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A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN BRAZIL

DONALD D. BRAND

Part I

INTRODUCTION

The history of Anthropology in Brazil begins with the discovery of that country in 1500. This is not only because its inhabitants were first described in that year, but also because of the wealth of ethnographic and linguistic material that was obtained and recorded by hundreds of explorers, missionaries, and others in the following centuries before the arrival of the "professional" anthropologist. In fact, it is doubtful if anthropologists from Karl von den Steinen in 1883 up to the present have contributed even one-tenth as much anthropologic information pertaining to Brazil as did this great group of non-professionals. This is true for a number of reasons. The early explorers, missionaries, and colonists were able to meet and observe native peoples untouched or little affected by European culture. Most of the observers from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century had few preconceptions about the various Indian groups, and were under little or no constraint to make their observations conform with some anthropologic theory. In this connection one might quote from Montaigne's essay concerning the Indians of the Brazilian coast. Montaigne obtained his information from a Frenchman who had lived ten or twelve years (ca. 1555-67) in the Rio de Janeiro area. Montaigne says, "This man I had was a simple and ignorant fellow: hence the more fit to give true evidence; for your sophisticated men are more curious observers, and take in more things, but they glose them; to lend weight to their interpretations and induce your belief they cannot help altering their story a little. They never describe things as they really are, but bend them and mask them according to the point of view from which they see things, and, to make their judgements the more credible and attractive, they are not loath to add a little to their matter, and to spin out and amplify their tale. Now we need either a very truthful man, or one so simple that he has not the art of building up and giving an air of probability to fictions, and is wedded to no theory."¹ Further, many of the early writers on Brazilian Indians had lived near or among them for long periods of years, in some cases an entire lifetime. In this modern age of quick and easy transportation, numerous formal eating and lodging places and conveniently tinned and packaged food-stuffs, and numerous possibilities for diversion or distraction, such as radios, movies, and abundant reading mate-

1. Essay "On Cannibals," p. 204, in vol. I of the Trechmann translation of *The Essays of Montaigne*, 2 vols., London, 1927. This essay was written ca. 1579, and was published in 1580.

rial, it is nearly impossible to obtain the minute and abundant observations on commonplace things which characterize and give value to the writings of many travelers and chroniclers of the earlier centuries. The age of Staden, Soares de Souza, Dobrizhoffer, Azara, von Humboldt, von Martius, and Kidder has gone, and we cannot hope for as well-rounded and competent observations in the future.

It is indicated that anthropologists, especially those accustomed to working among Indian groups in the United States and Canada for whom there is little historical documentation, avail themselves more fully of the copious early literature of the Indians of Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America. Unfortunately, in this day of comparatively good bibliographic guides, there continue to be turned out by American, French, German, and other anthropologists, papers and monographs on Indian groups in Latin America which are little better than a dry census of selected culture traits, spiced with the condiments provided by some particular theory or school of anthropology, and garnished with an overemphasis upon sex-life. It should be evident, if anthropology is more than the cataloging of the contemporary life of "primitive" groups or of the detritus of dead peoples, that any particular people or culture should be studied historically and geographically, i. e., a culture should be studied in the light of changes, in space and through time, brought about by indigenous adaptations and inventions and by exterior contacts. This can be done only by carefully examining all possibly relevant literature and by studying the environment, as well as by making a field study of the culture or people itself. Further, rather than issue a monograph based upon the work of one season or year (like a summary of a year's weather), it would be better to cover fewer peoples and publish only after several years of work with a particular people (thus approaching the accuracy of a statement of climate). It is obvious that observations made during only a season will not incorporate all the items of the entire "Calendar-round," and it is equally true that no one year will provide a suitable index to the various activities and reactions that will occur sporadically over a number of years.

The history of anthropology in Brazil can be divided into three major periods: 1. that of discovery, early exploration and colonization, 1500-1808 (Colonial); 2. the period of national expansion and initial scientific investigations, 1808-1889 (Monarchical); 3. and the modern period, 1889 to date (Republican). These periods will be considered in that order.

COLONIAL PERIOD, 1500-1808

DISCOVERY, EARLY EXPLORATION, COLONIZATION, 1500-1580

Brazil was discovered by Europeans in 1500² when the Spaniard Vicente Yáñez Pinzón made landfall somewhere in northeastern Brazil on January 20th and then coasted west to discover the mouth of the Amazon, and the Portuguese Pedro Álvares Cabral spent some eight days at Pôrto Seguro (modern Baía Cabralia) some 260 miles south of São Salvador³ after having sighted land on the 22nd of April (Julian Calendar; "official" day of discovery is May 3, Gregorian Calendar). To this new land was given the name of Ilha da Vera Cruz; but the land soon was recognized to be part of a continent as a result of exploratory voyages made in 1501-02 by Andrés Gonçalves, and 1503-04 by Gonçalo Coelho (in both of which Amerigo Vespucci took part), and the name Terra do Brasil came into common use from the quantities of dye-wood, resembling the brasil-wood of the Old World, which were found in the land. The Spaniards pressed no claims because of Pinzón's discovery since all new lands east of a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands (Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494) were to be Portuguese, and this line ran approximately from the mouth of the Amazon to the coast of Santa Catharina in southern Brazil. In an account of Cabral's stay on the Bahia coast is incorporated the first description of Brazilian Indians (see Vaz de Caminha in *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, and in other works). However, the first published description of Brazilian Indians is in a letter of Vespucci (concerning the voyage of 1501-1502) printed in 1504, or earlier. The oldest known illustration of Brazilian Indians, and also of South American Indians, is a German wood engraving of about 1505 (see R. Schuller, "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians," in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., t. xvi, pp. 110-118, 1924).

During the next thirty years numerous Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English ships visited the Brazilian coast, some temporary settlements were established by the French and Portuguese, and miscegenation commenced with the unions between the European sailors and traders and the Indian women. Several Europeans, some by choice and some by force, lived with the Indians, took native wives, and had numerous half-breed progeny by the time of the first permanent Portuguese settlements, 1530-32, at Olinda near Recife and São Vicente near Santos.

2. A recent discussion of varying claims will be found in *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century*, by Samuel Eliot Morison, Cambridge, 1940.

3. The orthography of Portuguese in Brazil (officially Brazilian) has been altered officially in recent years, but there is yet no consistent usage established. Therefore, the writer also will be inconsistent in such cases as *bahia* vs. *baía*, *bello* vs. *belo*, *Catharina* vs. *Catarina*, *Piauihy* vs. *Piauí*, *geographia* vs. *geografia*, etc. Also, the reader should keep in mind that in certain cases the name of the state is used commonly for that of its capital city, e. g., Pará for Belém, Pernambuco for Recife, Bahia for São Salvador, etc.

The living of white men among the Brazilian Indians commenced with the two convicts left behind by Cabral in 1500. In 1503, a Portuguese expedition founded a temporary settlement of twenty-four men near Caravellas on the southern Bahia coast. In 1504, Captain Paulmier de Gonneville of Honfleur, seemingly preceded by other Frenchmen, initiated the documented French regime along the northeast Brazilian coast. For more than a century French traders for brasilwood, privateers, pirates, and colonists maintained sporadic contacts with Brazil. These French, chiefly from Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy, readily made friends with the Indians (whom they did not seek to enslave or dispossess); and for many years they maintained small trading posts manned by one or more Frenchmen, many of whom married Indian women and lived for many years among the Indians. It is unfortunate that few narratives by these early French traders were made and preserved.

Beginning in 1506, the ships and fleets plying between Portugal and India commonly touched at some point along the Brazilian coast.⁴ Occasional Portuguese ships extended the exploration of the coast and investigated French activities. From 1516 until the occupation in 1530-32 Portuguese cruisers under Christóval Jacques and Antonio Ribeiro patrolled Brazilian waters and fought the French brasilwood traders and pirates. Many men "jumped" these ships, were put ashore as punishment, were left behind by accident, or were shipwrecked on the Brazilian coast. Among the better known of such early Portuguese among the Brazilian Indians were the "Bachiller de Cananea" (ca. 1502), Diogo Álvares Correa (Caramurú) in the Bahia area (ca. 1510) and João Ramalho in the São Paulo region (ca. 1512). These men contributed no specific anthropologic information, but they reproduced a large half-breed population, and made the later Portuguese colonization easier.

Spanish expeditions, either exploring South America west of the Demarcation Line or seeking the southwest passage to the Pacific and the Indies, touched along the Brazilian coast on a number of occasions. The accounts of the voyages of Vicente Pinzón and Juan Díaz de Solís (1508-09), Solís (1515-16), Magalhães (Pigafetta's account) in 1519, García Joffre de Loaysa (1525), and Sebastian Cabot (1526-30) contain numerous mentions of Brazilian Indians—especially from the Santa Catharina region. In 1521-22 (or 1526) a Portuguese adventurer, Alejo García, stranded from one of the early Spanish or Portuguese expeditions, together with several other Portuguese and many Indians went from the coast of southern Brazil, across what are the present states of Paraná and Matto Grosso, into Inca domains in Bolivia.

In 1530-32, Martím Affonso de Souza made a temporary settlement

4. See statement to the contrary in Alexander Marchant "Colonial Brazil as a Way Station for the Portuguese India Fleets," *Geographical Review*, vol. xxxi, pp. 454-465, 1941.

at Rio de Janeiro and a permanent settlement at São Vicente (for years, however, there had been a trading station at São Vicente), Duarte Coelho Pereira founded Olinda, and the first negro slaves—only a few—were introduced into Brazil. During the period 1532-36 the system of hereditary captaincies was established, further permanent settlements were founded, and a colonial plantation economy was set up on the basis of sugar, supplemented by cotton, tobacco, livestock, mandioca, maize, and beans, and by brasilwood from the forests. The Portuguese refused to work and the Brazilian Indians did not make good plantation laborers. Perhaps, if the Portuguese had put the women, who commonly did the agricultural labor, to work instead of the Indian men, there would not have been so much trouble with the Indians. At any rate, the Indians did not and could not make as good plantation laborers as could Negroes who were physically stronger, better adapted to living and working under moist tropical conditions, and comparatively immune to the Old World diseases that were decimating the Indians. Consequently, about 1538, commenced the importation of African slaves, chiefly from Angola, Congo, and Guinea, to work on the plantations. This introduced a third racial element in the process of miscegenation that by now was proceeding very rapidly.

During the next thirty years, about 1538-1567, the outlines of colonial economy and procedure were crystallized. In the Brazilian "culture-hearth" (São Vicente to Olinda), the political constitution of the captaincies was changed in 1549, and in that eventful year the new captain-general, Thomé de Souza, arrived with a contingent of Jesuits. Souza made his capital at São Salvador, where the Jesuits under P. Manoel da Nóbrega entered upon their first mission in the New World. However, these Jesuits of 1549 were not the first missionaries in what is now Brazil since two Franciscan friars (See *Comentarios* of Núñez Cabeza de Vaca) were in the coastal region of Santa Catharina as early as 1538. In 1553 another contingent of Jesuits, including P. Joseph de Anchieta, arrived in Brazil. Anchieta, the "Apostle of Brazil," opened up mission work in the region of the present city of São Paulo. With these and other Jesuits, such as Azpilcueta Navarro, John (Meade) Almeida (to Brazil, 1588), Fernão Cardim, Leonardo do Valle, and Antonio Araujo, commenced the serious study of the Indians and their languages. It was the Jesuits who organized the Indians in mission villages (aldeas), studied their beliefs and ceremonies, and reduced their languages to rule and writing. One of the Tupí dialects was singled out for special study and elaboration, and this became the *Língua Geral* that was, until about 150 years ago, the most commonly spoken language in Brazil. A royal decree of 1574 granted to the Jesuits full control over the Indians in the aldeas.

From 1555 to 1567 the French under Nicolas de Villegagnon and others attempted to found an Antarctic France in the Rio de Janeiro

area, but lack of support from France and internal dissention culminated in failure and complete evacuation of the area. However, the writings of Fr. André Thevet, who was in Brazil in 1550 and in 1555, and of the young Calvinist Jean de Léry who visited the colony, 1557-59, are among the best anthropological sources of the period on the Tupí.

