

*What if Maria Graham  
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Brazil in 1821? Female  
Travel Artbooks and  
Alternative History  
Hypotheses, a case study*

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# What if Maria Graham did not travel to Brazil in 1821? Female Travel Artbooks and Alternative History Hypotheses, a case study

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HYPOTHESIS  
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**Abstract.** Maria Graham was a woman-traveler during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, whose travelogues resulted from scientific readings, field research and keen objective perspective, especially regarding the time she spent at Brazil. Probing into the case study of Maria Graham, one approaches how Art, Art History, and History would alter without the awareness of the female travelogues as both art accomplishments and historical record. In particular, this work proposes to explore through interfacing with Alternative History hypotheses, to develop, deconstruct and weaving together a listed question/divergence points, while drawing a contemporary perception of this 19<sup>th</sup> century women-traveler Maria Graham.

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Keywords: Maria Graham; travelogues; alternative history; historical divergence location; art history records

## 1. Introduction

For a broader knowledge of this specific subject, we reflected about a sequence of doubts (in order to confirm hypothetical answers), drawing alternative resolutions/solving procedures that may enlighten the seized reality. The study-case concerns Maria Graham (1785-1842), the woman-traveller and her travelogue about Brazil in early 19<sup>th</sup> century – *for English to see...*<sup>1</sup> Following Graham's literary style, a sequence of questions is presented, expecting subsequent explanations of plausible [or maybe unlikely] terms. Here some examples by Graham's:

*How much more then, as was the case here, when they were hunted on their own grounds, where all the details, disgusting and iniquitous as they are, of the seeking, capturing, and bending to the yoke, pass under the eye till the heart grows callous to the cry of the orphan, the grief of the widow, and the despair of the parent in being torn from whatever has been dear to them? [1 p28].*

*Are the patriots wrong? They have put arms into the hands of the new negroes, while the recollection of their own country, and of the slave-ship, and of the slave-market, is fresh in their memory [1 p107].*

*Now I look on them tamely, or at best only as parts of the lovely landscape, which, just at sunset, the time we anchored, was particularly beautiful. Surely the few years added to my age have not done this? May I not rather hope, that having seen lands whose monuments are all history, and whose associations are all poetry, I have a higher taste, and more discriminating eye? [1 p158].*

*And what is truth? Surely not the mere outward acts of vulgar life; but rather the moral and intellectual perceptions by which our judgment, and actions,*

*and motives, are directed. Then, are the wanderings of Christiana and Mercy, and the sufferings of the shipwrecked mariner, true in the right sense of the word truth? True as the lofty creations of Milton, and the embodied visions of Michael Angelo; [1 p78].*

*As to the English, what can I say? They are very like all one sees at home, in their rank of life; and the ladies, very good persons doubtless [1 p167].*

*In that fight there will doubtless be danger to foreign property; but why not say so? why not say such is the case? However, the wisest of the sons of men in modern times \*, has long ago set in the second place those who could not afford to be open and candid in matters of business; so I may leave them alone [1 p18].*

*What may be the nature of the dust or sand that thus on the wings of the wind crosses so many miles of ocean, and stains the canvass? Can it be this minute dust affecting the lungs which makes us breathe as if in the sultry hours preceding a thunder-storm? [1 p324].*

According to *Alternative History* guidelines, an added wondering/wandering methodology seemed appropriated when developing this research. Doubts and questions were organized upon certainties and temporary probabilities from principles/motivations subsumed on introspective aesthetic (thinking and acting). This paper is structured upon an almost intrinsic causality line of questions. Hence a methodology of ideas/doubts/wondering and drift/wandering are subsumed. The order of questions follows a logic of aggregating nuclei – resulting from the dynamism of Graham's voyages, drawings and writings. Firstly, we considered:

- A personal approach to Brazilian context: heritage, art and culture (Fig. 1);
- Undertaking subject readings for transverse articulations;
- Graham's main biographical coordinates: essential aspects justifying further choices;
- Graham's chronology of written and visual work, identity topics and evidenced facts.

1 About this idiomatic phrase, see: Máira Guimarães Duarte Porto, *Para inglês ver: uma análise de Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, de Maria Graham*, Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 2017. [https://repositorio.unb.br/bitstream/10482/24444/1/2017\\_Ma%3adraGuim-ar%3a3esDuartePorto.pdf](https://repositorio.unb.br/bitstream/10482/24444/1/2017_Ma%3adraGuim-ar%3a3esDuartePorto.pdf)



Fig.1. Pier Mauá, 08.2011 (©Authors).

The main objectives consisted of: developing, deconstructing and weaving together the listed questions/ideas; drawing a contemporary perception of this 19<sup>th</sup> century women-traveler Maria Graham - a dialogue performed 200 years<sup>2</sup> after her arrival. Plausible enlightenment was found on writings by and about Graham's work, mainly by Brazilian and British authors.

**What if she had decided to lead a homely and predictable day to day life, taking a stylish nap after lunch or emphasizing her mastery in embroidered cochins?**

*Maria Dundas Graham, later Maria, Lady Callcott, accomplished a great feat. Her travelogue about Brazil has remained as an invaluable treasure chest of unmediated eye-witness chronicling combined with a sharp critical appraisal of unravelling events, and has long served as a primary source for numerous writers and historians [2].*

Maria was not a common traveling artist [Artista-Viajante<sup>3</sup>], unlike others fellow Europeans,

2 See Brazilian documentary *200 da Independência / Uma inglesa na Independência do Brasil: Maria Graham* at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFPOCAEUcT4>

3 "Traveling artists are those whose production is inexorably linked to the act of traveling; the drawings and paintings they make, with a clear documentary vocation, accompany displacements in space, discoveries of landscapes and human types." Translation from Brazilian website: <https://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/termo3778/artistas-viajantes>

that mainly reproduced picturesque assumptions of nature/landscape/figure iconographies.

