieza de León's *Chronica del Perú* dealt with the civil wars between the conquistadors during the two decades after Pizarro's Conquest. Unlike the first and second parts of Cieza, these manuscripts remained unknown until recent times. They were first

edited and published in Madrid, two in 1877 and the third in 1881. Markham translated from these editions and the accounts of three civil wars have never subsequently been translated. So the Hakluyt Society did scholars a service by publishing translations of these chronicles, even though it published the three in reverse chronological order.

Civil Wars in Peru. The War of Las Salinas by Pedro de Cieza de León. Translated, with an introduction, by Sir Clements Markham, 2nd series, 54, 1923.

The War of Las Salinas begins in 1537 with the end of the great rebellion by Manco Inca, a prince whom Francisco Pizarro had raised as a puppet Inca. Governor Pizarro was on the coast founding his new capital Lima, and his brothers Hernando and Gonzalo had survived a year of siege in Cuzco. The siege was raised when Pizarro's original partner, Diego de Almagro, returned from an expedition to explore and conquer Chile, and a relief expedition from the coast also reached the beleaguered town. A royal decree had divided the Inca empire between Pizarro and Almagro, but it was unclear which captaincy included the Inca capital Cuzco. As with warring Mafia families, the dispute between the Pizarro and Almagro camps degenerated from negotiations and confrontations into brutal civil war. All this was carefully recorded by Cieza, who interrogated many of the participants. It culminated in a bloody battle in the Salinas (salt pans) at the edge of Cuzco on 26 April 1538. Hernando Pizarro was victorious. Ten weeks later he organized a show trial and executed the Adelantado Almagro – an action against a senior royal official that caused this Pizarro to spend most of the rest of his life imprisoned in Spain. *The War of Las Salinas* also contains useful information about Manco Inca's retreat to the forested hills of Vilcabamba, and about events in what is now Ecuador and Colombia.

Civil Wars in Peru by Pedro de Cieza de León (Part IV, Book II) The War of Chupas. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 2nd series, 42, 1918 (1917).

The War of Chupas is the longest of the histories of Peru's civil wars, with 104 chapters occupying 375 pages. It describes expeditions in the northern parts of the Inca empire and what is now Colombia – a region that Cieza had traversed on his way to Peru. There is Gonzalo Pizarro's disastrous attempt to find El Dorado, and his friend Francisco de Orellana's epic descent of the Amazon, in 1542. The son and followers of Diego de Almagro, defeated and executed in 1538, got their revenge by hacking the Marquis Francisco Pizarro to death in his new palace in Lima in 1541 and for a year they ruled Peru. The King of Spain sent Cristóbal Vaca de Castro to restore order and, in a series of battles culminating at Chupas (outside modern Ayacucho in central Peru), where on 16 September 1542 he crushed the Almagrist rebels. Vaca de Castro then divided Peru into encomiendas for his cronies or for sale, until the King issued New Laws to give native Peruvians some degree of protection. This book covers a turbulent and particularly bloodstained four years of Andean history.

The War of Quito by Pedro de Cieza de León and Inca Documents. Translated and edited by Sir Clements R. Markham, 2nd series, 31, 1913.

The War of Quito describes in fifty-three chapters the early part of Gonzalo Pizarro's seizure of power in Peru, a form of 'unilateral declaration of independence' by settlers infuriated by the liberal New Laws to protect Indians. In 1544 the rebel forces were victorious in battles throughout what is now Peru and Bolivia. The King sent his first Viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela, to introduce the legislation; the Viceroy reached Lima but was indicted by local colonists' judges. This fragment ends here: it does not actually continue to the battle outside Quito in January 1546, at which Gonzalo Pizarro defeated and killed the royal Viceroy. Cieza wrote two more books in his Fourth Part, about the Huarina and Jaquijaguana campaigns of 1546–8, but these were not available to Markham for translation. Cieza himself fought in the latter battle.

This volume contains a chapter about defeated Almagrist rebels finding sanctuary with Manco Inca in his Vilcabamba retreat. In 1545 these fugitives treacherously murdered their host: Markham included an eyewitness report of the killing by the Inca's young son Titu Cusi Yupanqui. He also included a fascinating report by Diego Rodriguez about an embassy he made to that Titu Cusi, twenty years later when he was ruling the Vilcabamba enclave. As a separately bound Supplement to 2nd series, vol. 22, 1908 (Sarmiento de Gamboa) Markham had translated another important document about the neo-Inca state of Vilcabamba: Friar Gabriel de Oviedo's embassy there in 1571.

Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro... Written by the Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 34, 1865.

Pascual de Andagoya went to Panama in 1514 as assistant to Governor Pedrarias Dávila. He was involved in early voyages in the Pacific, and was the first to record 'Birú' as a rich land to the south; but he did not sail on any of Pizarro's voyages in the 1520s. In 1540 he was sent to occupy Sebastián de Benalcázar's captaincy of Popayán (when that conquistador went to Spain) in what is now southern Colombia. His *Narrative* records events of his first year in office, with skirmishes against and attempts to convert peoples of Popayán and Timana. Otherwise there is nothing new in his brief account of the conquest of Peru and Chile.

History of the New World, by Girolamo Benzoni, of Milan. Shewing his Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556.... Translated and edited by Rear-Admiral W. H. Smyth, 1st series, 21, 1857.

The Milanese Girolamo Benzoni went to Spanish America to try to make money, and was there from 1541 to 1555. His *History* was widely diffused in Europe, but is of no value to historians or ethnographers. His summaries of Columbus and the other conquistadors were second-hand, and his notes on the customs of indigenous peoples of northern Venezuela and the coast of Ecuador were superficial.

2. The Amazon River

Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, 1539, 1540, 1639. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 24, 1859.

This volume contains reports of three expeditions. The first is Gonzalo Pizarro's attempt to find the land of El Dorado and Cinnamon, that left Quito at the end of 1539 and staggered back in mid-1542. Markham decided to translate from Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, published in 1609 (part 2, book 3). It is evident that Garcilaso's source was the legal action that the angry Gonzalo Pizarro launched against his former friend Francisco de Orellana after the latter's 'treacherous' descent of the Amazon.

The second report is Orellana's descent of the world's largest river. Markham chose to translate this from a seventeenth-century author, Antonio de Herrera Tordesillas, who never visited the Americas and whose *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos...* was published in 1610–15. However, Herrera was the official historian and he used Friar Gaspar de Carvajal's superb eyewitness account of that epic journey of discovery. Carvajal was important in reporting the chiefdoms along the great river, as well as introducing the supposed Amazon warriors who inspired its name.

The third report is by the Jesuit Cristóbal de Acuña, who was sent to keep an eye on the Portuguese Pedro Teixeira who was returning after ascending to Quito in 1637–8. Acuña was a fine observer of the Omagua and other peoples and geography of the Amazon, as well as of the illegal slaving activities of the Portuguese. Acuña's report was suppressed and largely destroyed because it was too informative and sensitive, at a time of great geopolitical tension between the Iberian kingdoms – Portugal in 1640 ended sixty years of dual monarchy by expelling Spaniards and elevating the Bragança dynasty. The Hakluyt Society did a great service by publishing this translation of Acuña's rediscovered 102-page *A New Discovery of the Great River of the Amazons* (1641).

The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua & Lope de Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua in 1560–1. Translated from from Fray Pedro Simón's "Sixth Historical Notice of the Conquest of Tierra Firme" by William Bollaert with an introduction by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 28, 1861.

The second Spanish descent of the Amazon in 1560 started, like the first by Orellana in 1542, as a quest for El Dorado. This elusive rich kingdom was now thought to be associated with the Omagua people, on the main Amazon near the present Brazilian-Peruvian frontier, rather than in forests east of Quito. A great expedition led by Pedro de Ursúa built boats and embarked on the Amazon in northern Peru. But it found heavy rains, little food, and no wealth, so the venture was hijacked by the embittered Basque arquebusier Lope de Aguirre. Ursúa, his officers, and his beautiful mistress Inéz de Atienza were all murdered. Aguirre wanted to descend the river as fast as possible, sail up the coast to Venezuela, and then march south to conquer Peru for his band of traitors. The voyage down the Amazon became a bloodbath, with the paranoid psychopath Aguirre killing a third of the Spaniards and marooning hundreds of native Andean porters. This sensational story, with El Dorado gold, Amazonian adventure, treachery, sex, class warfare and scores of murders, was an immediate

best-seller throughout Europe. But it added almost nothing to knowledge of Amazonian geography or indigenous peoples.

