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Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana

The publications of the Hakluyt Society (founded in 1846) made available edited (and sometimes translated) early accounts of exploration. The first series, which ran from 1847 to 1899, consists of 100 books containing published or previously unpublished works by authors from Christopher Columbus to Sir Francis Drake, and covering voyages to the New World, to China and Japan, to Russia and to Africa and India. This volume, edited by Robert Schomburgk and first published in 1848, presents documents written by Sir Walter Raleigh following his expeditions to Guyana in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The title text recounts the events of Raleigh's first voyage, including his encounters with the Spanish and the quest for the legendary city of Manoa, and is accompanied by two documents that had not previously been published. The book also includes a detailed introduction and extensive explanatory notes, providing key biographical and historical information.

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Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana

*With a Relation of the Great and Golden City
of Manoa... Performed in the Year 1595, by Sir
W. Raleigh, Knt*

WALTER RALEIGH

EDITED BY ROBERT H. SCHOMBURGK



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THE DISCOVERY OF
THE EMPIRE OF GUIANA,
BY
SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

M. DCCC. XLVIII.

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OF THE
LARGE, RICH, AND BEAUTIFUL
EMPIRE OF GUIANA,

WITH A RELATION OF
THE GREAT AND GOLDEN CITY OF MANOA
(WHICH THE SPANIARDS CALL EL DORADO), ETC.

PERFORMED IN THE YEAR 1595,

BY
SIR W. RALEGH, KNT.,
CAPTAIN OF HER MAJESTY'S GUARD, LORD WARDEN OF THE STANNARIES, AND
HER HIGHNESS'S LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL.

REPRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1596,

WITH SOME
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THAT COUNTRY.

EDITED,
WITH COPIOUS EXPLANATORY NOTES AND A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR,

BY
SIR ROBERT H. SCHOMBURGK, PH.D.,
KNIGHT OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ORDER OF THE RED EAGLE, OF THE ROYAL SAXON ORDER OF MERIT,
OF THE FRENCH ORDER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR, ETC.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.
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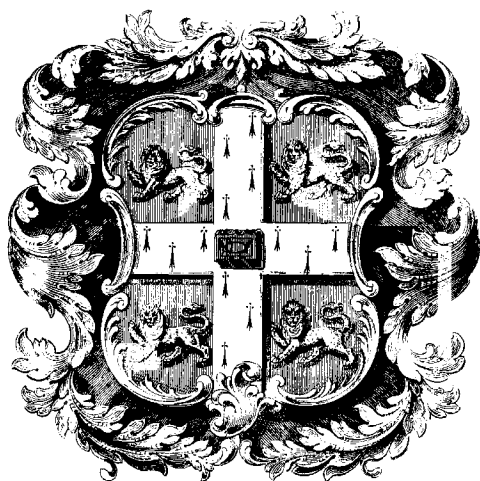
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

How frequently are we reminded of the pleasures of former days by an accidental word, the perusal of a passage in a book, or by the view of a place associated in thought with past enjoyments! Scenes are then recalled to mind which had seemingly faded from the memory. Such was my case as I recently perused Sir Walter Raleigh's 'Discoverie of Guiana.' Every page, nay almost every sentence, awakened past recollections, and I felt in imagination transported once more into the midst of the stupendous scenery of the Tropics. As Her Majesty's Commissioner to survey the boundaries of British Guiana, I explored in 1841 that wondrous delta of the Orinoco: on that occasion I encamped at Punta Barima, visited the Amacura and Aratura, and traversed at a later period the regions which Keymis describes as the site of the gorgeous capital of El Dorado, with the sea-

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like lake, enlivened by its multitude of canoes; what wonder therefore that I should read Raleigh's descriptions, expressed with such force and elegance, with the greatest delight?

When requested by the Council of the Hakluyt Society to edit a reprint of Sir Walter Raleigh's 'Discoverie of Guiana,' although a task more agreeable to my feelings could scarcely have been suggested, yet I hesitated, from a feeling of the difficulty for a foreigner to impart to the required notes and explanations the fluency and correctness of style which such a work deserves. These objections were overruled, and encouraged by the lenience with which some of my former labours have been judged, I commenced this work of love.