Maria embarked as *The Captain's Wife* [3] in *His Majesty's Ship Doris* [1 p92] commanded by Thomas Graham, direction to Chile. In previous years she published travelogues about India and Italy. As a draftsman, Maria knew how to aim and register locations, life details and episodes:

*The events of the last three years in Brazil have been so important, that it was thought best not to interrupt the account of them, by continuing what may be called the writer's personal narrative after she reached Chile; therefore the two visits to Brazil are printed together, along with an Introduction containing a sketch of the history of the country previous to the first visit, and a notice of the public events of the year of her absence, to connect it with the second [1 pi].*

Maria's books resulted from scientific readings and field research, being illustrated by her drawings/engravings. Maria did not conceive an imaginary/idealized Brazil:

*[...] sometimes resort to a kind of conversion of the marvelous into the unusual, which accounts for a cultural model of perception of the natural world no longer of a vertical-ascensional type (of remission to the divine, to transcendence), but horizontal-rotating (referring to the human gaze in transit, of the voyage and discovery - of the journey, after all) [4 p126].*

She meant objectivity of facts as narrated in "Sketch of the History of Brazil" [1 p1-76], a synthesis including Portuguese History. Let us remark that Graham studied Portuguese language and was a Rio de Janeiro National Library's frequent consulter.

Graham presents a short review about the recent History of Portugal, emphasizing the consequences of Napoleonic Wars and the English “commitment”:

*When the narrator talks about the hostilities between France and Portugal in 1806, for example, she mentions the commitment of England to protect the Portuguese from the French, not without forgetting to emphasize the humanitarian side of the British, always concerned with the good of the nations. In the situation at that time, the English presented Portugal with some options for measures to be taken against France, such as help with money, food and even men from England to defend Portuguese territory [5].*

Maria’ status at Rio de Janeiro was recognized as interlocutor of British and Portuguese-Brazilian diplomats, aware of the historic relevant moments.

*As to public events, all that can be new in the Journal is the bringing together facts which have reached Europe one by one, and recording the impression produced on the spot by those occurrences which might be viewed in a very different light elsewhere. Some have, no doubt, been distorted by the interested channels through which they have reached the public; some by the ignorance of the reporters; and most by the party spirit which has viewed either with enthusiasm or malignity the acquisition of freedom in any quarter of the globe [1 p2].*

*It is with no small anxiety that the Journal is sent into the world, in the hope that it may tend to excite interest for the country by making it better known. Perhaps the writer has over-rated her powers, in attempting to record the progress of so important an event as the emancipation of such an empire from the thralldom of the mother country [1 p v].*

Maria knew the demand and value of her writings. Spite of Captain Thomas Graham’s death<sup>4</sup> before reaching Santiago of Chile, her research

persisted, accomplishing the *Journal of a Residence in Chile During the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823*.

## 2. Conjecturing [oneself]

### 2.1 Conjecturing [oneself] Departing Points

*What if one did not travel to Brazil?*

*What if one did not visit exhibitions such:*

- *O Brasil dos Viajantes*<sup>5</sup>, Centro Cultural de Belém (1995, Lisboa);
- *Panoramas – A paisagem brasileira no acervo do IMS*<sup>6</sup>, Instituto Moreira Sales (2011, Rio de Janeiro) (Fig.2);
- *Artistas Viajantes e o Brasil no séc. XIX*<sup>7</sup>, Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis (2006, Porto) (Fig.3);
- Frans Post’s paintings<sup>8</sup> (17<sup>th</sup> century), Museu de Arte São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand [MASP] (2010/2016, São Paulo);
- *Sala 2 – Os artistas viajantes*<sup>9</sup>, Pinacoteca (2016, São Paulo);
- *Coleção Brasileira Itaú*<sup>10</sup>, Itaú Cultural (2016, São Paulo);
- *The traveling Artists*, Mindlin Brasileira Library (2013, São Paulo).

4 “...and that the Journal, the writing of which has to her beguiled many a lonely and many a sorrowful hour, will not give a moment’s pain to any human creature” [1:vi].

5 See: *The Brazil of Travelers*. <https://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/evento220976/o-brasil-dos-viajantes>.

6 See: *Brazilian Landscape at IMS Collection* <https://ims.com.br/exposicoes-historico/rio-de-janeiro/>

7 See: *Traveling Artists and the 19<sup>th</sup> century’ Brazil*. <http://www.museusoaresdosreis.gov.pt/pt-PT/exposicoes/jarealizadas/ArchiveList.aspx?page=3> and <https://www.dn.pt/arquivo/2006/a-abertura-do-brasil-a-representacao-artistica-634623.html>

8 See: <https://masp.org.br/acervo/obra/paisagem-com-jiboia>

9 See: *Room 2- The Traveling Artists*. <http://pinacoteca.org.br/programacao/arte-no-brasil/>

10 See: <http://www.historiadasartes.com/sala-dos-professores/colecao-brasiliana-itaui/>



Fig. 2 Benjamin Mary, *Vue du Rio de Janeiro, 1835* - Panoramas – A paisagem brasileira no acervo do IMS/Rio de Janeiro, 09.2011 (©Authors).