It is unfortunate that William Bollaert chose to translate from the Franciscan friar Pedro Simón, whose *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme* (Cuenca (modern Ecuador), 1627) were entirely plagiarized without acknowledgement from earlier sources. There were four eyewitness accounts by members of the ill-fated journey: Lopez Vaz (known only from an English translation published by Richard Hakluyt himself in *Principall Navigations...*, vol. 8); Captain Altamirano (quoted in Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (1629)); Gonzalo de Zúñiga; and Francisco Vázquez (copied at length by Simón); and summaries soon after the event by Diego de Aguilar y Córdoba (1578), Toribio de Ortigüera (1581) and Juan de Castellanos (1589).

English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550–1646. Edited by Joyce Lorimer, 2nd series, 171, 1989.

Although the Portuguese discovered what is now Brazil in 1500, in 1532 divided its immense Atlantic seaboard into settlement captaincies, and defeated countless Indian tribes and two French attempts at colonisation, their Brazilian colony did not reach the mouth of the Amazon until the foundation of the fort of Belém do Pará in 1616. By that time, the Dutch had made several Amazonian settlements. In this splendid volume, Joyce Lorimer found a wealth of often unpublished documents and maps to describe almost a century of English and Irish attempts to do likewise, and the ferocious Portuguese destruction of these incursions. (She was adding to the first descriptions of those ventures, by J. A. Williamson and by Aubrey Gwynn, in the 1930s.) The Amazon was perceived as a benign environment that yielded tobacco and other lucrative crops, so that settlement in North America was by no means the ‘inevitable’ goal for British enterprise. Among many valuable reports, the most remarkable and entertaining was by Bernard O’Brien, son of a dispossessed Catholic Irish earl, who was allowed by King James I to found an Amazon colony of his compatriots and co-religionists in about 1620. Lorimer translates O’Brien’s amazing picaresque adventures (written in Spanish for the King of Spain) in four chronological segments. This volume is full of ethnographic and geographical information, of varying quality.

Journal of the Travels of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723. Translated and edited by Rev. Dr. George Edmundson, 2nd series, 51, 1922.

Dr Edmundson discovered this manuscript about the life of the Bohemian-born Jesuit Samuel Fritz in the library of Évora in Portugal. Most of the report was by an anonymous Jesuit in Quito in the 1730s, but it contains two passages from Father Fritz’s own journal. One is of his journey down and up the Amazon in 1689–91 – he went to Belém at the mouth of the river to seek medical help (probably for malaria) from Portuguese Jesuits there, but was detained for almost two years as a suspected Spanish spy – and for 1697–1703. Scores of Jesuit missions all over South America sent annual reports to their Company’s headquarters in Rome. This report is more interesting than most in three respects: it contained some anthropological notes on the Tupi-speaking Omagua people, who had impressed Orellana in 1542 and Acuña in 1640 (Hakluyt Society, 1st series, 24, 1859); its description of places along the main Amazon

led to Fritz in 1691 making the first detailed map of the river (known by a version published in Quito in 1707 and reproduced here); and it reported a decade of squabbles between Spanish Jesuits descending from the Andes and Portuguese Carmelites and soldiers coming up the Amazon from Brazil. Missionised indigenous peoples such as the Omagua and related Yurimagua were shunted up and down the Amazon-Solimões as pawns in the geopolitics of the Iberian kingdoms. Otherwise this is an account of the successes and failures of a zealous and pious missionary, his precarious health, and events in his various missions in what is now north-eastern Peru and western Brazil.

3. Brazil and the Atlantic Seaboard

The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India. Translated and edited by William Brooks Greenlee, 2nd series, 81, 1938.

This volume opens with Pedro (or Pero) Vaz de Caminha's wonderful 30-page letter to King Manoel, of 1 May 1500, which has rightly been hailed as the start of Brazilian anthropology. It described the unexpected landfall in Brazil by the fleet of Pedro Álvares Cabral, that was bound for India but blown westwards in the South Atlantic. The Portuguese ships spent only nine days on the coast of what is now the state of Bahia, but they sent a ship back with the precious letter (luckily, because most of the rest of the flotilla was shipwrecked). Vaz de Caminha told about the handsome and naked Tupi Indians, their body paint and something about their villages and artifacts, as well as an attempt to convert them – in which they were more interested in the metal tools used to make a cross than in Christianity itself. There was also information about the unfamiliar animals and plants of Brazil. It was all told in simple, delightfully chatty and accurate prose.