The text of the 'Discoverie of Guiana' is here reproduced from the edition of 1596, without any alterations in the ancient orthography or the various spellings of proper names. The original text has invariably been adhered to, except where a typographical error was evident. The work is accompanied by copious notes, the places and circumstances to which the author alludes being identified or explained from the Spanish and other historians, not only of that period but likewise of our own time. The manners and customs of the natives, the

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description of scenery and phænomena of nature, have been so extensively commented on in the notes, that I almost fear incurring the reproach of having overburdened the text. My chief object was to prove, from circumstances which fell within my own experience, the general correctness of Raleigh's descriptions, and to exculpate him from ungenerous reproaches.

The existence of two interesting documents in the British Museum, which have not before been published, rendered it desirable to seize the present opportunity of bringing them before the public. Of these documents, which were productions of Raleigh at two remarkable periods of his life, the first is entitled "Of the Voyage for Guiana," and was probably penned in the year 1596; the other is his autograph journal of that voyage, the ultimate result of which was his death on the scaffold. An interval of more than twenty years lies between these two documents; and it appeared to me that, to publish them without filling up the intermediate chasm by a rapid sketch of the chief incidents of Raleigh's life during that period, would be like attempting to illustrate the geological structure of an extensive district by specimens of the rocks composing its mere extremities.

I assume the reader to be acquainted with the chief

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events of Raleigh's life ; but as the connecting links of those events may have escaped his memory, the Introduction will be welcome. The biographical sketch accompanying the ' Discoverie of Guiana,' and the two Documents just mentioned, form together a complete though succinct account, in the compilation of which I have spared no pains or research.

In the composition of the biographical sketch, I have brought into view Raleigh's merits as the founder of the British colonial empire, and have devoted more space to this subject than I had originally intended ; it however appeared to me of paramount importance, in forming an opinion of the motives of this remarkable man. I do not deny that I am strongly biased in favour of Raleigh, but this partiality has not blinded me to his numerous failings ; on the contrary, it has induced me to judge his character with more strictness than I should have done if not conscious of such a leaning.

It remains only to say a few words on the Map which accompanies this Work. Where pages of letter-press are required to explain the configuration of a coast, the course of a river or the situation of a place, a single glance at a map will convey to the mind's eye relative local positions, however complex, better than any verbal description. It was gratifying to find

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that my proposition to illustrate Sir Walter Raleigh's journey up the Orinoco by a Map met with the approbation of the Council of the Hakluyt Society. This map is laid down in a great measure from personal observations made during eight years' rambles through Guiana; the northern part of it has been chiefly constructed from Colonel Codazzi's Atlas of Venezuela. Where I have been able to identify the places, rivers and islands mentioned in Raleigh's narrative, by inspecting ancient maps or otherwise, the name used by Raleigh has been added to the present one, in a style of printing which renders its discrimination easy.

R. H. S.

Surbiton, Surrey,

May, 1848.

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THE reign of Queen Elizabeth presents one of the most interesting periods in the history of England. If we contemplate the master-spirits of that time, distinguished in literature, in enterprize, or in the new projects of colonization, as heroes or as politicians, we must acknowledge that the close of the sixteenth century offers the brightest examples, singly and collectively. The age of Shakespeare and Spenser, in itself of an interest unparalleled in literature, exhibits at the same time statesmen like the Cecils and Walsingham, heroes like Essex, Drake, and Howard, who triumphantly established the claim of England to be the mistress of the ocean ; and Spain, who had hitherto aspired to that distinction, was humbled by the victories of the English fleets under their command. It was during this period that England founded her first colonies in America ; indeed the discoveries which each successive year brought to light, render that reign remarkably distinguished for maritime expeditions and colonization. From whatever side we view this pleasing picture of England's fame, one

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man stands forth conspicuous alike as a soldier, a navigator, and an author; and who, after having during this eventful æra attained a dazzling height of fame, was fated to lose his head in the succeeding reign upon the scaffold: that man was Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh's name is one of the most renowned in history, and his melancholy fate has imparted to it a strong and peculiar interest. Although we cannot deny that as the founder of colonies, as the introducer or disseminator of two important articles of subsistence and luxury, as the promoter of commerce, as an active partaker in the glorious actions which led to the destruction of the Spanish Armada, the capture of Cadiz and the storming of Fayal, as an improver of naval architecture, but above all as the author of that remarkable work the 'History of the World,' his name would have been handed down to posterity with honour, yet his failings would have partially overshadowed his fame, did he not also appear as a martyr, and the political victim of a pusillanimous prince.