Fig. 3 Benjamin Mary, *Vue du Rio de Janeiro, 1835*- *Artistas Viajantes e o Brasil no séc. XIX*, Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/Porto, 03.2006 (©Authors).

**What if, when researching about 20<sup>th</sup> century’ aesthetic cartographies – mental and imaginary charts – one would not travel backwards, reconstituting a map-list of 19<sup>th</sup> century artists-authors-travelers to Brazil and afterwards those journeying in Portugal?** The understanding of contemporary Brazilian and Portuguese traveling artists is illuminated, certainly, by the previous ones.

**What if one did not recognize how travelers-artists treasure memories and immaterial heritage for generations to be?**

## 2.2 Conjecturing [19<sup>th</sup> century travellers & Maria Graham]

*I wish I had the talent of novel writing, for the sake of this slave’s story; but my writing, like my drawing, goes no farther than sketching from nature, and I make better artists welcome to use the subject [1 p198].*

### 2.2.1 Regarding Graham’s personal experiences and field research

**What if women-writers did not have inner impulse to overcome challenges and accomplish**

**their voyages?**

**What if they did not publish outstanding volumes, anticipating future concerns/dilemmas?**

Since the beginning Graham desired to share her points of view with British audience:

*The writer does not pretend to perfect impartiality, for in some cases impartiality is no virtue; but knowing that no human good can be attained without a mixture of evil, she trusts that a fair picture of both has been given, although it has cost some pain in the writing [1 p2-3].*

*Although the Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and of a residence of many months in that country, was not written without a view to publication at some time; yet many unforeseen circumstances forced the writer to pause before she committed it to press, and to cancel many pages recording both public and private occurrences [1 p2].*

*In Graham’s case, she was writing about Brazil for an English audience at a time when the discussion about the abolition of slavery was growing in Britain. In addition, at this time, European eyes turned to the new continent due to the independence that took place there [6].*

Most of 19<sup>th</sup> century’ women-travellers had their memoirs publishing postponed. Unlike them, Maria prised heterogeneous’ editions: travelogues, Botany, History, Art History books and Infant Literature, richly illustrated (Fig.4).

PLATES.

PLATE I. Val Longo, or Slave Market at Rio . . . . . to front the Title Page.  
 II. represents the Great Dragon Tree of Orstava, of which Humboldt has given so interesting an account. He saw it in all its greatness; I drew it after it had lost half its top. . . . . to face Page 85  
 III. View of Count Maurice’s Gate at Pernambuco, with the Slave Market . . . 107  
 IV. Gamella Tree at Bahia . . . . . 185  
 V. Larangeiras . . . . . 163  
 VI. View from Count Hoggendorp’s Cottage . . . . . 170  
 VII. View of Rio from the Gloria Hill . . . . . 169  
 VIII. Corcovado, from Botofogo . . . . . 220  
 IX. Palace of San Cristovão . . . . . 246  
 X. Dona Maria de Jesus . . . . . 292  
 XI. English Burial Ground . . . . . 307

VIGNETTES.

I. That at the head of the Journal, page 77, represents two young Dragon Trees : that with a single head is twenty years old, and had not, when I saw it, been tapped for the Dragon’s Blood. The other is about a century old, and the bark is disfigured by the incisions made in it to procure the gum . . . . . to face Page 77  
 II. Part of Pernambuco, seen from Cocoa-nut Island, within the Reef . . . 97  
 III. Slaves dragging a Hoghead in the Streets of Pernambuco . . . . . 131  
 IV. Cadeira, or Sedan Chair of Bahia . . . . . 133  
 V. Church and Convent of Sant Antonio da Barre at Bahia, as seen from the Roça . . . . . 157  
 VI. The Sugar-loaf Rock, at the Entrance to the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro . . 158  
 VII. The End of an Island in the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro, drawn for the sake of the variety of Vegetation . . . . . 201  
 VIII. Convicts carrying Water at Rio de Janeiro . . . . . 217  
 IX. Stone Cart at Rio de Janeiro . . . . . 321

Fig. 4 - Graham’s Brazilian Travelogue: List of Images and Illustrations [1].

**What if Maria Graham did not have steady opinions about foreign issues?**

Issues regarding social and ethical conditions seized her attention when facing harsh human circumstances such slavery, behavior patterns and human rights.

She did not content herself on admiring nature and landscape or enjoying European people advantages abroad. Nevertheless, she reconceiving surrounding beauty in drawings/ writings, as for Rio de Janeiro’s Guanabara Bay (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6).

The tradition of painted (and photographed) panoramas representing Brazilian following the coast line landscape was recurrent since the first artistic missions until nowadays. Among other studies of “circular panoramas of Rio de Janeiro”: Chamberlain’s (1818); Felix Emile Taunay (1822); William John Burchell’s (1825); Emeric Essex Vidal (1828) and Sunqua (1830) [7 p164].

2.2.2 Evoking natural beauty

Departing from England, Graham’s voyage in-



Fig. 5 Guanabara Bay seen from Hotel Gloria, 09.2004 (©Authors).