During this period, in 1563, the "pest" killed an estimated three-quarters of the christianized Indians in Brazil. Endemic and epidemic Old World diseases, wars among the Tupí-speaking groups (Pitagoar, Caité, Tupinambá, Tupininquin, Tamoyo, etc.) of the coast and with Tapuya invaders from the interior, and the "Seven-years War" of the Portuguese against the Indians (ca. 1592-1597), by the end of the sixteenth century had essentially eliminated all Tupí peoples from the coastlands of colonial Brazil. Those who survived migrated into Minas Geraes, the *sertão* of the northeast, Maranhão, and even into the valley of the Amazon proper. The two non-Tupí groups of the east coast (Papanaz and Goiazacaz) also were driven into the interior by 1572, but between 1560 and 1589 the Aimoré (Botocudos) had conquered most of the captaincies of Ilheos and Pôrto Seguro from the Tupininquin and the Portuguese. It was not until nearly three centuries later that the Brazilians were able to eliminate the Tapuya menace in this area.

In addition to the writings of the Jesuits and French on the sixteenth century peoples of coastal Brazil, there are three outstanding accounts that cover the period 1547-87. Earliest of these is the account by a Hessian, Hans Staden, who made two voyages to Brazil—1547-48, and 1549-55. The second voyage was so lengthy because Staden became a captive in 1551 of the Tupí in southern Brazil and was not rescued until 1554, by some Frenchmen. Pero de Magalhães de Gândavo, a Flemish Portuguese, in 1576 published a history and account of the land and the people of Brazil, based on considerable personal observations. In 1589, Gabriel Soares de Souza, after a stay of seventeen years, 1570-87, as a sugar-planter in Brazil, finished a treatise on the geography, people, economy, and history which is invaluable for its discussion of the Tupinambá and the Bahia area.

In the Plata-Paraná basin, part of which later was to become Portuguese and Brazilian, various Spanish expeditions continued the explorations of Solís, García, and Cabot. In terms of anthropologic material on regions now in the four southern states of Brazil and Matto Grosso, accounts growing out of the expeditions of Pedro de Mendoza, Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and others of the period 1535-1553 are quite valuable. The best of these include the account by Ulrich Schmidel (a Bavarian member of the Mendoza and later expeditions who spent 1536-53 along the Brazilian coast and in the Paraná-Paraguay area), the *Comentarios* written for Cabeza de Vaca by Pedro Hernández, and the historical account "La Argentina," by Rui Díaz de Guzmán (not contemporary) in Angelis' *Colección*. From

these and other accounts of the period can be obtained fairly good descriptions of Tupí-Guaraní, southern Tapuya, Guaycurean, and southern Arawak groups—especially from the Santa Catharina-Paraná and southern Matto Grosso areas.

Spanish exploration also predominated, during the sixteenth century, in the great Amazonian basin which later was to become mainly Portuguese and Brazilian. The earliest white penetration into the upper Amazon came in the period 1535-45 from Coro and Quito. Employees of the Welsers out of Venezuela (1528-1546), possibly George of Spires (Georg Hohermuth von Speier) 1535-1538, and certainly Philipp von Hutten, 1541-45, reached the Uapes and possibly the Japurá either in or very close to what is now Brazil. In 1541-42, Francisco de Orellana, with a portion of the party that had started eastward under Gonzalo Pizarro, went down the Napo to the Amazon and on to the mouth. In addition to the brief accounts of Oviedo y Valdés and other historians of the period; there exists the account of the descent of the Amazon by a Spanish Dominican, Fr. Gaspar de Carvajal, who was chaplain to the Pizarro-Orellana expedition. This contains many valuable anthropologic notes. In 1549, two Portuguese and many Indians reached Peru after ten years of migration from the coast of Brazil up the valley of the Amazon.⁵ There followed, 1560-61, the ill-fated expedition of Pedro de Orsúa (Ursua) and Lope de Aguirre which came down the Amazon out of Peru and then, seemingly, attained the Venezuelan coast via the Río Negro, Casiquiare, and Orinoco. There exist contemporary accounts by Toribio de Ortiguera and Francisco Vázquez, as well as the versions by Simón, Southey, et al.

Most of the parties in the upper Amazon region and adjacent portions of the Orinoco basin and Guiana during the sixteenth century were searching for "El Dorado" or some variant such as the golden city of Manoa (Omoa), Omagua and the land of cinnamon, Meta—the house of gold, etc. In addition to George of Spires and Phillipp von Hutten, Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Orellana, and Pedro de Orsúa and Lope de Aguirre, the list of seekers for fabulously rich Indians includes Hernán Pérez de Quesada (1569) and Walter Raleigh (1595).

THE "SPANISH" PERIOD, 1580-1640

From 1580 to 1640 Portugal and Spain were united through the person of a common monarch. This enabled the Portuguese in Brazil to expand west of the Demarcation Line without arousing the concern of the Spanish crown, but it likewise brought upon Brazil the various enemies of Spain—especially the Dutch, English, and French. A further result was opening up the Brazilian missionary field to Carmelites, Benedictines, Franciscans, Capuchins, Mercedarians, et al., from

5. The primary sources are in t. 4 of *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*; also see recent studies by Erland Nordenskiöld and Alfred Métraux.

Spain and other lands in addition to the Portuguese Jesuits. However, with the exception of the missionaries and enemy intruders, the Spanish period saw a strict and jealous exclusion of non-Iberians to a degree more marked than obtained earlier and later when the Portuguese allowed fairly free ingress to all Catholics.⁶

The English contributed little to knowledge concerning Brazil and its peoples because the traders and merchants of the period 1526-1580 left behind but few records (nearly all known have been published by Hakluyt, Purchas, and Churchill), and the brief piratical raids along the coast during the period of Spanish dominion normally yielded little literature. Direct English information on Brazil can be said to have begun with the report by Roger Barlow, a merchant who was with Cabot, 1626-1530,⁷ and with the accounts of William Hawkins' three voyages (c. 1528, 1530, and 1532) to Brazil. Captain William Hawkins (?-1554), father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, was a capable and peaceable sailor and merchant who made friends with the Indians and took one of them to London for a visit—to see and be seen. A number of other British merchants voyaged to Brazil, chiefly in the 1540's, but seemingly none settled there until John Whithall made residence in Santos in 1578.⁸ This same year Francis Drake coasted Brazil on his circumnavigation of the globe. Then a number of English pirates or privateers, chiefly 1581-1596, made landings from Santa Catharina Island to Olinda, sacked a number of the settlements, and obtained a few notations on the Indian population. The more important expeditions were those of Edward Fenton, 1582-83, Robert Withrington, 1586-87, Thomas Cavendish, 1591-93 (Cavendish had spent nearly a month in Brazil during his 1586 circumnavigation of the globe), and James Lancaster, 1594-95. Probably the most interesting English account from the sixteenth century is "The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Antoine Knivet, which went with Master Thomas Candish in his Second Voyage to the South Sea 1591," in Purchas and also *Revista Trimestral*, 1878.

The Dutch made a determined effort, 1624-1654, to found a colony in northern Brazil, and from about 1630-1654, they controlled most of northern Brazil from Maranhão and Ceará to Sergipe. The Dutch made headquarters in Pernambuco, and to this day there persist both ethnic and cultural survivals of the short but intensive period of occupation. Under the rule (1637-1644) of the great Count Jan Mauritz of Nassau-Siegen many scholars and artists were brought to Brazil, such as Georg Marcgraf (German naturalist), Willem Piso of Leyden

6. During periods of Portuguese control Englishmen were allowed special privileges because of the ancient friendship between Portugal and England (conditioned by a mutual distrust of Spain and France), punctuated by the Treaty of Windsor 1386, the trade treaties of 1642, 1654, and 1661, and the Metheun treaty of 1703.

7. "A Brief Summe of Geographie," in Churchill's *Collection* 1746, Hakluyt Society 1932, etc. Barlow used and added to the "Suma de Geographia" by Martín Fernández de Enciso, Sevilla, 1519.

8. An attempt was made to colonize the Parahyba do Sul area, 1572-77.

(physician), Cralitz the geographer and mathematician, Liais the astronomer, and Frans Post the painter. A number of contemporary accounts were published which contain varying amounts of information on the Indians of northeastern Brazil. The Dutch did not confine themselves to the coastlands; in fact, they were the only Europeans during the seventeenth century to penetrate Guiana-El Dorado, which they accomplished by allying themselves with the Caribs. Both the Dutch and the English advanced up the Amazon (Dutch on the lower Xingú, English on left bank of Amazon), and they were not expelled by the Portuguese until 1616-1632 after Castello Branco had founded a fort at Belém do Pará. About this time (1613-1614) Pero Rodrigues and twenty-nine other Portuguese, made the first overland trip from São Paulo to Pará.

After the collapse of Antarctic France, the French turned their attentions to the coasts of northern Brazil and the Guianas where, 1594-1616, they attempted to found an Equinoctial France. The main settlement in Brazil was on the island of Maranhão, but this was held for only a short period, 1612-15. At this time French Capuchins commenced missionary work in the area, especially among the Tupinambá who somewhat earlier had migrated thither in large numbers from the Bahia region. Two of the most fruitful accounts, for the anthropologist, covering this area and period are those of Abbeville and Yves d'Evereux.

THE EARLY "VICEROYALTY," 1640-1763

The next hundred and twenty years after the resumption of the throne by a Portuguese king witnessed the definite exploration, occupation, and Christianization of Brazil. Jesuits, Paulista *bandeirantes*, and *sertanejos* of northeastern Brazil—searching for Indian converts, Indian slaves, silver and precious stones, and new lands for settlement—explored practically all that is now Brazil. Probably there was not a canoe-trail or Indian path in all the immense expanse of the Brazilian plateau, Matto Grosso, and Amazonia that was not traversed, at one time or another during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by white priests or white and mixed-blood (*mameluco*, *mulato*, etc.) *bandeirantes* and *sertanejos*. Unfortunately, few accounts ever were written of the exploits of these precursors of nineteenth and twentieth century "scientific" discoverers and explorers.

For three areas there exist some accounts of value to the anthropologist—the Amazon valley, Paraguaya, and the upper Paraná—upper São Francisco region. The accounts for the Amazon valley mainly represent Jesuit endeavor—Spanish Jesuits from Ecuador and Perú in the upper Amazon or Marañón, and Portuguese Jesuits in the lower valley. Recorded activity in this region, in the seventeenth century, commenced with the journey of two Franciscan lay brothers (Domingo de Brieva and André de Toledo) and several Spanish soldiers from Ecuador down the river to Pará in 1636-37. This journey

is recorded by Fr. Laureano de la Cruz. This led to the Portuguese expedition of Pedro Texeira, 1637-38, which was the first to go up the Amazon. In 1639 Texeira returned to Pará from Quito, accompanied by a Spanish Jesuit, Cristóbal de Acuña, whose account published in 1641 was suppressed by the Spanish crown. Several editions, however, are now available, and these contain valuable ethnographic notes. Mauricio de Heriarte, a member of the party, also provides a few useful notes. These preludes led to the work of the two greatest missionaries in Amazonia, the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Vieira and the Bohemian Jesuit Samuel Fritz.

Vieira (1608-1697) came to Brazil as a child, became a Jesuit, and devoted much of his life to work among the Indians of the lower Amazon. He was an orator, writer, and diplomat, and influenced the Portuguese crown in favor of his Indian charges. Samuel Fritz (1654-1728) went to Quito in 1685; and spent the succeeding forty-two years in Amazonia, where he labored among the Omaguas, mapped the boundary between Quito and Brazil (1687), and descended the Amazon to Pará (1689-91). The writings of Vieira and Fritz have many ethnographic notes. The work of Spanish Jesuits in the upper Amazon, known as the Maynas mission, actually began as early as 1637. Other missionaries in this area who, like Fritz, both labored among and left some record concerning the Indians included the martyr Francisco de Figueroa (1612-1666), Paul Maroni (fl. 1738), and Franz Veigl (1723-1798). The German Jesuit Hundertpfund labored among the Indians of the Xingú area; and another German Jesuit, Anselm von Eckart (c. 1721- c. 1809), was in Pará just before the expulsion.

In addition to the Maynas mission, which included the Omaguas of the present Brazil-Peruvian borderlands, Spanish Jesuits opened the Mojos and Paraguay missions during the seventeenth century. Although the accounts of the Mojos mission contain some material on the Brazilian tribes of the Guaporé basin, the greatest contributions to Brazilian ethnography by Spanish Jesuits were made in the Paraguayan mission.