Sir Walter was the fourth and youngest son of Walter Raleigh¹, Esq. of Fardel, by his third wife

¹ Cayley says, "Few names vary so much in the manner of writing it." We have seen it written in thirteen different ways, namely Raleigh, Raleghe, Raleigh, Rawleigh, Rawlie, Rawley, Rawly, Rauleigh, Raleighe, Rale, Real, Reali, Ralego. His original letters in the Harleian Collection, and his MS. Journal of his Second Voyage, prove that Sir Walter himself wrote Raleigh. In the Commission for his second journey to Guiana it is written in Rymer's 'Foedera' Rawleigh, while the Commission is headed, "De Commissione Speciali dilecto Waltero Rawley Militi concernente Voiagium Guianianum." Sir Arthur Georges in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil writes it Rawly. In the copy of Sir Walter's arraignment, Sir

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Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devon¹. The biographers of Raleigh generally admit that he was born in 1552, at a farm called Hayes in the parish of Budleigh in Devonshire, of which his father possessed the remainder of an eighty years' lease. We are entirely unacquainted with Raleigh's childhood; Hooker and Lord Bacon agree that he studied at the University of Oxford, and Anthony Wood records in his 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' that Raleigh "became Commoner of Oriel College in or about the year 1568, when his kinsman C. Champernon studied there; and his natural parts being strangely advanced by academical learning, under the care of an excellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors, and was worthily esteemed a proficient in oratory and philosophy." Young Raleigh did not remain long at the University, for we find him already in 1569 among the gentlemen volunteers² who were to assist

Thomas Overbury writes the name Rawleigh. In the scarce pamphlet, 'Newes of Sir Walter Rauleigh,' it is spelt in the manner just mentioned. Fray Simon calls him "Real o Reali," Gili "Ralego." King James in his Declaration writes the name Raleigh, which orthography Sir Walter's son Carew seems to have adopted. Sir Robert Naunton and Lord Bacon write Rawleigh. We have adopted the orthography of Sir Walter himself.

¹ Sir Walter was therefore a brother by the mother's side of Sir John, Sir Humphry, and Sir Adrian Gilbert, all eminent men during Queen Elizabeth's reign. Sir Humphry published in 1576 a Discourse on the Practicability of a North-west passage to China.

² Queen Elizabeth permitted Henry Champernon, a relative by marriage to the Earl of Montgomery, to conduct a troop of volunteers, consisting of one hundred gentlemen, to the assistance of the persecuted Protestants. On their standard was the motto, "Finem det mihi virtus,"—Let valour decide the contest. Amongst their number were Philip Butshid, Francis Bareley, and Walter Raleigh. (Camden, Ann. Eliz. Ann. 1569.)

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It is supposed that about this period Raleigh wrote two of his treatises upon military operations. The Queen had appointed him, in 1586, Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall; and in the beginning of the following year he received another mark of her Majesty's favour, being advanced to the post of Captain of her Guard and Lieutenant-General of Cornwall. The eventful year of 1588, when Philip's navy, vast and unrivalled on the ocean, threatened to annihilate the power of England, saw Raleigh in the field and on the ocean. He had been nominated in the preceding November one of the Council of War, to consider the most effectual means for maintaining the security of the nation. Some considered the kingdom strong enough to resist the landing of any hostile troops, and hence it was argued that there was no necessity for any great defensive naval preparations. This opinion was strongly opposed by the first minister, and likewise by Raleigh, who demonstrated that no conclusions should be drawn from France or other European countries in the possession of many fortified places, "whereas the ramparts of England consist only of a body of men." There is a difference, he says, between an invasion by land and one by sea, where the choice of the place of debarkation remains with the enemy; and he arrives at the conclusion

this MS. in 1828, and published it in Paris in 1833. While we give every praise to his public spirit for rescuing this remarkable voyage from oblivion, we cannot admit the claim of a literary *trouvaille*, as the manuscript is described with sufficient precision in the Cottonian Catalogue. (See Athenæum, February 14th and 21st, 1846.)

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that such an attempt could not be successfully resisted on the West of England without a fleet. The plan which Raleigh drew up on this occasion was based on a practical acquaintance with the comparative advantages of a land and naval force, an experience that resulted from his campaigns in France, the Low Countries and Ireland, which Shirley calls “the military academies of those times.” But from whence he received his knowledge of maritime affairs is a riddle, as, with the exception of the smart action in which he shared with his half-brother Sir Humphry Gilbert in 1579, we are not aware that he had any opportunity up to that period of acquiring practical experience in naval tactics. Sir Walter Raleigh’s proposition was however adopted, and a fleet was equipped, the command of which was given to Lord Howard of Effingham.