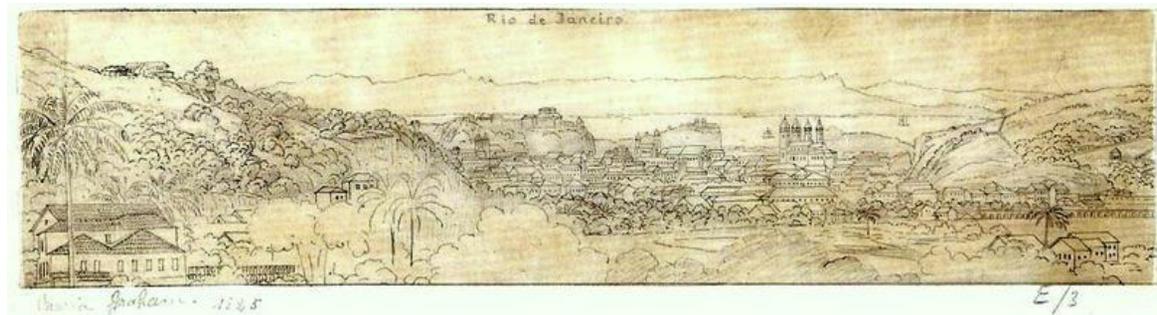


Fig. 6 Maria Graham - Rio de Janeiro (1825)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maria\\_Graham\\_-\\_Rio\\_de\\_Janeiro\\_\(1825\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maria_Graham_-_Rio_de_Janeiro_(1825).jpg)

cluded a stop at Funchal (Madeira Island). Hence she remembered the first face-to-face with Portuguese people, twelve years before:

*The land is high and rocky, but near the town there is a good deal of verdure, and higher up on the land, extensive woods; a considerable quantity of wine is made there, which, being a little manufactured at Funchal, passes for true Madeira. As usual in Portuguese colonial towns, the church and convent are very conspicuous. When we passed Porto Santo, and the Desertas, and anchored in Funchal roads, I was disappointed at the calmness of my own feelings, looking at these distant islands with as little emotion as if I had passed a headland in the channel [1 p78].*

Graham confessed:

*Now I look on them tamely, or at best only as parts of the lovely landscape, which, just at sunset, the time we anchored, was particularly beautiful. Surely the few years added to my age have not done this? May I not rather hope, that having seen lands whose monuments are all history, and whose associations are all poetry, I have a higher taste, and more discriminating eye? [1 p78].*

She applied a detailed literary gaze; achieved a balance between what she saw and thought; accomplished a literary parallel between personal writing and objective description of facts/episodes, figures/people and various heritage typologies. Throughout the audience is guided towards a vivid appropriation of sequences. In a certain sense, travel literature involves illustrated descriptions forward and rewind, as for a proto-cinematographic decision. Sometimes, the pause is prolonged through the suspension of outsider actions. Similar literary strategies exist in other nineteenth century travelogues. Her writing is either quiet or dynamic, depending upon the facts, certainly intending to fulfil the methodological principles guiding the research.

### 2.2.3 Landscape, nature and villages

Though Graham privileged socio-historical narratives she enlightened writing with natural landscape views, beautifully analysed with mentions to painters such Claude [Lorrain], Poussin, Salvator Rosa; she knew how to relate their aesthetic with the presently seen:

*The soldiers were standing or lying around, and their arms piled by them: they were just shadowed by tall trees behind, between whose trunks the scattered rays of the setting sun shed such a partial light as Salvator Rosa himself would not have disdained [1 p110].*

*The whole island abounds in gay shrubs and gaudy flowers\*, where the humming-bird, here called the beja flor or kiss-flower, with his sapphire wings and ruby crest, hovers continually, and the painted butterflies vie with him and his flowers in tints and beauty. The very reptiles are beautiful here. The snake and the lizard are singularly so, at least in colour [1 p124].*

*[Bahia] Thursday, 18<sup>th</sup>. – (...) Sometimes we went through thick wild wood into bushy hollows; then emerged on clear lawns, sprinkled with palm trees, through which country-houses, farms, and gardens were seen; and from every eminence, the bay, the sea, or the lake, formed part of the scene" [1 p135].*

Graham's *Journal* was published (1824) and six months after she travelled back to Rio de Janeiro, living there until 1825. Some episodes of the 2<sup>nd</sup> journey are mentioned in her Correspondence, namely with the Empress Leopoldina. She referenced situations, facts under historical, socio-political [8] or anthropological focus, also in Feminist Studies context.

### 2.2.4 Slavery

*What if she had not travel so much?* Would she be aware of racism - Pernambuco and Bahia - and express such broad mind?

*During this period, the discussion on the abolition of slavery was gaining ground in England [Griffin, Emma. Liberty's daw (2)] and the disputes for independence in Latin America aroused British interest, as its market would open up [Barman J. Roderick. Brazil the forging of a nation (3)] – and there would be no more interference from the European metropolis. Would the author, then, have taken advantage of these discussions to write a book whose central theme was freedom, of slaves and colonies? [9 p11].*

In last decades' thesis about Maria Graham and European travellers persisted in Brazilian Academy, focusing social/racial situation at Bahia [10, 11].

*Their voyage abounded with events along the coast of Brazil (Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro), which she diligently recorded and illustrated. There were various interruptions to the journey HMS Doris as events hailing the forthcoming independence of Brazil unravelled [2].*

Waldemar Valente (1956) wrote about Maria's sojourn at Pernambuco. The 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1821 [1 p97], when she arrived, a complex socio-political stronghold against absolutism was going on:

*Pernambuco had political characteristics quite different from the Brazilian set and without going back further, it is impossible not to bear in mind the reference to the 1817 revolution. (...) This polarization would naturally emerge in full force with the new political conditions created by the Porto revolution [12 p378].*

Maria felt severely distressed in Bahia, when confronted with slavery heartless evidences, such as the Slave Market - *Gate & Slave Market at Pernambuco*, August Earle [1 p106-107].