The first Spanish Jesuit missionaries reached the Paraná-Paraguay area about 1609 (the Province of Paraguay was erected in 1607). Already Portuguese Jesuits had commenced work (1587-89) in the Guairá region on the Alto Paraná in what is now the state of Paraná. Here Ortega, Field (or Fields, an Irishman), and Saloni established missions which flourished from 1609 until 1630. Also, missions were developed by Gonzales de Santa Cruz, Rodriguez and Castillo in the Rio Ijuí area of what is now Rio Grande do Sul. These missions lasted from 1600 until 1628. These early missions among Guaraní and Tapuya tribes were abandoned, 1629-31, because the Paulista slave-raiders paid no attention to the Demarcation Line. The fathers were forced to retire, in many cases with their Indian charges, to lands farther south and west. Father Montoya was a

leader in removing the Indians from La Guairá. The Jesuits then concentrated their work among the Guaraní of what is now Paraguay, the Argentine "Mesopotamia," and a small area in western Rio Grande do Sul (The Seven Reductions or Sete Povos). However, their missionaries also worked among the Guaycurean Indians and occasionally advanced into the Matto Grosso. In 1750 there commenced the War of the Sete Povos (main warfare 1753-56), since this area had been traded by Spain to Portugal for land on the Río de la Plata estuary and the Indians neither wished to move nor to trade masters. This was a prelude to the complete destruction of Jesuit missions in Paraguay through the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish lands, 1767-68.

The Jesuit Paraguayan mission had existence from 1609 to 1768, during which time many grammars and dictionaries were composed, and a number of journals and histories of interest to the anthropologist were written. Among the better-known names and sources are Antonio Ruíz de Montoya (1593-1652), Francisco Xarque (1614-1666), Nicolás del Techo (1611-1650), Pedro Lozano (?-1752), Pierre F. X. de Charlevoix (armchair historian), José Sánchez Labrador (1714-1798), and Martin Dobrizhoffer (1717-1791). Father Dobrizhoffer not only worked among the Abipones, but also spent many years with Matto Grosso Indians (eight years on the Alto Paraguay at San Joaquín del Taruma)—altogether being among Indians from 1747 to 1767.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the epic period of the *bandeirantes* from São Paulo and the *sertanejos* from Bahia who advanced westward in the upper basins of the Paraná and São Francisco and even far into Goyaz and Matto Grosso. Silver, gold, precious stones, Indian slaves, and new lands were the prizes sought. From about 1530 until 1680 Indian slaves and silver mines were the main object of the westward raids and expeditions. Throughout most of the seventeenth century much of the energy of the Paulistas was spent on slave-raiding into the Jesuit province of Paraguay. The greatest figure of this period was Antonio Raposo Tavares who on one expedition for slaves and silver crossed the Matto Grosso from São Paulo to Perú, then returned down the Amazon and around by the Atlantic coast. Another great *bandeirante* of this century was Marcos de Azevedo in the headwaters of the São Francisco and the Paraná. The decreasing number of wild Indians, the increase of Negro slaves, and the finding of gold in paying quantities about 1680, rapidly initiated the century of exploration for gold, diamonds, and emeralds. The greatest figure of this period was Fernão Dias Paes Leme (1608-1681), who probably explored more of Brazil, looking for Indians, gold, and precious stones, than anyone until the nineteenth century. Other leading figures of the time were Manoel de Campos, Antonio Arzão, Antonio Dias, Miguel Garcia, Bartholomeu Paes de Abreu (1674-1738), Antonio Pires de Campos, Pascoal Moreira Cabral, and

Bartholomeu Bueno da Silva. Operating chiefly in the northeast of Brazil, such men as Manoel Correa, Domingos Jorge, Matias Cardoso, Pascoal Paes de Araujo and Lourenço Castanho Taques opened up the sertão of Bahia, Goyaz and Piauhý, and subdued the Indians of the region. Between 1692 and 1725 important finds of gold were made in what are now Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, and Goyaz, especially in the "gold rush" period 1699-1711 into Minas Geraes. In 1723 and 1729 diamonds were discovered in Minas Geraes and this, with the gold, caused such an influx of Portuguese and Brazilians that the coastal plantation areas were critically depopulated. A considerable number of slaves had been lost through having run away to the Palmares "republic" (Confederação dos Palmares) in the hinterland of Alagôas. This commenced about 1630 during the chaotic period of Dutch attack and conquest. The "republic" was not conquered until after some seventy years of sporadic expeditions, culminating in the decade 1687-97.

After some of the fever of the gold strikes had died down Brazilians began to explore and raid actively in the Amazonian basin, from bases in the lower and middle Amazon (Belém do Pará 1616, the fortress of São José do Rio Negro 1669, Manaus 1674, a fortress on the lower Tapajoz 1697, etc.) and from mining camps in Minas Geraes, Goyaz and Matto Grosso. Much of the country in the main valley of the Amazon had been opened up after Texeira's trip of 1637-39 by Jesuits such as Manoel de Moraes, Antonio Vieira, and João Bettendorf. In the first third of the eighteenth century parties led by João de Souza and Francisco de Mello Palheta had advanced up the Madeira. In 1742 Manoel Félix de Lima crossed the Matto Grosso and descended via the Guaporé, Madeira and Amazon to Pará. In 1749 Francisco Leme retraced this route from Pará, and José Gonçalves da Fonseca explored the rivers Madeira and Guaporé. The previous year, 1748, Souza de Azevedo descended the Tapajoz from Matto Grosso to the confluence with the Amazon. In 1744 a Spanish priest, explored the upper Orinoco and the Casiquiare.⁹ The work of the Jesuits and of the *bandeirantes* enhanced Portugal's claim to the Amazon Valley, which was partially recognized by the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. In 1756 a commission was established to determine the boundary in the Orinoco-Rio Negro country. Members of the commission, including Francisco Xavier Mendonça and the Sturm brothers, went up the Rio Negro and attained to the Casiquiare, which also was reached by members of the Spanish commission. This area, Upper Orinoco, was missionized by the Jesuits 1681-1767; in 1734 the Capuchins and Observant Franciscans gave the entire Upper Orinoco to the Jesuits. About this time (1750-70), four priests—João Daniel, João da São José, José de Moraes, and José

9. Portuguese explorers had proved the existence of the Casiquiare channel as early as 1725.

Monteiro Noronha—reported upon the history, geography and condition of Gram Pará and Maranhão (essentially northern Brazil).

A number of foreigners visited Brazil during the "early viceroyalty," chiefly along the eastern seaboard. Among these were Richard Flecknoe (1648) an Irish Catholic priest, the Frenchmen François Froger (1695), Duclerc (1710), Duguay-Trouin (1711), Amédée Frezier (1712), and Labarbinais Le Gentil (1716), the Englishman George Shelvocke (1719), and the Frenchmen de la Flotte (1757) and Antoine Pernety (1763). Their comments on the land and the people are of interest and of varying value. In the interior, a French mathematician and natural historian, Charles de La Condamine, after spending a number of years in Ecuador in geodetic work (collaborating with the Spaniards Juan and Ulloa, about 1736-43), crossed South America from Quito by way of the Amazon to French Guiana, 1743-44. This constituted the first traverse of the Amazon by a trained scientist. About this time (1765-1769) Mde. Isabelle Godin des Odonais made the most remarkable trip ever performed by a white woman in Amazonia, going from Ecuador to rejoin her husband in French Guiana.¹⁰ The chief accounts of this period by Portuguese and Brazilians were the works of P. Simão de Vasconcellos and João Andreoni (an Italian Jesuit in Brazil).

During the period 1750-1777 a number of reforms initiated by the Marquis of Pombal, Portugal's great prime minister, were made effective. These included the freeing and legalizing of Indians (1755-58), and the expulsion of the Jesuits (1759-60). After the departure of the Jesuits, the Franciscans became the most important missionary order in Brazil. As a result of the mining development in her hinterland, Rio de Janeiro (a logical port for Minas Geraes) became the most important city in Brazil, and in 1763 the Brazilian capital was transferred thither from São Salvador. At the same time a stronger viceregal government was established.

LATE VICEROYALTY, 1763-1808

This was a period of boundary surveys, sporadic journeys of exploration, a decline in economic activity, and abortive movements toward independence. Portugal, by virtue of *uti possidetis de facto* was able (treaties of Madrid 1750, San Ildefonso 1777 and 1778) to persuade Spain to allow her an immense domain west of the Demarcation Line, and numerous scientific expeditions were sent into Brazil by Portugal (mainly army and navy cartographers, engineers, mathematicians, and the like) to determine boundaries and survey the natural resources. Out of all of this the anthropologist benefits by random notes (chiefly as to location and numbers of various tribes,

10. Mde. Godin (1728-1789), a native of Perú, was separated from her husband Jean Godin (assistant to his relative Louis Godin, La Condamine, et al., in the measurement of an arc of the meridian at the equator) when he went down the Napo and Amazon and around to Cayenne in 1749.

and concerning ceremonies and items of material culture) which can be culled from journals and reports. Unfortunately, most of this material is unpublished—lost in the archives of Portugal, Brazil, and the seats of the old captaincies. During the past fifty years such historians as Fidelino de Sousa Figueiredo (1888-) and F. M. de Sousa Viterbo (1845-1910) have worked with the reports of the Portuguese scientific missions, and local historians in São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Maranhão, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, etc. (notably Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, Pedro Calmon, Manuel de Oliveira Lima, Virgílio Corrêa, and Diogo de Vasconcellos) have brought to light the accounts of many *bandeirantes* and *sertanejos*.

In the basin of the Paraná-Paraguay most of the work of exploration during this period was carried out by two Spanish members of the boundary commission. Captain Juan de Aguirre was in the area 1781 to 1798. Captain Félix de Azara, geographer and naturalist, from 1781 to 1801 explored much of the Plata basin and wrote copiously and carefully. He must be considered the greatest scientist in South America prior to Humboldt, and his interests were nearly as broad. Thaddäus Haenke,¹¹ a Bohemian botanist from the Malaspina expedition, spent the last years of his life (1794-1817) in Bolivia where he botanized and made some ethnographic observations in the Bolivian-Brazilian borderlands. The greatest amount of exploration during the last third of the eighteenth century was in the Amazon basin from the Madeira to the Rio Negro and Pará. Padre José Monteiro Noronha (1768), the inspector general Francisco Ribeiro de Sampaio (1774-75), and Francisco de Lacerda e Almeida (a member of the boundary commission in the 1780's) covered the greatest amount of country. Alejandro Rodrigues Ferreira explored much of Brazil, in the 1780's and 90's, on a commission from the crown of Portugal to investigate the riches of Brazil. Ricardo Franco, member of a Portuguese expedition at the close of the century, explored in the Xingú-Tapajoz region. Antonio Santos, about 1775-80, worked in Brazilian Guiana between the Rio Negro and the Rio Branco. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Capuchins (1769-71) and Observant Franciscans (1771-) carried on mission work among the Indians of the Upper Orinoco-Upper Rio Negro region. Just at the end of the century Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, despite prohibition by Portugal, entered the Brazilian borderlands in the Casiquiare area. The accounts of these and of lesser investigators in interior Brazil provide many notes of anthropologic value.

The best accounts from the eastern seaboard are to be found in the journals of voyages by various national expeditions bound for the Pacific. Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, after relieving a colony in the Falkland Islands, outfitted in Rio de Janeiro (1766-67). The ill-fated Jean de Lapérouse touched in Brazil in 1785. The Italian Malaspina, sailing under the Spanish flag, also visited Brazil in 1789.

11. The real discoverer of the *Victoria regia* lily—not Schomburgk 40 years later.

In 1803 the Russian expedition of Ivan Krusenstern, accompanied by Georg von Langsdorff, visited Brazilian waters. Two other travelers whose accounts are of some interest are Major James Semple-Lisle (1797), and Thomas Lindley (ca. 1804).

Among local scientists and writers are bishop José Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho (1743-1821), the botanist Manuel Arruda da Camara (1752-1810), the friar botanist José Velloso Xavier, and the statesman-scientist José de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838).

MONARCHIAL PERIOD, 1808-1889

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

In 1808 Brazil was effectively opened to the scientists, travelers, and traders of the world. This was accomplished when Dom João (1769-1826; later João VI), regent for his insane mother the queen of Portugal, moved his court (with the aid of the British) from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in order to escape the French. By order of the crown the ports of Brazil, for the first time in history, were opened to the ships of all nations. Scientists, principally British, Austrian, French, and German, were invited and even commissioned to investigate the natural resources of Brazil. In 1815 Brazil was raised to equal rank with the kingdom of Portugal, and in the following year João became king in his own right. In this year, 1816, João VI invited to Brazil a group of French artists who found a number of compatriots already attached to the court (as teachers, librarians, custodians of cabinets in the embryonic National Museum, etc.). In 1817 the heir to the throne, Dom Pedro (1798-1834; later Pedro I), married Leopoldina (daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria), and in the same year a number of Austrian scientists commenced a natural history survey of Brazil for the Austrian emperor, as did some Bavarians for the Bavarian king. Dom João VI, in 1821, was forced to return to Portugal in order to keep his crown, and Dom Pedro was left as regent. Independence from Portugal was declared in 1822, and the young regent became Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil. The United States (1824) and England and Portugal (1825) were the first to recognize this independence.