Greenlee included a dozen other documents about Cabral's voyage, which mentioned the Brazilian landfall, but were mostly concerned with later events in India and its spice trade. These included a letter from King Manoel to his royal Spanish cousins, two letters by men on the flotilla, and reports to Venice and Florence.

The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents illustrative of his Career. Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 90, 1894.

In a 43-page introduction, Markham queried the accuracy and authenticity of much of Vespucci's reports, because his letters were so vague about other navigators, his few dates and coordinates so inaccurate, and his information about indigenous peoples often derived from others. The first letter, about a first landing on the mainland of South America, was dismissed by Las Casas as plagiarism and by Markham as a fabrication. The second letter, of 1499, was about the coast of what is now Colombia. It had interesting information about indigenous people, including the first report of their chewing coca leaves mixed with lime. The most famous letter was from Vespucci to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, March 1503. This was not kept as a state secret, but was rapidly printed in every European language. It is called the 'Mundus Novus' letter because it referred to South America as a 'new world', and this led to the two continents being named after the boastful Florentine. Vespucci sailed far down the coast of Brazil in 1501–2, probably as a passenger on the flotilla of the Portuguese Pedro Coelho. His descriptions of indigenous peoples were fairly accurate, but

sensationalised about their nudity, cannibalism, and alleged promiscuity and extreme longevity. He depicted the profusion of novel plants, birds and animals of Brazil as a terrestrial paradise. Markham included a translation of seven chapters of Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (1552–61) in which the bishop challenged most of Vespucci's claims.

***The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse, in A. D. 1547–1555, among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil.* Translated by Albert Tootal, annotated Richard F. Burton, 1st series, 51, 1874.**

The story of Hans Staden (as he was usually known) was so extraordinary that it was reprinted repeatedly after its first publication in Marburg in 1557. The Hakluyt translation is from that first edition. The background to this story is that Tupi-speaking indigenous peoples had spread all along the Atlantic seaboard of Brazil. They had fragmented into tribes who fought one another ferociously and had a tradition of capturing enemy warriors, fattening them up, killing them with a ritual blow, and cooking the corpse for every member of the capturing tribe to eat a portion. The Portuguese discovered what is now Brazil in 1500, and in 1532 divided its long coastline into captaincies. French traders had depots on the coast, and in the 1550s also attempted to settle permanently. The European rivals allied themselves to opposing Tupi tribes and encouraged their feuds. Staden, from a village in Hesse, was employed by the Portuguese as a gunner on several voyages and at a fort in Brazil. In 1552 he was in woods on an island near the port of Santos when a group of pro-French Tamoio Indians seized him and rushed him in canoes to their village. During a year of captivity, Staden's captors made all preparations for his execution, fattening him up and providing him with a temporary wife. He witnessed other Portuguese being killed and eaten and, to his fury, French traders callously refused to rescue this German from a similar fate. He was saved by a series of predictions that luckily came true, showing that he was not entirely Portuguese, and winning the affection of the tribe and its chief. Staden's narrative is full of important ethnographic information about his captors and their habitat. His amazing adventure was made into a feature film.

***The Conquest of the River Plate (1535–1555).* Translated by Luis L. Dominguez, 1st series, 81, 1891 (1889).**

This volume starts with a translation of the adventures of the crude Bavarian soldier Ulrich Schmidl (here mistakenly called Schmidt) on expeditions up the Paraná-Paraguay rivers and into the Chaco between 1535 and 1552 (published Frankfurt, 1567). Schmidl gave the first basic and often garbled descriptions of the Guaicurú (now Kadiwéu), Mbayá (Terena), Cario (Guarani), Xaraies (extinct or Guató), Abipones (Paiaguá) and other peoples, with their weapons, ornaments, foods, villages, and the beauty and 'availability' of their women. He related much trading with or battles against all these tribes. He told of the founding of Asunción, Amazons thought to live near the source of the Paraguay, wading across the seasonally flooded Chaco, and his own desertion and escape across what is now southern Brazil.