England was also against slavery, as it wanted to expand its consumer markets, and, in addition to slaves not having the purchasing power to buy, their masters also had their purchasing

power impaired, since a slave was extremely expensive. Furthermore, with the Industrial Revolution, the British had even more products to sell. [1 p5-6].

Graham's *Journal* included E. Finden's engraving (after August Earle coloured painting) showing a scene at Rio de Janeiro's Slave Market. Earle travelled to Brazil in 1818, living there four years. Bell (2014) in footnote n.27, let us know that:

*Several of Earle's sketches representing aspects of slavery were reproduced in M. Graham, Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There during the Years 1821, 1822, 1823, London, 1824 [14 p63].*

Other drawings by Earle are also included as illustrations in the book (See 1871:612). Maria Graham arrived in Brazil in January 1823, remaining there for nine months; this drawing was given to the British Museum by Maria's second husband, Augustus Wall Callcott, and Earle therefore presumably gave it to Maria. Leonard Bell has noted that although Earle did exhibit at the Royal Academy, his work was primarily seen and known as reproduced as illustrations to books [15 p1].

*Scores of these poor creatures are seen at different corners of the streets, in all the listlessness of despair and if an infant attempts to crawl from among them, in search of infantile amusement, a look of pity is all the sympathy he excites. (...) They have put arms into the hands of the new negroes, while the recollection of their own country, and of the slave-ship, and of the slave-market, is fresh in their memory [1 p107].*

Graham's 1<sup>st</sup> arrival in Brazil was the 21<sup>st</sup> September 1821, not in January 1823. During her 2<sup>nd</sup> journey, Maria devoted herself to *botanical species in Brazil* research [16] for the *Herbal Scripture*, she published afterwards. Her notes and drawings on Brazilian species influenced botanic knowledge:

*She quite literally extracted natural-history knowledge in service of European imperial agendas during her time in Brazil and Chile (1821–25). As independence movements swept through Latin America, she capitalized upon the shifting terrain to explore the freedoms and constraints that she encountered as a female naturalist [17].*

*When the opportunity arose to cross the Atlantic on a ship captained by her first husband, Thomas Graham, she immediately began packing drawing materials, tools, and illustrated books to aid identification, such as Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón's *Flora Peruviana et Chilensis* (1798-1802). En route, she sketched a flying fish that had presumably leapt onto the deck of the ship as she omnivorously explored the natural world [17].*

### 3. People and Protagonists

**What if she was not acquainted with such relevant interlocutors?** Would their lives be different?

*July 23d. —I had for some time promised to paint a sketch of San Cristovão for the Empress, and to-day I resolved to carry her. So I went, and on my way breakfasted at my good friend the Viscondeça do Rio Seco's; I then proceeded to the palace, and went up first to enquire after the Emperor's health: while I was writing my name, he, having perceived me arrive from the window, politely sent to say he would see me, and accordingly I was ushered into the presence-chamber by the Viador Don Luiz da Ponte; there I saw ministers and generals all in state [1 p263].*

Graham shared her first feelings regarding when living at the Palácio de São Cristovão, after being welcomed by the Emperor and Empress:

*I will never forget the pleasure of my first morning, when opening my windows instead of the noise and the dirt of the city, I saw the beautiful gardens of the palace and the coffee plantations that lined the mountains of Tijuca, and I felt the aroma of the orange blossoms, brought by every breath of the morning breeze [18 p105].*

### 3.1 Regarding Maria Graham's friendship with the **Empress Dona Leopoldina**

The Empress was an Austrian, a foreign princess, in the Court she was known as “the foreigner” and Maria as “a second foreigner [...] as for none Portuguese lady was competent enough to instruct the princesses” [18 p29]. It is understandable that since the beginning a certain empathy raised between the two women:

*At first she used to send for me to her apartment, but as we could not stay there without companions, whose narratives of the familiarity with which she treated me excited violent jealousy among the ladies, she preferred, after three or four days, that I stay afterwards. from dinner in my own room until she could look for me [18 p119].*

Maybe Graham's sudden leaving from the Court was a strategy to keep the Empress under the Portuguese ladies' control because they felt Graham' presence as a menace [18 p169-188]. Both women – Graham and the Empress had common intellectual interests and shared knowledge, unlike the other female protagonists that identified the British woman traveller as a threaten.

*Dona Leopoldina was cultured and had an interest in botany and mineralogy, while her husband and her brother-in-law Dom Miguel were described as “genuine and complete representatives of a characteristically national nobility, uneducated, illiterate, bullfighter, fadista, dissipated, rowdy” [19 p173].*

*The House of Habsburg traditionally opted for the conquest of territories through marriages, and their princesses were created to fulfil their political functions. Therefore, they obtained a high degree of teaching in numerous subjects, such as history, geography, foreign languages, literature, painting, music, mineralogy and botany [20 p759-760].*

Surely it is ambiguous the approach towards the Imperial Couple and closest family, depend-

ing on which side the observer was placed. At first, and considering the 1<sup>st</sup> *Journal* (1824) Graham’s expressed quite an admiration towards all of them. Later, as it will be mentioned, her endorsement would change – *Escorço biográfico de Dom Pedro* (1834-1835), regarding the Emperor and in benefit of the higher praising to Dona Leopoldina

6th. —We had three days of public rejoicing, on account of the taking of Maranhã; and on Friday, as I happened to be at the palace to show some drawings to the Empress, I perceived that the Emperor’s levee was unusually crowded [1 p316].

She [Maria Graham] collected plants near her home in Rio de Janeiro as well as on scientific expeditions into the surrounding rainforests arranged by Maria Leopoldina, who shared her passion for botany [14].