Dom Pedro I was not an acceptable monarch and in 1831 he was forced to abdicate in favor of his young son Dom Pedro de Alcântara (1825-1891), for whom a regency was established 1831-1840. In 1840 Dom Pedro was coronated as Pedro II. However, from 1830 until 1850, Brazil was in a turmoil of sporadic rebellions (from Pará 1832-37 to Pernambuco 1848) and difficulties (both internal and with England) arising from the outlawing of the slave traffic. The following forty years (1850-1889) witnessed the zenith of the empire and also its downfall. Dom Pedro II was a scholarly monarch who was much impressed by French culture (a sister married a son of Louis Philippe), and during his reign actually began the great influence of French culture upon Brazil which has persisted to this day.

Among outstanding events of this last period were a series of epidemics (yellow fever and cholera 1852-56), operation of the first railroad (1854), the war with Paraguay (1864-1870), opening up of the Amazon to international navigation (1867; steam navigation had begun on the Amazon in 1853), the first census (1871—9,930,478 population), a series of devastating droughts in northeastern Brazil, especially Ceará (1877-79), abolition of slavery (1888), and the initiation of the republic (1889). During all of this period there was a strong development of rubber and coffee in the national economy.

EARLY KINGDOM AND EMPIRE, 1808-1840

During the period (1808-1840) in which Brazil blossomed into an independent and coherent empire many European naturalists, technicians and artists came to explore the resources of the newly-opened realm and to lend luster to the court in Rio de Janeiro. Travelers, diplomats, visiting royalty, Protestant ministers and missionaries, would-be colonists, merchants temporarily resident, and Brazilian administrators, clerics and scientists complete the categories whence have come writings of interest to the anthropologist. The anthropologic content of the literature of this period varies from monographs completely devoted to anthropology (e.g. Martius) to random remarks on race mixtures, rural economy, negro slaves, local folk-lore, etc. (the great majority of the writings).

The naturalists and explorers who contributed importantly along geographic and anthropologic lines are few in number. The greatest of these was the Bavarian botanist Martius (tutor of Louis Agassiz) who, in company with Spix (1817-1820), explored and collected over eastern Brazil, along the Amazon, and far up the Japurá. Scientific anthropology in Brazil can be said to have begun with Martius who devoted several books to the laws, customs, medicine, languages, etc. of the Brazilian Indians. In the east and north the German mining engineer Eschwege (1809-21; one-time keeper of the Imperial mineral cabinet), the British geologist Mawe (1806-10), the British naturalist Koster, accompanied in part by Swainson (1809-18), prince Maximilian (1815-17), and the British naturalist Gardner (1836-41) obtained important notes on Tapuya and Tupí groups. The French botanist Saint Hilaire (1816-22) covered much of Atlantic Brazil in a leisurely manner, and his travel journals are full of interesting notes. The upper Paraná and Paraguay regions of Paraguay and Brazil were worked by such men as the Austrian naturalists Schott, Pohl and Natterer (chiefly 1817-21); the German Langsdorff (1813-29) who for a time directed a Russian scientific expedition in the Matto Grosso, and such assistants as Rugendas, Florence and Riedel; naturalist "prisoners" of the Paraguayan dictator Dr. Francia such as the Frenchman Bonpland (1821-30) and the Swiss Rengger (1819-25); and the French naturalist d'Orbigny (1826-33). The writings of d'Orbigny for a long time conditioned European thinking about

the natives of South America. In addition to the work of Spix and Martius, the travels and explorations of Maw (1827-28), Poeppig (1831-32), and Smyth and Lowe (1834-35) along the main Amazon provide some anthropologic notes of value. For the great region of Guiana (surrounded by the rivers Orinoco, Negro, and Amazon, and the Atlantic), the brothers Schomburgk (1835-44), Adam de Bauve (1830-33), and Waterton (1812-24) contributed importantly, as did the priest A. F. de Souza who somewhat earlier lived many years in the Rio Negro country. Besides Spix, Martius, Pohl, Natterer, Langsdorff, and d'Orbigny, such Brazilians as Lopes, Cunha Mattos and Silva e Sousa explored in the great domain of the southern Amazonian tributaries between the Guaporé-Madeira and the Araguaia-Tocantins.

Life along the Atlantic seaboard, with incidental mention of Indians, race-mixture and the like, was described by visitors and businessmen such as Ashe (ca. 1806-12), Keith (ca. 1809), Luccock (1801-18), Denis (c. 1816-39), Henderson (1819-21), Caldcleugh (1820), Farquhar (1821-22), Graham (1821-23), Seidler (1821-31), and Schlichthorst (1820's). Some material can be found in the voyages and journals of such navigators and visiting scientists as Freycinet (1820), Lesson (1822), Beechey (1825), Holman (c. 1830), Meyen (1830), Darwin (1832, 1836), and Wilkes (1838). Wilkes was the leader of the first American scientific expedition to touch Brazil. Of the French artists and technicians, Debret (1816-31) and Tollenare (1816-18) provide the best accounts of Brazil. The books by the Anglican chaplain in Rio de Janeiro (Walsh, 1828-29) and by an American Methodist missionary (Kidder, 1838-40) also are valuable.

Besides the explanatory and descriptive work mentioned above, a few other items need mention in connection with the history of anthropology in Brazil, 1808-1840. As has been mentioned, Martius and Orbigny brought the Brazilian Indian into the philosophic consciousness of Europe. The great statesman Andrada e Silva (1823) recognized the needs and duties of a sovereign nation in connection with its wild Indian population. By 1830 the import of Negro slaves was made illegal, but large numbers were smuggled in for the next twenty years. During the period 1818-24 commenced the first real immigration of Europeans other than Portuguese. These were mainly Germans and Austrians (1818 into Bahia, 1824 into Rio Grande do Sul) and Swiss (1818 into Rio de Janeiro). These German-speaking settlers and Portuguese from the Azores constituted the chief white immigrants into Brazil until the 1870's when Italian immigration became important. Leaving out of the discussion the early and ephemeral French (1555-58) and Dutch (1634-54) Protestants, the first important introduction of Protestantism into Brazil was 1804-09 through the British and Foreign Bible Society. By 1819 the Anglican and various Lutheran and Calvinistic churches were established. From 1835 on, American Protestant missionaries were living in coastal Brazil. However, not until 1855-59 was the first permanent

Protestant mission established, and it was not until the twentieth century that Protestant missionaries began to work among Indian groups. Along cultural lines the years 1808-18 saw the foundation of the national botanical garden, library, and museum—which all have grown into the largest and best of their kind in South America. In 1838 was founded the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, which has had an honorable and useful existence ever since. The publications of this institute constitute the greatest single source available on the anthropology of Brazil. However, during the period 1808-1840 anthropology did not exist in Brazil; in fact, in Europe anthropology was still in the “formative and convergent” state (1835-1859).

TABLE OF WORKERS IN AND WRITERS ON BRAZIL, 1808-1840

- Luiz d'Alincourt; 1770-1835; French traveler, naturalist; 1819.
 J. B. de Andrada e Silva; 1763-1838; Brazilian statesman, naturalist; chiefly 1819-1838.
 Manuel Arruda da Camara; 1752-1810; Brazilian botanist, ethnobiologist.
 Thomas Ashe; 1770-1835; British adventurer, traveler; ca. 1806 to 1812.
 Aimé Bonpland; 1773-1858; French naturalist; Paraguay 1821-1830.
 Adam de Baube; French naturalist, explorer; Guianas, 1830-33.
 Frederick W. Beechey; 1796-1856; British navigator, explorer; 1825.
 William J. Burchell; 1782-1863; British naturalist, explorer; 1825-29.
 Alexander Caldeuagh; ? -1858; British traveler; 1820.
 R. J. da Cunha Mattos; 1776-1839; Luso-Brazilian general, explorer; Matto Grosso, 1824.
 Charles R. Darwin; 1809-1882; British naturalist; 1832, 1836.
 Jean B. Debret; 1768-1848; French historical painter; 1816-1831.
 Jean F. Denis; 1798-1890; French historian, librarian; ca. 1816-1839.
 Jean B. Douville; 1794-1835, French naturalist, adventurer; ca. 1824, 1833-35.
 Wilhelm L. von Eschwege; 1777-1855; German soldier, mining engineer; 1809-1821.
 Mathinson Farquhar; British traveler; 1821-1822.
 Hercules Florence; 1804-1879; French assistant to Langsdorff.
 Luis C. D. de Freycinet; 1779-1842; French naturalist, navigator; ca. 1820.
 Georg W. Freyriess; 1789-1825; German traveler, colonizer; ca. 1823-24.
 George Gardner; 1812-1849; British naturalist; 1836-1841.
 Maria D. Graham; 1785-1842; British traveler; 1821-1823.
 A. H. V. Grandjean de Montigny; 1776-1850; French architect, traveler; 1816-1850.
 Richard Grandsire; French traveler; 1817-1821.
 James Henderson; 1783-1848; British historian, traveler; 1819-1821.
 James Holman; 1786-1857; British traveler; ca. 1830.
 George M. Keith; British traveler; ca. 1809.
 Daniel P. Kidder; 1815-1891; American missionary; 1838-1840.

- Henry Koster; British naturalist; ca. 1809-1818.
George H. von Langsdorff; 1744-1852; German naturalist; 1803-04, 1813-20, 1825-29.
Joaquin Lebreton; 1760-1819; French writer, artist; 1816-1819.
René P. Lesson; 1794-1849; French naturalist; 1822.
Frederick Lowe; 1811- ? ; British traveler; 1834-1835.
John Luccock; British traveler; 1808-1818.
Carl F. P. von Martius; 1794-1868; German naturalist; 1817-1820.
Henry L. Maw; British naval officer, explorer; 1827-1828.
John Mawe; 1764-1829; British geologist; ca. 1806-1810.
Maximilian, Prince of Wied; 1782-1867; German traveler, naturalist; 1815-1817.
Franz J. F. Meyen; 1804-1840; German botanist; 1830.
J. C. R. Milliet de St. Adolphe; French resident; ca. 1816-1836.
Johann von Natterer; 1787-1843; Austrian zoologist; 1817-1835.
Alcide D. d'Orbigny; 1802-1857; French naturalist; 1826-1833.
Eduard F. von Poeppig; 1798-1868; German naturalist; 1831-1832.
Johann B. E. Pohl; 1782-1834; Austrian naturalist; 1817-1821.
Charles S. Pradiér; 1786-1848; French artist; ca. 1816.
José Raddi; 1770-1829; Italian naturalist; ca. 1817.
Manuel M. Rebouças; ca. 1780-ca. 1840; Brazilian naturalist.
Johann R. Rengger; 1795-1832; Swiss scientist; Paraguay 1819-25.
Francisco de P. Ribeiro; ? -1823; Brazilian soldier, explorer; ca. 1815.
Johann M. Rugendas; 1802-1858; German artist; ca. 1821-26; 1846.
A. F. C. P. de Saint-Hilaire; 1779-1853; French botanist; 1816-1822.
Carl Schlichthorst; German traveler; ca. 1820's.
M. Richard Schomburgk; 1811-1891; German botanist; Guianas 1840-1844.
Robert H. Schomburgk; 1804-1865; German explorer; Guianas, 1835-39, 1840-44.
Heinrich W. Schott; 1794-1865; Austrian naturalist; 1815-1817.
Karl F. G. Seidler; German traveler; ca. 1821-1831.
Luiz A. da Silva e Souza; Brazilian explorer.
B. da Silva Lisboa; ? -1840; Brazilian magistrate, explorer.
William Smyth; 1800-1877; British officer, explorer; 1834-1835.
Candido J. de A. Sousa; 1748-1831; Brazilian officer, explorer; chiefly 1771-1801.
André F. de Souza; Brazilian priest, explorer.
Johann B. von Spix; 1781-1826; German naturalist; 1817-1820.
William Swainson; 1789-1855; British naturalist; 1816-1818, 1837.
Amadie A. Taunay; 1803-1828; French artist, traveler; ca. 1820-1828.
Auguste M. Taunay; 1768-1824; French sculptor; 1815-1824.
Nicolas A. Taunay; 1755-1830; French painter; 1816-1821.
Felix E. Taunay; 1795-1881; French painter, writer; ca. 1816-1881.
Hippolyte Taunay; 1793-1864; French writer.
L. F. de Tollenare; French engineer, artist; 1816-1818.
Robert Walsh; 1722-1852; British clergyman, writer; 1828-1829.
Charles Waterton; 1782-1865; British naturalist; 1805-13, 1816, 1820, 1824.
Charles Wilkes; 1798-1877; American naval officer, explorer; 1838.