After having raised and disciplined the militia of Cornwall, Raleigh joined the fleet in July 1588 with a squadron of volunteers, and took an active part in the several engagements which led to the destruction of the Spanish Armada. It was probably in acknowledgement of these services that the Queen nominated him Gentleman of her Privy Chamber. When the expedition for the support of Don Antonio, King of Portugal, was resolved upon, Raleigh accompanied that prince, in April 1589, with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, and on his return was honoured by his sovereign, as well as the other commanders, with a gold chain.

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The elaborate report which Raleigh published in defence of the conduct of his friend Sir Richard Grenville, who lost his life in the expedition under Lord Thomas Howard in 1591 for intercepting the Spanish Plate fleet at the Azores, “breathes a spirit of loyalty and patriotism truly admirable.” It was, we believe, the first essay which Raleigh printed¹, and the scene where the enemy’s numerous fleet surrounded the ship of the admiral, who continued the fight, although mortally wounded, till all the ammunition was spent, and then commanded the master gunner to sink her—which was only prevented by the interference of the survivors of the crew—“presents a view of perhaps the most astonishing naval conflict ever delineated by any pen².”

The love of enterprize which so eminently distinguished Raleigh, suggested the plan of attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, particularly at Panama, with a view of meeting the Plate fleet. He endeavoured to engage his friends and others in this adventure, and thirteen vessels were fully equipped for service. The scheme, having been laid before the Queen, appeared to her so feasible, that she added two men-of-war, the *Garland* and the *Foresight*, to the expedition, and gave Raleigh a commission as General

¹ It is entitled, “A report of the truth of the fight about the isles of Azores this last summer, betwixt the *Revenge*, one of Her Majesty’s ships commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, and an Armada of the King of Spain.” 4to, 1591. It was afterwards reprinted in Hakluyt’s *Voyages* in 1599 (vol. ii. part 2. p. 169).

² *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxliii. p. 17.

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winter, which cover 14,000 square miles, and are encompassed by the Sierra Pacaraima to the north, the Canuku, Taripona, and Carawaimi mountains to the south, the thick forest of the Essequibo and isolated mountains to the east, and the mountains of the Mocajahi and Parima to the west,—gave rise, no doubt, to the fable of the White Sea, assisted by the ignorance of Europeans of the Indian language¹.

We shall not enumerate the various expeditions which were undertaken for the conquest of El Dorado,—a phantom which has by some been regarded as a device of Satan “to lure men to destruction,” and viewed by others as the means of spreading Christianity and enlarging our geographical knowledge. The quaint remarks of John Hagthorpe, a well-known author of the early part of the seventeenth century, and a contemporary of Raleigh, are very amusing: he says, “Sir Walter Rawley knewe very well when

¹ Notwithstanding the proofs of the non-existence of this White Sea or Lake Parima, a work was published in New York in 1844 with the pompous title of ‘El Dorado;’ it is illustrated by a Map on which the Lake Parima figures in its whole extent. The author, Mr. Van Heuvel, visited the coast regions of Guiana without penetrating into the interior, and his conclusions respecting this lake rest only upon what he learned from some Indians, whose language he did not understand, and upon the maps of Sanson, D’Anville and others of the last century; and although fully acquainted with Humboldt’s writings, “who,” he says, “effaced without sufficient grounds that wondrous lake,” Mr. Van Heuvel has fully restored it, and gives to it a length of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty miles, and a breadth of about fifty miles. Out of it flow the rivers Parima and Takutu into the Rio Negro and the Amazon; the Cuyuni, the Siparuni, and the Mazaruni, into the Essequibo; and the Paragua into the Orinoco. A single step backwards in our geographical knowledge is much to be regretted, and all who take interest in that science ought to aid in preventing the dissemination of such absurdities.