After nine months in residence, Graham was forced to leave and return to Brazil, which had just proclaimed independence from Portugal that same year in 1822. In Rio de Janeiro, she befriended Maria Leopoldina of Austria, Empress consort of Brazil, who invited Graham to serve as her daughter’s governess [14].

And how did one favourite lover of the Emperor Dom Pedro I, Domitilia, wickedly confabulated with the palace coterie to dismiss Maria from her assignment in a bid to control Dom Pedro’s wife, Empress Leopoldina, her intellectual friend? [2]

In *Maria Graham’s Correspondence with Empress Dona Leopoldina and Letters Attached* (1997), we learn about the close relationship that Graham had with the Portuguese crown, Emperor Pedro I and especially with Empress Leopoldina, who will be for the traveller a woman of reference, and that will put Graham close to the recognition and social status, to which she believes she belongs [6 p6].

### 3.2 Regarding Emperor Dom Pedro I:

Hasse [16 p174] quoting Akel believe that Graham’s last volume related to her residence in Brazil – a kind of 3<sup>rd</sup> *Journal*, is mainly an autobiographic issue: “The third part of the diary would therefore be the narrative dictated to Lady Caroline Fox between 1834 and 1835, which comprises the period between September 1824, with Graham’s installation in the Imperial Palace, and September 1825, when she leaves Brazil to return to England” [16 p174].

Graham decided to write Dom Pedro biography (Fig.7) after his dead in September 1824, although she was fragile, taken by tuberculosis. She had no strength to write, so she asked her friend to register her narrative.

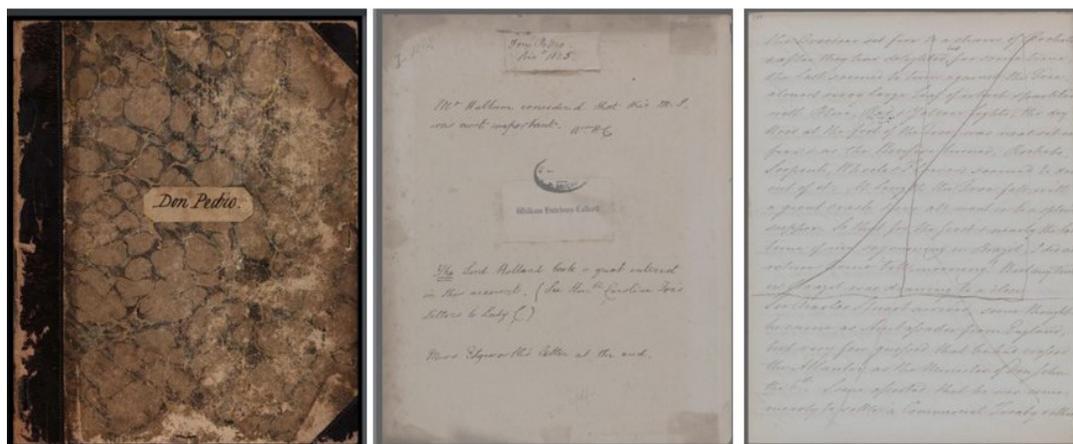


Fig. 7 Graham’s Manuscript – Dom Pedro biography.

**What if she did not aim to publish Dom Pedro's biography?** But she considered, at the Introduction, that those writings may be read by the audience. She wished to tell the truth about the Imperial Couple, though it would not be agreeable to Dom Pedro mystic social and monarchic impact.

*The manuscript is also a relevant document for the biographies of Leopoldina, Dom Pedro I and his lover, Domitila de Castro, according to the respective books by Paulo Rezzutti (2017; 2015; 2013) on these historical figures [19 p172].*

At Palacio de São Cristovão, Dom Pedro sited for the portrait that Graham painted of him:

*The Emperor was in a small inner room, where were his piano, his shooting apparatus, &c.; he was in an undressed cotton jacket with his arm in a sling, but looking well, although thinner and paler than formerly: he sent for the little picture, with which he seemed much pleased; and after speaking for some time very politely in French, I made my courtesy and retired [1 p263].*

Lately, after returning to England, in her late years, Maria wrote Dom Pedro I biography. The manuscript was bought in 1938 by Rodolfo Garcia, Rio de Janeiro National Library's director, then translated by Américo Jacobina Lacombe and published in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 60 published in 1938 [18]. The Correspondence between Graham and the Empress Leopoldina (Fig.11) was issued in Brazil [58], included in the volume concerning D. Pedro's biography.

*Comparing the manuscript with the Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, published by the same author in 1824, it is argued that the 1824 diary represents Dom Pedro as a politician and statesman, while his biographical sketch, published posthumously, reveals the cruelty, possessiveness and Dom Pedro's perversity from the detailed description of his marriage to Dona Leopoldina, who became a friend of Callcott [19 p170].*

Cecília Costa [18 p8] highlights that Maria Graham revealed noteworthy details of day-to-day life at the Paço (Imperial Palace): intrigues instigated by the Emperor's mistresses, Domitília de Castro, Marquise de Santos, leaded Graham to resign as governess of the future Queen Maria II. In a letter addressed to Georg Anton Schaffer (October 1826) shortly before dying, Leopoldina compared the Brazilian Marquise to French *Madames de Pompadour* and *de Maintenont* – respectively mistresses of Louis XV and Louis XIV. Costa [18] considers:

*Without Maria Graham's habit of journaling and recording her every step and feelings on trips abroad, such as also without her affection for the empress, much of this information would not have reached us. It was undoubtedly the consideration for Leopoldina one of the main reasons that led the English writer to fill herself with strength, even sick, to write what happened of painful and sinister in the Palace in 1824 and in 1825, that is, until he returned to England [18 p13].*

Graham did not hide her appreciation towards Dona Leopoldina, recognizing her upper education, cultural and scientific interests and knowledge. Differently from most of the people that surrounded the imperial family.