LATE EMPIRE, 1840-1889

After Dom Pedro II assumed control of government in 1840 the country rapidly came out of its period of revolutionary turmoil (revolutions continued until 1848), immigrants began to arrive in large numbers (1847-), closer cultural contacts were made with Europe (in 1843 Dom Pedro married Thereza, sister of Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies), the slave traffic definitely was abolished (1850), railroad and steamer transportation were inaugurated and expanded, and foreign and local scientists were invited and encouraged to explore Brazil to an extent greater than ever before. By now the main features of the gold and diamond country of Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, Goyaz and Bahia were known. The Aimoré had been vanquished in Espirito Santo. Coffee in São Paulo and rubber in the Amazon basin were attracting laborers and entrepreneurs, and the attendant development of need for transportation and of the facilities themselves made travel immeasurably easier than ever before. The foundation and growth of museums of natural history in Europe and America, the existence of the first generations trained in such specialized disciplines as geology, zoology, geography, anthropology, etc., and the influence of such great scholars and teachers as Humboldt, Darwin, Wallace, Ritter, Lyeil, Dana, Martius, Saint Hilaire, de Candolle, et al., produced a large number of scientists, explorers, and collectors who thronged into Brazil. Brazil vied with middle Africa as the largest little-known tropical area on earth, and Brazil was much easier to penetrate. Out of the great number of workers in Brazil, 1840-1889, only a comparatively few stand out because of important contributions to geography and anthropology. Most of these were foreigners because there were few well-trained men in Brazil, and because most of the educated Brazilians who entered the field of anthropologic and geographic pursuits preferred to do so at home, in the library and museum, and possibly with short trips from the larger centers of population and culture. It still remains the curse of most Latin American anthropologists and geographers that they are dilettantes, and that they refuse to do field work excepting under "de luxe" conditions. This charge, of course, can be brought against many Americans and Europeans who know only those places having rail, air, steamship or motorcar connections.

The decade 1840-1850 was marked by the coming of such scientists and travelers as princes Adalbert and Bismarck (1842-43) who traveled in the Amazon and Xingú regions; a French expedition under Castelnau (1843-47) which crossed the Matto Grosso into Bolivia and Perú, worked the main Amazon, and went up the Tocantins and down the Araguaya; Thomas Ewbank (a founder of the American Ethnological Society) in 1845; Osculati on the Napo and Amazon (1846-48); the British naturalists Bates (1848-59) and Wallace (1848-52) who covered the Amazon, Tocantins, Tapajoz and Negro; Saint Cricq (Paul Marcoy) in the Amazon basin 1848-60; and Appun

(1849-68) and Spruce (1849-64) in the Guiana-Orinoco country. Between 1835 and 1844 Lund made known his finds of fossil man in Minas Geraes. He himself never made extravagant claims of great antiquity for these finds. In the next decade 1850-1860 the naturalist Burmeister (1850-52) studied southeastern Brazil; Herndon and Gibbon (1851-52) of the United States Navy explored from Perú and Bolivia to the mouth of the Amazon; the American missionary Fletcher (1851-56) commenced work in eastern Brazil which he continued 1862-69—including a collecting trip on the Amazon for Agassiz; Markham made two trips into interior Perú (1852-54, 1860-61); Halford worked the São Francisco (1852-54) as did Liais (1858-); the physician Avé-Lallemant covered eastern Brazil and went up the Amazon with the frigate Novara; von Tschudi (1857-61) traveled in southeastern Brazil; and the newly married archduke Maximilian (later emperor of Mexico) traveled in Brazil 1859-60.

The decade 1860-1870 saw the initiation of important exploratory work by Brazilian commissions in the Brazilian plateau and Amazonian regions. Under Costa Azevedo, chief of the Brazilian boundary commission, such western stream-areas as the Javary and Juruá were studied, and Silva Pinto worked the lower Amazon. Other Brazilians working in Amazonia, especially the southern and eastern tributaries, were Couto de Magalhães, Penna, Silva Coutinho, and Netto. During the Paraguayan War (1864-70) many Brazilians, such as Escragnolle Taunay, became acquainted with the Indians of Matto Grosso. Foreigners included Chandless (1862-69) in the area Tapajoz to the Beni, Purus and Juruá; Jiménez de la Espada down the Amazon from Ecuador (1862); the Danish botanist Warming in Minas Geraes (1863-66); the group initiated by the Agassiz-Thayer expedition (1865-66) which included the geologist Hartt who later led the Morgan expedition (1870-71) and died in Brazil 1878; the greatest traveler and explorer of the century, Burton, who while British consul in Santos 1864-68 traveled over Minas Geraes and down the São Francisco; Orton (1867-77) and Heath who explored the Madeira to Huallaga country; and Wells (1868-84) in eastern and northern Brazil. Mention also should be made of the Reyes brothers in the Colombian Amazonia, Selfridge on the Madeira, Waehneltdt in Matto Grosso, and Werthemann on the Iça. In 1868 Gobineau (who already had written his provocative work on the inequality of races) was envoy to Brazil where he often discussed the problem of miscegenation with Dom Pedro. The decade 1870-1880 started auspiciously with the Morgan expedition (1870-71) which included the geologists Hartt, Derby, and others. Derby spent most of the time until his death (1915) in Brazil. Brazilians doing important work included F. B. de Sousa, J. Severiano da Fonseca, and the great botanist Barbosa Rodrigues, in addition to Penna and Netto. The enterprise of opening up Bolivian-Amazon communication brought the engineers Church and Keller-Leuzinger, and the Brazilian Colonel Labre; and the engineer

Bigg-Wither spent three years (1872-75) in Paraná. The geologists Branner, Smith, Brown, Lidstone and others worked over much of northeastern Brazil from Minas Geraes and Bahia to Maranhão and the Guianas. Crevaux (1877-82) explored widely from Cayenne to the Andes in the northern tributaries of the Amazon. The historian Graham spent 1872-75 in Jesuit Paraguaya, and the Mulhalls covered much of the upper Plata basin during a residence of ten years.

Although much anthropologic material can be gleaned from the writings of the years 1840-1880, it remained for the expeditions of the decade 1880-1890 and the resulting erudite tomes of the professional anthropologists von den Steinen and Ehrenreich to receive the acclaim of European anthropologists. Although *bandeirantes* and Jesuits had worked the Xingú in the eighteenth century, and the Tapajoz and Tocantins served as important corridors for movement between southern Brazil and the lower Amazon, no previous party had concentrated so intensively nor so long (1883-84, 1887-88) on the Indians of this great region in Goyaz, Matto Grosso and Pará. Others who worked in Brazil and its borderlands during this decade were members of the Venezuela-Brazilian boundary commission (1880-82); Branner (1880-83) who combined study of fibers, geology, and Botocudos; Colini, Santa-Anna Nery, and Ordinaire on the upper Amazons; Im Thurn, Chaffanjon and Stradelli in the Orinoco-Guiana region; Rhodes and Motta in Matto Grosso; and princess Thérèse, Frescarolo and Rey in eastern Brazil. Throughout this period and until his death on the Trombetas (1881-99) Coudreau carried out the most thorough explorations to that date along northern and southern affluents of the lower Amazon. This work was continued by Madame Coudreau.

Developments, other than in the field, included the founding of the Museu Paraense (1866), which is one of the "big three" in Brazil; participation in the expositions in London (1851), Paris (1867, 1878, 1889), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), and Barcelona (1888); and the holding of the Exposição Antropologica Brasileira in Rio de Janeiro (1882). This latter event marked the coming of age of anthropology in Brazil. Anthropology, among Brazilians, concentrated upon archaeology and museum collections. In the years 1870-76 the fine ceramic cultures of the Marajó and Santarem areas had been discovered, and the coastal kitchen-middens were examined by trained naturalists. The resultant collections and publications by Ferreira Penna, Netto, and Barbosa Rodrigues (as well as by the American and European naturalists Hartt, Derby, Branner, Steere, Keller-Leuzinger, Löfgren, and Weiner) constituted the true beginnings of archaeology in Brazil. Younger men who later developed in the archaeologic field were the Brazilian Sampaio, and the German von Ihering who became director of the third great Brazilian museum (Museu Paulista, founded 1890). Physical anthropology and racial prehistory were stimulated by the Lagoa Santa finds of Lund (1835-44), which were re-examined by Warming (1863-66). However, Bra-

zilians did not become much interested in the matter until the 1870's and 80's when the physicians Lacerda and Peixoto published some osteologic papers. Despite the interest of Gobineau, Dom Pedro II and a few others in the question of racial values and miscegenation, little work was done in this field until the modern period (1890-).

Ethnologic work by Brazilians had been haphazard and largely unscientific, and little advance was made over Martius and Orbigny until the results of the German central Brazilian expeditions (1883-84, 1887-89) were published. The rise of Brazilian ethnologic work, therefore, falls into the modern period. Comparative linguistics made little progress in Brazilian hands during the century following the founding of this discipline by the Jesuit Hervás (1784, 1800-1805). Nearly all the synthetic and comparative work with the Indian languages of Brazil was carried out by foreigners [Adelung, Vater, and W. von Humboldt (1806-17), Balbi (1826), Orbigny (1839), Martius (1863-67), von Tschudi (1869), Adam (1882-99), de la Grasserie (1888-), Ehrenreich, von den Steinen, and Brinton (1891)] on the basis mainly of vocabularies and a little grammatical material in the writings of the Jesuit fathers, A. von Humboldt, Martius, Natterer, Orbigny, Schomburgk, Castelnau, St. Cricq, Spruce, von Tschudi, Adam, Müller, Chandless, Hartt, Barbosa Rodrigues, Steere, Branner, Crevaux, Coudreau, Sampaio, von den Steinen, Ehrenreich, et al. The Brazilians tended to concentrate upon the Tupí *lingua geral* and its influence upon Brazilian Portuguese, and upon *Ortsnamenkunde*.

Human geography, the remaining great sub-discipline of anthropology, was worked as a dilettante side-issue by various foreign and Brazilian naturalists, engineers, historians, etc. A few men contributed importantly in this field, especially the Brazilians Couto de Magalhães and Homem de Melo, the Frenchmen Saint Hilaire, Denis, Liais, and Reclus, the Englishmen Bates, Spruce, Burton, Brown and Wells, the Americans Kidder, Fletcher, Smith, Branner, Derby and Hartt, the Swiss von Tschudi, and the Germans Wappäus, Halfeld, Andree, Canstatt and Seilin. Several of these men never were in Brazil, but produced stimulating synthetic studies which greatly influenced Brazilian geographic thought, e. g., Reclus.

Worthy of mention is the development of an "Indian literature," mainly along the romantic lines of Chateaubriand. Outstanding writers in this field were Gonçalves Dias (*Os Tymbiras* 1848, etc.), Alencar (*O Guarani* 1857, *Iracema* 1865, etc.) and the resultant opera *O Guarani* by Carlos Gomes, Gonçalves de Magalhães (*Confederação dos Tamoios* 1856, etc.), Silva Guimarães (*O Índio Afonso*, 1873, etc.), and Alfredo de Eschagnolle Taunay. Sociological prose and fiction perhaps started with Aluzio Gonçalves de Azevedo in the 1880's, but such literature did not become important until Euclides da Cunha and Graça Aranha began writing at the turn of the century. Despite local Brazilian productions, probably the "wild west" fiction

of the Frenchman Gustave Aimard provided most literate Brazilians of the nineteenth century with their concepts of American Indians.

TABLE OF WORKERS IN AND WRITERS ON BRAZIL, 1840-1889

Adalbert, Prinzen von Preussen; 1811-1873; German traveler, naval officer; 1842-43.

J. Louis R. Agassiz; 1807-1873; Swiss-American naturalist; 1865-66, 1872.

Karl F. Appun; 1820-1872; German naturalist; 1849-68.

Robert C. B. Avé-Lallemant; 1812-1884; German doctor, traveler; 1850's.

José da Costa Azevedo; Chief Brazilian boundary Comm.; 1861-67.

John Ball; 1818-1889; British naturalist; 1882.

João Barbosa Rodrigues; 1842-1909; Brazilian botanist; chiefly 1860's-80's.