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he attempted his Guyana businesse, who err'd in nothing so much (if a free man may speak freely) as in too much confidence in the relations of the countrie: For who knowes not the policy and cunning of the fat Fryers, which is to stirre up and animate the Souldiers and Laytie to the search and inquisition of new Countries, by devising tales and coments in their Cloysters where they live at ease, that when others have taken payne to bring in the harvest, they may feed upon the best and fattest of the croppe¹? ”

Though we cannot go all lengths with Hagthorpe, there seems to be much truth in his observation. It is remarkable that the copy which Antonio de Berreo² had received of the pretended journey of Juan Martinez came originally from his confessor. Raleigh expressly states, that when Martinez had given up all hope of life, and was receiving the sacrament at the hands of his confessor, “ he delivered these things with the relation of his travels, and also called for his calabazas, or gourds of the gold beads, which he gave to the church and friars to be prayed for³. ”

¹ ‘ England’s Exchequer, or a discourse of the sea and navigation, with some things thereunto coincident concerning plantations; by John Hagthorpe, Gent. London, 1625.’

² As the name of Berreo occurs here for the first time in this volume, we may observe that it should perhaps have been written more properly Berrio, as we find it in Father Simon’s Noticias; but as Raleigh, with all contemporary English and some French authors, have written it as above, we have, for the sake of conformity with the original work of Raleigh, assumed the mode of spelling it Berreo throughout. According to some he married the daughter, according to others the adopted child, of Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada. Fray Simon calls her the niece of the great Adelantado, but all agree that she inherited his riches.

³ Discovery of Guiana, p. 20 of the present edition.

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The account which Raleigh gives of the Amazons and the headless men has received severe censure. We shall leave our observations on the subject of the latter to a future opportunity, observing only that Hartsinck in his work on Guiana, published in 1770, gravely asserts the existence of a race of negroes in Surinam whose hands and feet were forked like the claw of a lobster, consisting merely of a thumb and a finger.

With regard to the account of the Amazons, it is not given as from personal observation, but as a report received from Indians, and current at the period when Raleigh wrote his Guiana voyage, and which even Condamine the French Academician considered probable, adducing many testimonies in its favour in a discourse delivered before the French Academy. The account of a tribe of Amazons is almost coeval with the discovery of America. Christopher Columbus was told that the small island of Madanino or Matinino (Montserrat) was inhabited by warlike women¹. Orellana in his descent of the Marañon was cautioned at the mouth of the Napo by an old chieftain, to beware of the warlike women, and asserts that he afterwards met females fighting in the ranks of men. Hernando de Ribeira, the follower of Cabeza de Vega the Conquistador of Paraguay, asserts, in 1545, that he heard of a nation of Amazons, who lived on the western side of a large lake, which was poetically called the Mansion of the Sun, because that orb sank

¹ Peter Martyr, Dec. i. lib. 2. Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by R. H. Major, Esq., p. 15.

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into it. D'Acuña expressed his firm belief in their existence, and fixed their abode on the river Cunuriz. It is a strange coincidence that, according to Raleigh, there is a province in Guiana called Canuri, governed by a woman, and we might almost question whether the close resemblance of these two words is accidental¹. D'Acuña observes: "When their neighbours visit them (the Amazons) at a time appointed by them, they receive them with their bows and arrows in their hands, and exercise them as if to engage with enemies; but knowing their object, they lay them down, and receive them as their guests, who remain with them a few days²." Andrew Thevet, in his 'Antarctic,' has made the arrival of the Amazons' guests the subject of an illustration³. We observe from several quotations given by Raleigh that he was well acquainted with Thevet's publication, a translation of which by Bynneman appeared in 1568, and we may therefore suppose that he had preconceived an opinion in favour of their existence before he left England: in this however he was not singular; the belief was entertained by thousands at that period. Father Cyprian Baraza, a Jesuit missionary, at the close of the seventeenth century gave an account of the existence of Amazons to the west of the Paraguay in 12° south latitude. We have already alluded to the statement which M. de Condamine made before

¹ Discovery of Guiana, present edition, p. 108.

² We quote this passage from the English translation of D'Acuña's 'Discovery of the River Amazon.'

³ 'Les Singularités de la France Antarctique, par F. André Thevet,' p. 124. Paris, 1558.