Luis Dominguez, Argentinian envoy to London, translated the *Comentarios* by Pero Hernández about the admirable conquistador Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (published 1555).

After a decade of exploration in Florida (described in his *Relación* (1542)) Alvar Núñez was sent in 1541 to govern Rio de la Plata and Paraguay; but he fell foul of the seditious explorer Domingo de Irala (whom Schmidl admired) and in 1544 was recalled to Spain where he was totally cleared of malicious charges after eight years of legal struggle. Álvaro Núñez's first campaign was against the warlike Gaicurú, who are well described. The fighting ended in amicable peace. The next campaign was against the Paiaguá, expert canoers and masters of the Paraguay river, then against the related Agazes (Abipon). He sent explorations far up the Paraguay and across the Bolivian llanos towards Peru. Much of the *Comentarios* was about the feud between Alvar Núñez and his rebel opponent Irala.

The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591–1603. Edited by Sir William Foster, 2nd series, 85, 1940.

James Lancaster had lived and served in Portugal, and shortly after the Spanish Armada, was sent by the new East India Company to command a voyage to India and South-East Asia, 1591–4. Its misadventures did not involve South America. Lancaster's second voyage, 1594–5, started with the successful capture of Recife in Pernambuco, north-east Brazil. This was to capture cargo known to be stored there. In a month of confused fighting against the Portuguese, most of the loot was taken, although various Englishmen and their allies were killed. Richard Hakluyt included the Pernambuco campaign in his *Principall Navigations*. This and a similar account are included in this volume. There is no new information about Brazil or its colonial or native societies. Lancaster's third voyage, 1601–3, was entirely to the Malay archipelago.

4. The Guianas

The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana... Performed in the Year 1595, by Sir W. Raleigh... Reprinted from the Edition of 1596.... Edited by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, 1st series, 3, 1849.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana. Edited by Joyce Lorimer, Hakluyt Society, 3rd series, 15, 2006.

Robert Schomburgk was sent by the Royal Geographical Society to explore the interior of British Guiana, and did this so well that he became the government's official boundary surveyor of the recently acquired colony. As such he saw the seasonally flooded Rupununi plain on the upper Essequibo, and therefore identified this as the great lake described by natives to Raleigh's lieutenant Lawrence Keymis. Schomburgk admired and sympathized with Raleigh and was therefore delighted to have persuaded the Hakluyt Society to republish his famous promotional essay of 1596.

157 years after Schomburgk's edition, Dr Lorimer studied an original manuscript in Lambeth Palace, London, and published this alongside a printed version of Raleigh's pamphlet. In an Introduction, she explained how the Spaniard Antonio de Berrío had for decades obsessively searched for the fabulous land of El Dorado, how his young explorer Domingo de Vera imagined that he had actually seen the edge of that golden empire, and how Vera's fantastical fund-raising papers had (unfortunately) been captured by Raleigh's

privateer. This inspired the Elizabethan sea-dog in 1595 to capture and interrogate Berrío on Trinidad island, and then himself to visit (and claim for his Queen) the lower Orinoco.

The *Discoverie...* was of course misnamed, because there had been no discovery. Instead, Raleigh summarized previous attempts to find El Dorado, including his own. He then challenged ambitious men to colonise Guiana, ‘a cuntry that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought’ with its graves and mines still full of gold and treasure. Lorimer also includes important documents, from English and Spanish sources, about Raleigh’s expeditions in the 1590s and his pleas for release from imprisonment by King James I in order to find the gold mine he thought that he had seen in 1595.

A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana by Robert Harcourt, 1613. Edited by Sir C. Alexander Harris, 2nd series, 60, 1928 (1926).

Robert Harcourt, of landed gentry in Oxfordshire, obtained letters patent from King James I to colonise all the Guianas from the Amazon to the Essequibo. This *Relation*, published in London in 1613, described Harcourt’s voyage in three small ships in 1609 that landed at Wiapoco (the Oyapock or Oiapoque River, the modern boundary between Brazil and Guyane Française (Cayenne)). Harcourt was greeted by chiefs of the Arawak-speaking Aruã/Palikur who had been in England with Walter Raleigh, and he helped make peace with their Carib-speaking Galibí enemies. There is some anthropological information about indigenous ceremony and burials, but more about natural history – particularly crops (manioc, maize), gums, dyes (annatto, genipap), pharmaceutical plants, timber trees, tobacco, balsam, etc. Harcourt and his men explored far up the Oyapok and Maroni rivers, and inland in a vain search for gold or other mines. He listed many tributary rivers and indigenous peoples, particularly Carib Purukoto. All this was intended to attract colonists, and Harcourt included regulations for the government of his hoped-for plantation, but it never materialized. The volume includes a passage from *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, which was a report to Harcourt about the Maroni exploration.