Henry W. Bates; 1825-1892; British naturalist; 1848-59.

Frank Bennett; British resident; 40 yrs., 1870's-.

François A. Biard; 1798-1882; French artist, traveler; ca. 1860's.

Thomas P. Bigg-Wither; 1845-1890; British engineer; 1872-75.

John C. Branner; 1850-1922; American geologist; 1874-1911, 7 trips.

Charles B. Brown, British geologist; 1870's.

Karl H. K. Burmeister; 1807-1892; German naturalist; 1850-52.

Richard F. Burton; 1821-1890; British consul, explorer; 1864-68.

Francis de Castelnau; 1812-1880; French explorer; 1843-47.

Jean Chaffanjon; 1854-1913; French explorer; 1884-91.

William Chandless; 1829- ?; British explorer; 1862-69, 3 trips.

George E. Church; 1835-1910; American engineer; 1868-79.

Otto Clauss; German explorer, astronomer; 1880's.

John Codman; 1814-1890; American shipman; 1860's.

Giuseppe A. Colini; 1857-1918; Italian ethnologist; 1880's.

Henri A. Coudreau; 1859-1899; French explorer; 1881-99.

Jose V. Couto de Magalhães; 1837-1898; Brazilian officer, indianist; chiefly 1860's-80's.

Jules N. Crevaux; 1847-1882; French naval officer, explorer; 1876-82.

Orville A. Derby; 1851-1915; American geologist; 1870-1915.

Rev. Ballard S. Dunn; Confederate, preacher; ca. 1865.

P. M. A. Ehrenreich; 1855-1914; German anthropologist; 1887-89, etc.

Alfredo de Escagnolle Taunay; 1843-1899; Brazilian writer; chiefly 1860's-70's.

Thomas Ewbank; 1792-1870; British-American mechanic, scientist; 1845.

J. Charles M. Expilly; 1814-1886; French writer; 1852-54.

Théophile de Ferrière le Vayer; French diplomat, traveler; 1840's.

James C. Fletcher; 1823-1901; American missionary; 1851-56, 1862-69.

João Severiano da Fonseca; 1836- ?; Brazilian explorer; chiefly 1870's.

Alberto de Foresta; Italian traveler; ca. 1880's.

Lardner Gibbon; American naval officer, explorer; 1851-52.

- J. Arthur, Comte de Gobineau; 1816-1882; French diplomat, writer; 1868.
- Robert B. C. Graham; 1852-1936; British traveler, historian; Paraguay 1872-75.
- José da Silva Guimarães; 1825-1884; Brazilian explorer; 1860's.
- Heinrich W. F. Halfeld; 1797-1873; German engineer; 1852-54.
- William Halfeld; 1806-1887; British traveler; 1853, 1868.
- Charles F. Hartt; 1840-1878; American geologist; 1865-78, several trips.
- William L. Herndon; 1813-1857; American naval officer, explorer; 1851-52.
- Francisco I. M. Homem de Melo; 1837-1918; Brazilian geographer.
- Hermann von Ihering; 1850- ? ; German naturalist, ethnologist; 1880's.
- Everard F. Im Thurn; 1852-1932; British naturalist, ethnologist; 1877-99.
- A. V. A. Jules Itier; 1805-1877; French traveler; 1844.
- Marcos Jiménez de la Espada; 1831-1898; Spanish naturalist, writer; 1862.
- Franz Keller-Leuzinger; 1835-1890; German engineer, artist; 1860's-70's.
- Carl von Koseritz; 1830-1890; German traveler, business-man; 1880's.
- João B. de Lacerda; 1846- ?; Brazilian physician.
- Charles H. Lavollée; 1823- ?; French diplomat, writer; ca. 1843.
- Antonio R. P. Labre; Brazilian explorer; 1871-87.
- Emmanuel Liais; 1826-1900; French geographer, astronomer; 1858-.
- Albert Löfgren; 1854-1918; Scandinavian botanist; 1870's-80's.
- Peter W. Lund; 1801-1880; Dano-Brazilian naturalist; chiefly 1835-44.
- Charles B. Mansfield; 1819-1855; British writer, traveler; 1852.
- Clements R. Markham; 1830-1916; British geographer, writer; 1852-54, 1860-61.
- Edward D. Mathews; British traveler; 1870's.
- Maximilian of Mexico; 1832-1867; Austrian archduke; 1859-60.
- Francisco Michelena y Rojas; Venezuelan explorer; 1860's.
- Marion McM. Mulhall; British writer; ca. 1868-78.
- J. Fritz T. Müller; 1822-1897; German naturalist; 1852-97.
- Ladisláu de S. M. e Netto; 1837-1894; Brazilian naturalist, anthropologist; chiefly 1860's-80's.
- Olivier Ordinaire; 1845-1914; French explorer; 1880's.
- James Orton; 1830-1877; American naturalist; 1867-77, 3 trips.
- Gaetano Osculati; 1808-1894; Italian naturalist; 1846-48.
- William G. Ouseley; 1797-1866; British traveler, explorer; 1841.
- Domingos S. Ferreira Penna; Brazilian naturalist, explorer; chiefly 1860's-70's.
- Ida R. Pfeiffer; 1797-1858; Austrian traveler; 1846.
- Karl Rath; ? -1875; German-American geologist; 1845-75.
- Philippe-Marius Rey; French doctor, naturalist; 1870's.
- Rafael Reyes Prieto; 1851-1921; Colombian explorer, statesman; 1860's-1870's.

- Charles Ribeyrolles; 1812-1860; French traveler; ca. 1859.
 Laurent de St. Cricq; French traveler, explorer; 1848-60.
 Theodoro F. Sampaio; 1855- ?; Brazilian engineer, archaeologist.
 Frederico J. de Santa-Anna Nery; 1849-1902; French traveler; 1880's.
 William Scully; British geologist; 1860's.
 A. W. Sellin; 1841- ?; German writer, colonizer; 1865-79, 1897-1900.
 João M. da Silva Coutinho; ? -1889; Brazilian explorer.
 Antonio J. da Silva Pinto; 1848-1911; explorer; chiefly 1860's-70's.
 Herbert H. Smith; 1851-1919; American naturalist; 1870's.
 Francisco B. de Sousa; 1835- ?; Brazilian religious, writer; 1870's.
 Richard Spruce; 1817-1893; British naturalist; 1849-64.
 Joseph B. Steere; 1842- ?; American naturalist; 1873, 1879, 1901.
 Karl von den Steinen; 1855-1929; German ethnologist; 1883-84, 1887-88.
 Ermano Stradelli; 1852-1926; Italian explorer, ethnologist; ca. 1888-1926.
 Aureliano C. Tavares Bastos; 1839-1875; Brazilian judge, writer.
 Thérèse von Bayern; 1850-1925; German traveler; 1888, 1898.
 Antonio M. Gonçalves Tocantins; Brazilian engineer, explorer; 1880's.
 Johann J. von Tschudi; 1818-1889; Swiss naturalist; 1857-61.
 Louis L. Vauthier; 1815-1901; French engineer; 1840-46.
 José Verissimo de Mattos; 1857-1916; Brazilian writer.
 Alfred R. Wallace; 1823-1913; British naturalist; 1848-52.
 Johann E. Wappäus; 1812-1879; German geographer; 1833-34.
 J. Eugenius B. Warming; 1841-1924; Danish botanist; 1863-66.
 Heinrich Wawra; 1831-1887; Austrian naturalist; 1859-60.
 James W. Wells; British engineer; 1868-84.
 Charles Weiner; 1851-1913; French naturalist; 1870's-80's.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES†

For the student of the culture history of sixteenth century Brazilian Indians, probably the most important body of literature is that produced during the first century of contacts between Old World and Brazilian peoples and cultures. During the sixteenth century the topographic outlines were made known, miscegenation among Indians, whites and negroes progressed far, the more important Old World plants and animals were introduced, many items of Old World material culture were disseminated over Brazil from the Atlantic coast to the upper waters of the Paraná-Paraguay, Amazon and Orinoco,

† The organization of the bibliographic notes is as follows: A chronologic and regional sequence has been followed for the main groupings, e. g., general histories, the discoverers, Portuguese, Spanish, and English collections, sixteenth century Amazon-Orinoco, etc. Within each group the order has been either chronologic (date of writing, or date of event written about) or alphabetic. A prefixed asterisk denotes a better than average source. Dates within brackets, unless otherwise indicated, refer to birth and death of the author or editor. A question-mark instead of date of death indicates probable or definite death, but date unknown. The term "Brazilian translation" means translation into Portuguese and publication in Brazil. Wherever possible,

one of the Tupí languages was made the *Lingua Geral* of Brazil by the Jesuits, the basic outlines of Brazilian economy were established, etc., etc. Also, during this century the greatest changes took place in the location, population, and culture of the Indians.

General works on Brazilian history, especially those covering the colonial period (from 1500 to 1808, or 1815) are helpful to the extent that they quote from or reproduce rare or little-known early sources containing material of anthropologic interest. Among the more important works of this nature are:

Sebastião da ROCHA PITTA:‡ *História da América portuguesa, 1500-1724*. Lisboa, 1730. 4th ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1910. [1660-1738].

*Robert SOUTHEY: *History of Brazil*. 3 vols., London, 1810-19. Brazilian trans., 6 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1862. [The English poet and historian; 1774-1843].

*Francisco Adolpho de VARNHAGEN (Visconde de Pôrto Seguro): *História geral do Brasil, etc.* 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1854-57. 3rd ed., 5 vols., São Paulo, 1927-1936. [The best historian of the colonial period; 1816-1878].

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*Basilio de MAGALHAES: *Expansão geographica do Brasil colonial*. Rio de Janeiro, 1915; 2nd ed., São Paulo, 1935. [1874-].

religious affiliation of individuals in orders has been shown by the abbreviations after the name. The more common abbreviations are: S. J. for Jesuits; O. F. M. for Franciscans; O. M. Cap. for Capuchins; O. P. for Dominicans; O. S. A. for Agustinians; O. C. for Carmelites (O. C. C. Calced, and O. C. D. Discalced); O. S. B. for Benedictines; O. Merced. for Mercedians, etc. If an individual is a secular priest or a Protestant minister his name usually is preceded by "Rev." Frei, fray or friar is abbreviated to "Fr." before all members of mendicant orders; and "P." is placed before Jesuits and some secular priests. Diacritical marks will be found inconsistent in use (e. g. Lisboa and Lisbôa, *história* and *história*) since the Portuguese and Brazilian writers and publishers are inconsistent.

‡ It is extremely difficult to determine by which "last name" many individuals actually were known. There is no standard or authority by which one may be guided, especially with reference to Iberian and French family names. For example, one will find Juan Díaz de Solís sometimes listed as Juan Díaz and again as Juan Solís; also, Villegaignon, the French colonizer in Rio de Janeiro, actually was Nicolas Durand, sieur de Villegaignon. Very frequently the form best known to English speaking people is definitely incorrect, e. g., Cabeza de Vaca.

- *Carlos MALHEIRO DIAS et al. (Eds.): *Historia da colonização portuguesa do Brasil. (Edição monumental comemorativa do primeiro centenario da independência do Brasil.)* 3 vols., Pôrto, 1921-23. Contains many early documents. [Malheiro 1875-].
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Concerning the three best known figures in the discovery of Brazil (Cabral, Pinzón and Vespucci) there is a large literature. In the documents quoted to support various historical contentions there are numerous items of anthropologic interest. Among the more comprehensive works are:

- William Brooks GREENLEE (Trans.): *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India.* London, 1938. This is Series 2, vol. LXXXI, of the Hakluyt Society. [Cabral 1460-1520].
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- Cesáreo FERNÁNDEZ DURO: *Pinzón en el descubrimiento de las Indias.* Madrid, 1892. Primarily about Martín Pinzón. [Fernández Duro, 1830-1908, Pinzon c. 1450-c. 1523].
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Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. 112 vols., Madrid, 1842-95.

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Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar. Segunda serie. 25 vols., Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1885-1932.

*Marcos JIMÉNEZ DE LA ESPADA (Ed.): *Relaciones geográficas de Indias.* 4 vols., Madrid, 1881-97. [1831-1898].

Nearly all of the English collections of travels, having material on Brazil, have been superseded by the publications of the Hakluyt Society. These publications constitute the greatest single collection of accounts of discovery, exploration, and travel in existence. However, where material has been translated into the English, comparison should be made with the original since errors frequently have been introduced.

*HAKLUYT SOCIETY: First series I-C, London, 1847-98. See especially 1, 3, 24, 28, 30, 51, 56, 57, 76, 77, 80, 81, 90, and 91.