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the Academy, and the existence of such reports was confirmed thirty years after by Ribeiro, a Portuguese astronomer, without however expressing his own faith in these traditions¹. The missionary Gili heard from an Indian of the Quaqua tribe, that the Aikeambenanos, literally ‘the women living alone,’ inhabited the banks of the Cuchivero, which falls into the Orinoco opposite the island of Taran, between Caycara and Alta Gracia. Condamine further adduces the testimony of two Spanish Governors of the province of Venezuela, Don Diego (? Francisco) Portales and Don Francisco Torralva, which agreed in substance that a tribe of warlike women dwelt in the interior of Guiana. Count Pagan, in his history of the river Amazon, observes in his florid style, “que l’Asie ne se vante plus de ses comptes véritables ou fabuleuses des Amazones, l’Amérique ne lui cède point cet avantage . . . Et que le fleuve de Thermodoon, ne soit plus enflé de la gloire de ces conquérantes, la rivière de Coruris [Cunuriz] est aussi fameuse pour ses belles guerrières².” L’Abbé Guyon expresses a similar opinion in his ‘Histoire des Amazones anciennes et modernes,’ but it is evident that the faith in their existence rests upon D’Acuña’s report.

In these accounts, which have been transmitted to us by the early historians, we observe a manifest desire to invest all that related to the new continent

¹ Ribeiro de Sampaio, ‘Diario da viagem no anno de 1774 et 1775,’ p. 27 *et seq.*

² ‘Relation de la rivière des Amazones, par le Comte de Pagan,’ chap. xlix. p. 157.

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with an air of marvel. It is however extraordinary that, if the tradition originated with Europeans, it was not only still in existence at the time of Condamine's voyage, but is even now current among all the Indian tribes who have had intercourse with the Caribs. The Indians of the lower Corentyn, of the Essequibo and Rupununi, declared to us in the gravest manner during our travels in these regions, that the separate hordes of females still live on the upper part of the Corentyn, in a country called Marawonne. The accounts we received respecting the country they inhabited were accompanied by such details, that the tradition assumed some probability. We were told that when we should have passed high above the great cataracts in the Corentyn, at the point where two huge rocks, called Poomoco and Surama, rise from each bank of the river and bound it like a portal, we might consider ourselves in the land of the Woruisamocos. We received similar accounts from the Macusis, who reside on those savannahs which form the supposed site of Keymis's El Dorado. When travelling over these plains we frequently came to sequestered spots where we observed a great quantity of broken pottery, which our Macusi Indians invariably adduced as a proof of the former residence of the Woruisamocos on these places. Of all Guianians however the Caribs are the most versed in wonderful tales, and all agree in the facts, that such a republic existed in the interior of Guiana, towards the head of the Corentyn, and in a district which no European ever visited; that these females are called Woruisamocos; that they

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shoot with bow and arrow, and use the *cura* or blow-pipe ; that they cultivate their own grounds, and hold no intercourse with other Indians, except once a year, when they permit the men to visit them in parties of twenties ; and that if their offspring prove a male infant they kill it, but rear up the female children.

Orellana, in his descent of the Marañon, met with hostile Indians at the river Cunuriz who opposed his advance, and among their number were females, who appeared quite as warlike as the men. This is the origin of the fable of the American Amazons, but the locality being once fixed, succeeding centuries have been unable to efface the tradition that Amazons exist in some part or other of Guiana. Several expeditions have been sent at different times to explore the Rio Trombetas, all of which were stopped by the large cataracts ; in some instances the explorers were murdered by the savage Indians who inhabit the upper branches: hence those parts of that river remained perfectly unknown, and were considered the abode of the bellicose dames. M. Montravel, commanding the French man-of-war 'La Bouchonaise,' surveyed the Amazon as high up as the Rio Negro in the years 1842–1844, and heard a similar account when in the neighbourhood of the Rio Trombetas. We have therefore from the south as well as from the north the same tradition, that the Amazons of the New World inhabit a central district of Guiana. Our route in 1844, when traversing these very regions, and descending the chief branch of the Trombetas from its source to its junction with the Wanamu, has, unfortunately for the

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interest attached to this romance, driven the warlike dames from one of their last hiding-places. The result of this fatiguing and perilous journey has only strengthened our conviction that the existence of this republic of women was one of those inventions designed merely to enhance the wonders of which the New World was regarded as the seat. It would however be unjust to condemn Raleigh's proneness to a belief in their existence, when we find that even Southey, the learned historian of Brazil, makes this remark: "Had we never heard of the Amazons of antiquity, I should without hesitation believe in those of America; their existence is not the less likely for that reason, and yet it must be admitted that the probable truth is made to appear suspicious by its resemblance to a known fable¹."