Joyce Lorimer put Harcourt’s voyage into the context of other English and Irish attempts at settlement, in *Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 171, 1989* (described in the Amazon River section, above). The voyage was also mentioned in V. T. Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guianas, 1623–1667*, *Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 56, 1925*.

Storm van ’s Gravesande, The Rise of British Guiana, Compiled from His Despatches, by C. A. Harris and J. A. J. de Villiers, 2 vols, 2nd series, 26 and 27, 1911.

Storm van ’s Gravesande was a Dutch colonial official who served for thirty-four years (1738–72) in what is now Guyana. When Britain captured the colony during the Napoleonic wars and was awarded it permanently in the 1814 peace treaty, an archive of Storm’s papers was transferred and is now in the National Archive. The *Hakluyt Society*’s editors selected several hundred despatches from this huge collection – which they said would in total have filled twenty-one 300-page printed books. The editors wrote a 189-page Introduction that is a good history of the occupation and exploration of British Guiana up to the twentieth century. This also describes Storm himself as an honest, honourable, hard-working, enthusiastic and innovative administrator. The despatches, mostly to his superiors, are raw material for

research rather than a narrative or journal of discovery as is usually published by the Hakluyt Society. Storm took delight in the towns and forts he built or embellished, in the explorations he organised, and treaties he made with indigenous peoples (notably Makuxi, Wapixana and Ayoreo, in Portuguese spellings). There is surprisingly little about the Manoa (Manau) people of the middle Rio Negro, whom Brazilians accused of being too pro-Dutch and whom they defeated just before Storm's term of office. His letters cover a period of great prosperity for the colony, with a shift from cacao and coffee to sugar (in Demerara). As with most internal despatches to superiors, Storm's constantly beg for more supplies – notably basic food, and African slaves – and complain about his own ill-health and overwork, conditions in the colony, and a feeling that the authorities gave it less attention than adjacent Suriname. Written in lively and informative style, they give a vivid picture of life in a forested colonial backwater.

The Guiana Travels of Robert Schomburgk, 1835–1844. Edited by Peter Rivière, 2 vols, 3rd series, 16 and 17, 2006.

Robert Schomburgk was the son of a German pastor who impressed the recently founded Royal Geographical Society with his cartographic skills. He was also an accomplished botanist. He persuaded the Society to send him to explore the interior of British Guiana: the first Hakluyt Society volume deals with his expeditions there between 1835 and 1839. Schomburgk was then sent by the British government to survey the colony's boundaries, first with Venezuela and then with Brazil.

Schomburgk's early expeditions were up the Berbice and the Corentyne rivers. In 1837–8 he ascended the entire Essequibo, being the first to survey its source, by a star fix. He named the largest lily *Victoria regia* in honour of the new Queen. Crossing the Rupununi plateau to Fort São Joaquim on the upper Rio Branco in Brazil, he investigated Mount Roraima. Schomburgk then decided to make a stupendous circuit. From the Fort, his Indians took him up the rapid-infested Uraricoera, over a watershed to the upper Orinoco, through the Casiquiare Canal to the upper Rio Negro, down it to the confluence of the Branco, and up this to return to São Joaquim almost a year after he had left. This was real exploration, involving formidable rivers and untraversed terrain. Schomburgk had all the necessary attributes, being keenly interested in indigenous peoples, botany, all elements of natural history, geography, riverbank society and even politics. His surveying and cartography were meticulous, and his writing was accurate, informative, and at times lyrical. Professor Rivière blends Schomburgk's correspondence, particularly with the RGS, with his journals, and the originals of reports published in the Society's Journal. The second Hakluyt Society volume covers the boundary work in 1835–44, for which he was knighted. This included arduous expeditions, notably traverses of the largely unexplored Cuyuni and Tacutu rivers – the latter forming the current frontier between Guyana and Brazil, thanks in part to Schomburgk's work.