*HAKLUYT SOCIETY: Second series I- , London, 1899- . See especially 28, 51, 69.

*HAKLUYT SOCIETY: *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, by Richard Hakluyt.* 12 vols., Glasgow, 1903-05. This work (issued by Hakluyt in 3 vols., 1598-99, and most recently in 8 vols. in the Everyman's Library series, 1907) contains accounts of the sixteenth century voyage to Brazil. [Hakluyt 1552-1616].

*HAKLUYT SOCIETY: *Samuel Purchas: Hakluytus posthumus; or, Purchas his pilgrimes.* 20 vols., Glasgow, 1905-07. This work (published in 5 vols. in 1625-1626) contains such items as Knivet (vol. 16), the first publication of Cardim, and [Manoel Trista]: *A treatise of Brazil Written by a Portugall.* [Purchas 1577-1626].

Awnsham and John CHURCHILL: *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, etc.* 4 vols., London, 1704; 3rd. ed., 6 vols., 1744-46. [A. Churchill ? -1728].

John PINKERTON: *A general collection of... voyages and travels, etc.* 17 vols., London, 1808-1814. [1758-1826].

Edward John PAYNE (Ed.): *Voyages of the Elizabethan seamen to America.* 2 vols., London, 1893-1900. Collected from Hakluyt. [1844-1904].

For early travels in the Amazon and Orinoco areas, in addition to the general Spanish sources mentioned previously, the chief works are as follows:

*José Toribio MEDINA, (Ed.): *Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas según la relación hasta ahora inédita de Fr. Gaspar de Carvajal.* Sevilla, 1894. [Medina 1852-1930; Carvajal 1504-1584]. See American Geographical Society translation of 1934, Spec. Pub., No. 17.

- Philipp von HUTTEN: "Zeitung aus India," in *Historisch-literarisches Magazin*, pp. 51-117. Bayreuth, 1785. [1511-1546].
- Hugo TOPF: *Deutsche Statthalter und Konquistadoren in Venezuela*. Berlin, 1893.
- Konrad HAEBLER: *Die Überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter*. Leipzig, 1903. [1857-?].
- *Jules HUMBERT: *L'occupation allemande de Vénézuéla au XVI^e siècle. (1528-1556)*. Bordeaux, 1905. [1867-?].
- Karl Heinrich PANHORST: *Deutschland und Amerika*. München, 1928.
- German ARCINIEGAS: *Los Alemanes en la conquista de America*. Buenos Aires, 1941. [1900-].
- Robert SOUTHEY: *The expedition of Orsua; and the crimes of Aguirre*. London, 1821. [Orsua 1510-1561; Aguirre 1495-1561].
- Fr. Pedro SIMÓN, O. F. M.: *The expedition of Pedro de Ursua & Lope de Aguirre . . . in 1560-1*. London, 1861. Trans. by W. Bollaert for Hakluyt Society, XXVIII. [Bollaert 1807-1876].
- *F. RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO (Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle), (Ed.): *Francisco Vázquez: Relación de todo lo que sucedió en la Jornada de Omagua y Dorado hecha por el gobernador Pedro de Orsú*. Madrid, 1881. Also, in *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, t. 15, Madrid, 1909. And see Toribio de Ortiuguera: *Jornada del Río Marañón*, in *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, t. 15, Madrid, 1909.
- *José de OVIEDO Y BAÑOS: *Historia de la conquista y población de la provincia de Venezuela*. Madrid, 1723; 2 vols., Madrid, 1885; New York, 1941. [1674-?].
- Enrique de GANDÍA: *Historia crítica de los mitos de la conquista americana*. Buenos Aires, 1929. [1906-].

In addition to the general Spanish and Portuguese works listed above, for early exploration and travel in the Uruguay-Paraná area one should consult:

- José Toribio MEDINA: *Juan Díaz de Solís; estudio histórico*. 2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1897. [Solís 1450-1516].
- *José Toribio MEDINA: *El Veneciano Sebastian Caboto al servicio de España*. 2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1908. [Cabot 1474-1557].
- *Antonio PIGAFETTA: *Il viaggio fatto dagli Spagnuoli attorno al mondo*. Venetia, 1534; issued in French, Paris, 1525; another ed., Milano, 1800. Best English trans. in J. A. Robertson's *Magellan's voyage around the world*, 3 vols., Cleveland, 1906. Pigafetta 1840-1534; Magellan ?-1521; Robertson 1873-].
- *Pedro de ANGELIS (Ed.): *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata*. 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. New ed., 5 vols., 1910. Contains Rui Díaz de Guzmán and other material on Alejo García, etc. [1784-1859].
- Andrés LAMAS (Ed.): *Biblioteca del Río de la Plata; etc*. 5 vols., Buenos Aires, 1873-78. [1817-1891].
- Enrique de GANDÍA: *La historia de la conquista del Río de la Plata y del Paraguay . . . 1535-1556*. Buenos Aires, 1931.

Enrique de GANDÍA: *Gregorio Pesquera; un proyecto ignorado de gobernación en la costa del Brasil (1536)*. Buenos Aires, 1935.

*Ulrich SCHMIDEL: *Warhafftige und liebliche Beschreibung etlicher fuernemen indianischen Landtschafften, etc.* Frankfort, 1567; recent Argentinian edition, *Viaje al Río de la Plata (1534-1554)*, Buenos Aires, 1903, and another edition *Derrotero y viaje*, Santa Fe, 1938. English trans., Hakluyt Society, 1891. [Ca. 1510-ca. 1579].

*Alvar NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA: *La relación de los naufragios y Comentarios del gobernador Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*. Valladolid, 1555. Best edition edited by M. Serrano y Sanz, 2 vols., Madrid, 1906, as t. V-VI, *Col. de libros y documentos referentes a la historia de América*. English trans., Hakluyt Society, 1891. [Ca. 1490-1564].

P. Pierre Francois Xavier de CHARLEVOIX, S. J.: *Histoire du Paraguay*. 4 vols., Paris, 1756-57. English trans., 2 vols., Dublin, 1769. [1682-1761].

Dean Gregorio FUNES: *Ensayo crítico de la historia civil del Paraguay, etc.* 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1816-17; 2 vols., 1910-11. [1749-1830].

Félix de AZARA: *Descripción e historia del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1847; Asunción, 1896. [1746-1821].

Isidoro DE-MARÍA: *Compendio de la historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. Montevideo, 1895 and other editions. [1815-1906].

Pablo BLANCO ACEVEDO: *Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. 6 vols., Montevideo, 1901-13. [1880-1935].

More than any other European people, with the possible exception of the Portuguese, the French explored and wrote about coastal Brazil during the first eighty years of the sixteenth century. Among the more important French works are:

(Marie) Armand Pascal d'AVEZAC-MACAYA (Ed.): *Compagne du navire l'Espoir de Honfleur, 1503-1505; relation authentique du Capitaine de Gonneville es Nouvelles Terres des Indes*. Paris, 1869. See *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*. [Binot Paulmier de Gonneville.] [Avezac 1800-1875].

Jean Ferdinand DENIS (Ed.): *Une Fête Brésilienne Célébrée a Rouen en 1550, suivie d'un fragment du XVI^e siècle roulant sur la thèogonie des anciens peuples du Brésil et des poésies en langue tupique de Christovam Valente*. Paris, 1850. [Denis 1798-1890].

*Rev. Jean de LÉRY: *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dit Amérique*. Rouen and La Rochelle, 1578; 2 vols., Paris, 1880. Brazilian trans., São Paulo, 1925; 1941. [1534-1611]

*Fr. André THÉVET, O. F. M.: *Les singularitéz de la France Antartique, autrement nommée Amérique*. Paris, 1557; new ed., 1878. English trans., London, 1568. Brazilian trans., São Paulo, 1941. [Cosmographer to the French king; 1502-1592].

Fr. André THÉVET, O. F. M.: *La Cosmographie universelle*. 2 vols., Paris, 1575.

Le Seigneur de la POPELLINIÈRE: *Les trois mondes*. Paris, 1582. [1541-1608].

- P. Joseph François LAFITAU, S. J.: *Histoire des découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*. 2 vols., Paris, 1733; 4 vols., 1734. Portuguese trans., 1786-87. [1681-1746].
- Alphonse de BEAUCHAMP: *Histoire du Brésil, 1500-1810*. 3 vols., Paris, 1815. Portuguese trans., 12 vols., Lisbôa, 1817-34. Mainly based on Southey. [1767-1832].
- Jean Ferdinand DENIS: *Résumé de l'histoire du Brésil*. Paris, 1825 (or 1821).
- *Paul Louis Jacques GAFFAREL: *Histoire du Brésil français au seizième siècle*. Paris, 1878. [1843-1920].
- Gabriel GRAVIER: *Étude sur le Sauvage du Brésil*. Paris, 1881. (Reprint from *Bulletin de la Société normande de géographie*, 1880-1881.) [1827-1904].
- Arthur HEULHARD: *Villegagnon, roi d'Amérique, un homme de mer au XVI^e siècle (1510-1572)*. Paris, 1897. [Villegagnon 1510-1572; Heulhard 1849-1920].

The general Portuguese sources have been listed above. The leading individual accounts for the sixteenth century are:

- Pero Lopes de SOUZA: *Diario da navegação da armada que foi á terra do Brasil em 1530*. Lisbôa, 1839, publ. by F. A. de Varnhagen. Edition, 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1927, edited by Eugenio de Castro; 2nd ed., 1940. [Souza 1500-1539].
- *Hans STADEN VON HOMBERG: *Warhaftig Historia unnd Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newen Welt America gelegen*. Frankfurt a. Main, 1556, Marburg, 1557; Stuttgart, 1859; English trans., Hakluyt Society, London, 1874; facsimile, Frankfurt a. Main, 1925; American trans., New York, 1929; Brazilian trans., Rio de Janeiro, 1930. [Ca. 1520-ca. 1557].
- *P. Manoel da NÓBREGA: S. J.: "Informações da terra do Brasil," *Revista trimestral*, t. VI, 1844. *Cartas do Brasil (1549-1560)*, Rio de Janeiro, 1886. [1519-1570].
- *P. Joseph de ANCHIETA, S. J.: *Informações e fragmentos historicos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1886. [The Apostle of Brazil; 1534-1597].
- *Pero de Magalhães de GANDAVO: *Historia da provincia Sancta Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil*. Lisbôa, 1576; Brazilian editions, Rio de Janeiro, 1858 and 1924; American trans., New York, 2 vols., 1922. [1540-?].
- Pero de Magalhães de GANDAVO: *Tratado da Terra do Brasil*. Lisbôa, 1576. An abridgement of the *Historia*.
- *P. Fernão CARDIM, S. J.: *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*. Written ca. 1580; published by Purchas 1625; Rio de Janeiro, 1925; São Paulo, 1939. [1540-1625].
- P. Fernão CARDIM, S. J.: *Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brazil e de suas costumes, adoração e ceremonias*. Chapter II of the above. Rio de Janeiro, 1881; also *Revista trimestral*, t. LXII, 1894.
- P. Fernão CARDIM, S. J.: *Narrativa epistolar de uma viagem e missão jesuitica pela Bahia, Ilhéos, Pôrto Seguro, etc.* Lisbôa, 1847. Publ. by F. A. de Varnhagen.
- *Gabriel SOARES DE SOUZA: *Tractado descriptivo do Brasil em 1587*. Written ca. 1587-1589; in *Collecção de Notícias as "Noticia do Brazil, etc."*, no author, 1825; definitive edition ed. by Varnhagen, Rio de Janeiro, 1851, 3rd ed. of which, São Paulo, 1938. [1540-1591].