The next point to be considered is the censure which Raleigh has incurred from his enemies for his exaggerated representations of the mineral riches of Guiana. The ore which he presented to the Lord High Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil was alleged to have been obtained from Africa; he refutes this charge in the preface to his 'Discoverie of Guiana'; and the strongest evidence of his belief in the mineral wealth of Guiana is afforded by the two expeditions undertaken at his expense in the following years with the object of discovering mines in Guiana. Oldys relates that he saw some of the ore brought by Sir Walter Raleigh from Guiana, which had been carefully preserved in his family, and which,

¹ Southey's History of Brazil, p. 609.

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at the period when Oldys wrote Raleigh's life, was in the possession of Captain William Elwes. It cannot be doubted that Guiana possesses gold; there are various instances on record of this metal being found, but none where it has been met with in sufficient quantities to render its working profitable. Humboldt says that, from what he observed in that part of America, he is led to think "that gold, like tin, is sometimes disseminated in an almost imperceptible manner in the mass of granite rocks itself, without our being able to admit that there is a ramification and an interlacing of small veins. Not long ago the Indians of Emaramada found in the Quebrada del Tigre a piece of native gold two lines in diameter. It was rounded, and appeared to have been washed along by the waters." We saw a piece of native gold twice that size in the hands of Fray Josè at Fort San Joachim, which he assured us had been found in the river Takutu; and we ourselves observed minute particles of gold in the dry bed of that river. Strange to say, the gold which Fray Josè showed us was upon white quartz, the "harde white sparr" described by Raleigh.

In 1721 the Council of Ten in Holland granted a privilege, whereby it was enacted that all persons disposed to work mines in Guiana might do so upon certain conditions, and Mr. Hildebrand, a miner, was sent from Holland for that purpose. A shaft was sunk at a short distance from the first cataracts in the Cuyuni, but the small quantity of ore found did not repay the expenses of working it, and the attempt

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was abandoned. Hildebrand went afterwards up the river Siparuni, a tributary of the Essequibo, and is said to have met with ore there.

Several of the natives who came on board of Columbus's ship, when lying at anchor in the Gulf of Paria, wore pieces of gold on their breasts; he made inquiries as to where they found the gold, and they all directed him to an elevated tract of land lying westward, at no great distance on the confines of their own country¹.

The testimony of Mr. Robert Dudley, who was afterwards knighted, is fully corroborative of the prevalent opinion of the abundance of gold in Guiana. Dudley arrived in Trinidad on the 1st of February, 1595, consequently several days previous to Sir Walter Raleigh's leaving England. He states that a party whom he sent to examine the Orinoco informed him, on their return, that an Indian chief gave them some plates of gold, and told them of "another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with gold, and seemed to be gilt." Robert Harcourt also furnishes evidence of the general belief of the abundance of gold in Cayenne; and though the reports of Sparrey and Keymis may be considered partial, and written in the interest of Raleigh, the same cannot be said of Dudley and Harcourt. The existence of auriferous regions in Guiana was attested by the latter, who observes, that Anthony Canabre an Indian brought him a piece of a "rocke of white sparre" which held both

¹ Select Letters of Columbus, translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by R. H. Major, Esq., pp. 121, 124.

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gold and silver¹. Nor are Raleigh and his contemporaries the only persons who assert that there is gold in Guiana. Baron d'Ouily received information from a Spaniard, towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, of the existence of ore in Guiana, and entered into a contract with some people from Zealand, in consequence of which some of the ore was brought to Holland, 120 lbs. of which contained $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of fine gold and one ounce of silver; a similar quantity of another kind contained more, others less, and some neither gold nor silver. Otto Kay, who mentions this in his 'Pertinente Beschryvinge van Guiana' (Amsterdam, 1676), says, that he conversed with Hendrick Harmensz, who commanded the soldiers near the mines, and who told him that they had been merely worked near the surface.

We have attempted to exculpate Raleigh from some of the gravest accusations of bad faith and gratuitous inventions that have been brought against him. Many remarks to a similar purpose will be found in the following pages, where passages in the body of the work have called forth the animadversions of the historians and biographers of this great man.

The pure and nervous style in which the 'Discovery of Guiana' is written imparts to it a lasting charm. Camden characterizes it as an elegant production; and it attracted such attention when it first appeared, that it was translated into the principal European languages. It may not be uninteresting to

¹ Robert Harcourt: 'A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana.' Edition of 1626, p. 53.