THE DUTCH PERIOD, 1621-61: Historical, travel, and scientific works by or about the Dutch in Brazil during the seventeenth century are comparatively few in number and difficult of access. Among the better-known works are:

- Journal van de wonderlijke voyagie by de gedsen door de straet . . . van Magellane . . .* Amsterdam, 1610. [Van Noort 1558-1627].
- *Johannes de LAET: *Nieuwe wereldt ofte beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*. Leyden, 1625; in Latin, 1633. [1593-1649].
- Rev. Johannes BAERS: *Olinda ghelegen int landt van Brasil . . . inghenomen ende geluckelijck veroverd, 1630, etc.* Amsterdam, 1630. Portuguese trans., Recife, 1898. [?-1653].
- *Caspar van BAERLE: *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum, sub praefectura Nassoviae comitis historia*. Amstelodami, 1647. Dutch trans., 1923. Brazilian trans., Rio de Janeiro, 1940. [Baerle or Barlaeus 1584-1648].
- *Gulielmi PISONIS and Georgi MARCGRAVI: *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*. Amstelodami, 1648. [Willem Piso 1611-1678; Georg Marcgraf 1610-1644].
- Arnoldus MONTANUS: *De nieuwe en onbekende Weereld*. Amsterdam, 1671. See John Ogilby: *America*, London, 1671. [Montanus 1625-1683; Ogilby 1600-1676].
- *Johan NIEUHOF: *Gedenkwaardige Zee en Lant-Reize door de West en Ostindien*. 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1682. [1618-1672].
- Pieter Marinus NETSCHER: *Les Hollandais au Brésil; notice historique sur les Pays-Bas et le Brésil au XVII^e siècle*. La Haye, 1853; Brazilian trans., São Paulo, 1941. [1824-1903].
- Francisco Adolpho de VARNHAGEN (Visconde de Pôrto Seguro): *Historia das lutas com os Holandezes no Brazil desde 1624 a 1654*. Wien, 1871. New ed., Lisboa, 1872.
- Jan Willem IJZERMAN (Ed.): *Journal van de Reis naar Zuid-Amerika, (1598-1601), door Hendrik Ottsen*. First edition, Amsterdam, 1603. 's-Gravenhage, 1918. [1851-?].
- *Hermann Julius Eduard WÄTJEN: *Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*. Haag, 1921; Brazilian trans., São Paulo, 1938. [1876-].
- José Honório RODRIGUES and Joaquim RIBEIRO: *A civilização holandesa no Brasil*. São Paulo, 1940.

THE FRENCH IN BRAZIL, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:

- *Fr. Claude d'ABBEVILLE, O. F. Cap.: *Histoire de la mission des Pères Capucins en l'Isle de Maragnan et terres circonvoisines*. Paris, 1614. See also *L'arrivée des pères capucins et la conversion des sauvages a nostre sainte foy*. Paris, 1613, 1623, 1876; Brazilian trans., 1924. [?-1632].
- *Fr. YVES D'ÉVREUX, O. F. Cap.: *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil, fait durant les années 1613 et 1614*. Leipzig and Paris, 1864. First edition, Paris, 1615. Sequel to Abbeville. [1570-1630].
- "Retour du sieur de Rasilly en France qui amena des Toupinambous a Paris," *Mercure françois*, t. III, pp. 166-167, 1617; edited and reprinted by Hamy in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., t. V, 1908. [Hamy 1842-1908].

ROULOX BARO: *Relations véritables et curieuses du Brésil*, in Augustin Courbé [Comp.]: *Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar, et du Brésil*, Paris, 1651.

P. Jean PAULMIER: *Memoires touchant l'établissement d'une mission Chrestienne dans le troisieme monde*, etc. Paris, 1667. [?-1669].

François PYRARD DE LAVAL: *Voyage contenant sa navigation aux Indes Orientales . . . et au Brésil*. Paris, 1679; original edition 1611. Hakluyt Society, Vols. 76, 77, 80. [1570-1621].

François FROGER: *Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695, 1696, & 1697 aux côtes d'Afrique, Detroit de Magellan, Brézil, Cayenne & Isles Antilles*. Paris, 1698. English trans., London, 1698. [1676-?].

AMAZONIA, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES:

Pedro CUDENA: *Beschreibung des Portugiesischen Amerika*. Braunschweig, 1780. [Written ca. 1634 in Spanish].

*P. Christóval de ACUÑA, S. J.: *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Río de las Amazonas*. Madrid, 1641. Also see C. Markham's *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, London, 1859; 1891 Madrid edition of Acuña in *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos que tratan de América*, II; and Varnhagen's edition of Mauricio de Heriarte's *Descrição do Maranhã, Pará (1639)*, Wien, 1874. [Acuña 1597-1676].

Marcos JIMÉNEZ DE LA ESPADA (Ed.): *El Viaje del Capitán Pedro Teixeira aguas arriba del Río de las Amazonas, 1638-39*. Published in *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, t. IX (1880), XIII (1882), and XXVI (1889).

*Fr. Laureano de la CRUZ, O. F. M.: *Nuevo descubrimiento del Río de Marañón llamado de las Amazonas, año de 1651*. Madrid, 1900.

Blaise François de PAGAN: *Relation historique et géographique de la grande rivière des Amazones*. Paris, 1656; English translation, London, 1661. [?-1665].

*P. Manuel RODRÍGUEZ VILLASEÑOR, S. J.: *El Marañón y Amazonas; historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducción de naciones . . . en las dilatadas montañas y mayores ríos de América*. Madrid, 1684. [1630-1701].

*P. Samuel FRITZ, S. J.: *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*. Hakluyt Society, London, 1922. [1654-1728].

*Marcos JIMÉNEZ DE LA ESPADA (Ed.): *Noticias auténticas del famoso Río Marañón, y misión apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia de Quito*. Written about 1738, by P. Maroni, S. J., and published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, t. XXVI-XXXIII, 1889-1892.

*P. José CHANTRE Y HERRERA, S. J.: *Historia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañón Español (1637-1767)*. Madrid, 1901. [1738-1801].

JESUIT PARAGUAYA, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES:

- *P. Antonio RUÍZ DE MONTOYA, S. J.: *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús en las provincias del Paraguay*. Madrid, 1639. [1593-1652].
- *P. Nicolás del TECHO, S. J.: *Historia provinciae Paraguariae societatis Jesu*. Leodii (Liege), 1673. Spanish trans., 5 vols., Madrid, 1897. [1611-1680].
- Abbé Ludovico Antonio MURATORI: *Il cristianesimo felice . . . nel Paraguai*. 2 vols., Venezia, 1743-1749. English trans., 1759. [1672-1750].
- *P. Pedro LOZANO, S. J.: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1754-1755. [?-1752].
- *Bernardo IBÁÑEZ DE ECHAVARRI: *El reyno jesuitico del Paraguay*. Madrid, 1770, French trans., 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1780. Contains diary of P. Ennis, 1753-56.
- *P. Martin DOBRIZHOFFER, S. J.: *Historia de Abiponibus*. 3 vols., Vienna, 1784; English trans., London, 1882. [Dobritshofer 1717-1791].
- *P. José SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, S. J.: *El Paraguay Católico*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910. The original manuscript has never been published in full. [1714-1798].
- Robert G. B. C. GRAHAM: *A Vanished Arcadia*. London, 1901. [1852-1936].
- George O'NEILL: *Golden Years on the Paraguay*. London, 1934. [1863-].

THE RELIGIOUS, SIXTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES: The literature and history of the religious orders, especially of the Jesuits, is rich in anthropologic material. Hereinafter are listed the chief sources in addition to the individual works by certain of the religious previously cited, e. g., Simón, Charlevoix, Thévet, Lafitau, Nóbrega, Anchieta, Cardim, Abbeyville, Yves d'Évreux, Cruz, Acuña, Rodríguez, Fritz, Chantre y Herrera, Ruíz de Montoya, Lozano, Dobrizhoffer, Sánchez Labrador, et al.

- *ANCHIETA (QUARTO CENTENÁRIO DO SEU NASCIMENTO). *Conferências lidas no Instituto histórico e geográfico brasileiro, 1933-34*. Pôrto Alegre, 1935.
- *João Lúcio de AZEVEDO: *Cartas do Padre Antonio Vieira*, 3 vols., Coimbra, 1925-28. [Vieira 1608-1697].
- João Lúcio de AZEVEDO: *História de Antonio Vieira com factos e documentos novos*. 2 vols., Lisboa, 1918-21; 2nd ed., 1931.
- *João Lúcio de AZEVEDO: *Os Jesuítas no Grão-Pará, suas missões e a colonização*. Coimbra, 1901; 2nd ed., 1930.
- Bento José BARBOSA SERZEDELLO: *Archivo historico da veneravel Ordem terceira da Nossa Senhora do Monte Carmo no Rio de Janeiro (1648-1872)*. Rio de Janeiro, 1872.
- José Joaquín BORDA: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva Granada*. 2 vols., Poissy, 1872. [1835-1878].
- P. João Filipe BETTENDORF, S. J.: "Chronica da Missão dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão," *Revista trimestral*, LXXII, 1910. [Bettendorf 1626-?].

- P. Luiz Gonzaga CABRAL, S. J.: *Jesuitas no Brasil (Seculo XVI)*. São Paulo, 1925.
- Oswaldo R. CABRAL: *Os Jesuitas em Santa Catarina e o Ensino de Humanidades na Provincia*. Florianopolis, 1940.
- Pedro CALMON MONIZ DE BITTENCOURT: *José de Anchieta, o santo do Brasil*. São Paulo, 1930.
- Pedro CALMON (Ed.): *Por Brasil e Portugal*. São Paulo, 1938. Sermons of P. Antonio Vieira.
- Ernest CAREL: *Vieira, sa vie et ses oeuvres*. Paris, 1878. Brazilian trans., *Vida do Padre Antonio Vieira*. São Paulo, 1937.
- P. J. CHACÓN, S. J.: *Misioneros jesuitas a lo largo del Amazonas*. Quito, 1941.
- P. Pierre CHARLES, S. J.: *Les dossiers de l'action missionnaire*. 2 vols., Louvain, 1939.
- Fr. Appolinario da CONCEIÇÃO, O. F. M.: *Primazia serafica na regiam da America*. Lisbôa, 1733. [1692-1760].
- Copia de unas cartas de algunos padres de la Compañia de Jesús escribieron de la India, Japon, y Brasil*. Lisbôa, 1555.
- *P. João DANIEL, S. J.: "Thesouro descoberto no maximo Rio Amazonas," a manuscript (pts. 1-5 in the national library in Rio de Janeiro; pt. 6 in Evora, Portugal) which has been published and reprinted in parts in Rio de Janeiro (Pt. 2, 1840-1841; pt. 5, 1820; pt. 6, 1878). [fl. 1750].
- P. Ferencz Xaver EDER, S. J.: *Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum in regno peruano*. Budaë, 1791. [1727-1773].
- *P. Antonio Paulo Cyriaco FERNANDES, S. J.: *Missionários Jesuítas no Brasil no tempo de Pombal*. Pôrto Alegre, 1936. Collection of articles previously published, 1926-1936.
- *P. Francisco de FIGUEROA, S. J.: *Relación de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesús en el país de los Maynas*. Madrid, 1904. [1612-1666].
- P. Manuel da FONSECA, S. J.: *Vida do Veneravel P. Belchoir de Pontes*. Lisbôa, 1752; São Paulo, 1932. [Pontes 1644-1719; Fonseca 1703-1772].
- P. Guillermo Juan FÚRLONG CÁRDIFF, S. J.: *Los Jesuítas y la cultura rioplatense*. Montevideo, 1933. [1889-].
- Enrique de GANDÍA: *Las Misiones Jesuíticas y los Bandeirantes Paulistas*. Buenos Aires, 1936.
- Bruno GARSCH: *Der Einfluss der Jesuiten-Missionen auf den Wandel der Naturlandschaft zur Kulturlandschaft im Stromgebiet des Paraguay-Paraná während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Breslau, 1934.
- João Pedro GAY: *Historia da republica jesuitica do Paraguay, etc*. Rio de Janeiro, 1863.
- *Antonio HENRIQUES LEAL (Ed.): *Apontamentos para a historia dos Jesuitas no Brasil*. 2 vols., Maranhão & Lisbôa, 1874. [1828-1885].
- P. Pablo HERNÁNDEZ, S. J.: *Misiones del Paraguay. Organización social de las doctrinas guaraníes*. 2 vols., Barcelona, 1913. [1852-1921].
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LATE EMPIRE, 1840-1889

The following list makes no pretension to completeness, but merely lists the outstanding works on research in the field together with a representation of geographic and economic treatises, histories and biographies, papers on linguistics, archaeology, ethnography, etc. Little attempt has been made to cite monographs and papers in the outstanding Brazilian series (Exploratory Commissions, *Revista Trimestral*, *Archivos do Museu Nacional*, etc.) since to do so would expand this paper unduly. Explorations that commenced prior to 1890 and continued a number of years (e. g. Coudreau, German central Brazilian parties, etc.) have had their publications cited only in part.

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This article will be concluded (Part II) in a later number. Part II will treat on the Modern Period, 1890 to date; will summarize the development of ethnology, archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and human geography through four hundred years of Brazilian history; will briefly discuss the chief museums, libraries, and publications; and will present a comparative picture of the work of missionaries and of various nationalities.—D. D. B.