### 3.3 Regarding **Princess Maria da Glória**, future Queen Maria II:

Graham faced a hard task, regarding Princess Maria da Glória education, recognizing different manners and sort of an “untamed” characters [63].

Graham lasted only few months as the Princess' governess, therefore her influence was brief. Moreover, Graham's friendship with Empress D. Leopoldina was significant in such dramatic period of life. She mourns Graham's departure, though their correspondence lasted until her premature dead. According to Neves [19 p175] following Regina Akel [*apud* Neves] the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Journal* presents a

Graham's different profile and literary style:

*For Graham's biographer, there is also, in the second diary, a reduction in descriptions of picturesque landscapes and nature to portray the "events that occur within four walls", because Graham begins to circulate, probably because of her close friendship with Lord Cochrane, in court environments. In contrast to this second part, in the Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro, there is a more omniscient narration, which allows greater "freedom to manipulate the action, interpret the motives of the other characters and control the textual chronologies" [19 p174].*

Furthermore, soon she noticed that it was Dom Pedro who choose educational terms and approved the final decisions, not Dona Leopoldina (Fig. 8):

*It was the one who hired and fired handmaids and educators, as well as enforcing the rules as to the education of children, as, for example, that maids should prevent princes from taking one another's toys. To the exasperation of D. Leopoldina, it was he who had hired and got rid of the former governess of d. Maria da Glória, the English Maria Graham. The princess's governess would dedicate a book to her, Escorço biográfico de D. Pedro I, full of sorrows and resentments [20 p41].*

The approach to the princess, initially, developed easily, seeming to emerge a certain empathy between them. Graham describes Maria da Glória's spontaneous and unpredictable character, her dynamism and simplicity to enjoy the little things of everyday life:

*She [Princess Maria da Glória] was extremely delighted in the afternoons to go to my book room and be allowed to look for pictures. Once, after seeing on the globe the size of Brazil compared to Portugal, I could hardly contain her, so eager was she to show this wonderful difference to all the ladies who stayed on my floor, which she had gathered for that end [20 p111].*

Maria da Glória showed forms of relationship with people of manifest disregard, failure of notions of civility and ignoring little humanitarian recognition:

*She had always been accustomed not only to having little black slaves to play with and beat and harass with, but to treat a little white girl, the daughter of one of the ladies, in the same way [20 p111].*

Nevertheless, Graham tried to change the Princess' reacting attitudes and began to be successful:

*I saw its fruit at least the first time the Princess had her playmates. I could hear her, as usual, screaming*



Fig. 8 Letter from Leopoldina do Maria Graham accepting her as her daughter's governess.

[http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo\\_digital/div\\_manuscritos/bndigital2463/bndigital2463.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_manuscritos/bndigital2463/bndigital2463.pdf)

*very and angry when talking to them. I went straight to the group and looked at her. I saw that her face had become exceedingly red and that she was on the point of letting passion dominate her. In she suddenly came to her senses, dropped her outstretched arms and, running to me, said happily: "I have not behaved now like a Lady or a Princess."* [20 p113].

Graham expressed her judgement about Dom Pedro character and attitudes towards his wife and children: "In addition, the traveller comments - and often criticizes - the education of the princesses, the political situation in Brazil and narrates her life as an educator in Paço de São Cristóvão and, after that period, when she returned to live in Rio de Janeiro for almost a year. Year" [19 p173]. Although Graham's stay lasted only a few months, it was enough to identify the circumstances, being aware of the hidden strata-gems moved at Court, having witnessed the aftermath. On the other hand: "To the credit of the French ambassador, the real reason for Graham's dismissal would be the fact that she meddles in political matters. D. Mariana would also interfere later on, but d. Pedro I, from exile, could only beg him with a curse" [20 p41].

*Some historians, I believe, because they have not read, or misread, the Foreshortening existing in the Library, usually write that Maria Graham would have exercised for months, perhaps a year, that privileged function, when, in reality, she remained only a little over a month in San Cristobal. He arrived at the palace on September 5, 1824 and left before Pedro's birthday, that is, October 12, 1824, having returned to live on Rua dos Pescadores (his last residence in Rio in 1823, home of an English friend), due to disagreements with the Portuguese clique in Paço [18 p10].*

*On 30 Jan 1825, Maria Graham writes to Hooker from Laranjeiras, a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, reporting that her engagement "in the palace" is over and she is uncertain how long she will remain. She will do her best regarding seeds and plants for Hooker, who was gathering interest-*

*ing specimens for his first major publication, Exotic Flora (1822-1827). (...) Graham had determined to remain in Chile and travelled to Brazil where she was engaged by the Emperor as a tutor for his daughter Princess Maria da Gloria, later Queen of Portugal and the Algarves. Graham's appointment did not last long; perhaps the courtiers feared that she wished to Anglicize the Princess [21].*

Graham lasted only few months as the Princess' governess, therefore her influence was brief. Moreover, Graham's friendship with Empress D. Leopoldina was significant in such dramatic period of life. She mourns Graham's departure, though their correspondence lasted until her premature death. According to Neves [19 p175] following Regina Akel, the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Journal* presents a Graham's different profile and literary style:

*For Graham's biographer, there is also, in the second diary, a reduction in descriptions of picturesque landscapes and nature to portray the "events that occur within four walls", because Graham begins to circulate, probably because of her close friendship with Lord Cochrane, in court environments. In contrast to this second part, in the Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro, there is a more omniscient narration, which allows greater "freedom to manipulate the action, interpret the motives of the other characters and control the textual chronologies" [19 p174].*

From 1821 until 1825 many events took place and Graham's presence in Brazil assumed several roles and witnessed many compromised and delicate situations. Another reading of her travelogue can drive us towards a psychosocial drawing profile of hers and of those whom she met, namely the famous Lord Cochrane – a mercenary involved with Chile independence [19 p171] – mentioned by Graham along the *Journal*. So, it is noticeable that as a writer, Graham wanders from a more poetic and aesthetic point of view, towards an almost journalistic sharing of data and opinions, inserting a balance between subjectivity and more objective posture – when compar-

ing the main guidelines of the writing paradigms, not only of the 1<sup>st</sup> *Journal* (1824), but also considering the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Journal of a Voyage to Chile and Brazil...* (1826) and, finally, the *Escorço biográfico de Dom Pedro* (published only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century).

#### 4. What if...: Systematization of the divergent points

We have travel with Maria Graham through hypothesis-driven narratives of how different her life could have been., and how different our knowledge would have been if her records and art had not been preserved. And this hypothesis can be discriminated in three groups.

*What if...*

- she decided to lead a homely and predictable day to day life, taking a stylish nap after lunch or emphasizing her mastery in embroidered cochins?
- one did not travel to Brazil?
- she had not travel so much? Would she be aware of racism - Pernambuco and Bahia - and express such broad mind?

These *what if...* point to the personal choice to perspective the world beyond the possibilities of a homely and predictable daily existence, and are clearly the aspect that, would they had been different, Graham's production in books and art would likely had been nonexistent.

*What if...*

- she did not aim to publish Dom Pedro's biography?
- Maria Graham did not have steady opinions about foreign issues?

This second group focus a different hypothesis-driven narrative. Graham could have travel all that she actually did but without further interest in expanding her possibilities in literature or art, or even not reflecting, and centering her values in a grounded perspective about the problems and issues of her time. These are clearly divergent possibilities that would have barred Graham

from publishing, for example.

*What if...*

- she was not acquainted with such relevant interlocutors? Would their lives be different?

Finally, two hypothesis that are in fact one and that link Graham's life path with those that crossed her way. The divergence is taken from her life into the lives of others.

#### 5. Postfatio

As the presented and developed above Maria Graham contribute is amplified and diverse. It aims either public as private issues and facts addressed to her contemporary fellows' citizens in England and Brazil – although differently. One should not forget the present impact of Graham's analytical criticism and "quite wise" reflections – based upon data and also personal advices – reflects broader political and social convictions and cultural stereotypes though she ambitioned to surpass some items she recognized as outrageous (slavery) and/or outdated. Surely, in Portugal, her voice did not echo at the same level it did in Brazil or England. The research ran along with ideological procedures, timeline privileged standards and strategic epistemological acting.

*Maria Graham, later Callcott, was according to one reviewer 'a perfect phenomenon in the history of woman'. [Review of Maria Graham, A Journal of a Residence in India, Theatrical Inquisitor, and Monthly Mirror, April 1813, pp. 159–60 (p. 159)]7 Variously described as 'intrepid' and 'undaunted', she was not to everyone's taste: Lady Holland, for example, sympathized with 'poor Callcott' on the announcement of their engagement. [David Blayney Brown, Augustus Wall Callcott (London: Tate Gallery, 1981), pp. 15–16.]8 Today, Maria is perhaps best known for her lively travel writing, thanks to her stays in India, Brazil, and Chile. [Carl Thompson, Journeys to Authority: Reassessing Women's Early Travel Writing, 1763–1862, Women's Writing, 24 (2017), 131–50]9 She first worked for John Murray*

*as a reader, translator, and author, with interests ranging from history to geology and botany, before focusing increasingly on art [22 p28].*

*Maria Graham should probably be regarded as the first woman to build a whole career specifically in the role of travel writer. While many women had, of course, published travelogues prior to Graham's debut publication in 1812, the overwhelming majority of these female travel writers produced just a single account. Graham published an unprecedented four travel narratives in the 1810s and 1820s, along with several related texts which in various ways consolidated her public persona as an accomplished traveler, and it was in this role that she was principally known to the public until she became equally famous as a writer of children's literature in the 1830s [23 p38].*

Although the focus of this “What if” around Maria Graham travels regards her Brazilian epopée, the earlier and afterwards journeys enlighten her methodology on writing and drawing and the legate towards new knowledge's on different heritage typologies, material and immaterial: nature and landscape, architecture and art, people and humanist criticism. As other emblematic writers and thinkers, we would not have accessed the revealed gazes about the world she lived in. Even her contemporaries developed critic values on Graham's role in her lifetime and furthermore. On the other hand, what extend and consequences did/does her work attain?

She anticipated a model charisma, a women writer that inaugurated a long-lasting travelogue career, being followed by others in the Victorian Era.

Surely, Brazil would arise as a free territory, even if Maria Graham had never travelled, so-journed or written about its people and social anthropologic standards, beauty of nature and landscape or various socio-political facts and events.

The Emperor would not give up on his lover Marquesa de Santos, the Empress would regrettably still be oppressed by grief and Princess Maria da Glória would look after the Portuguese Crown in Portugal anyway, overcoming the exile of the

Royal Family in Brazil.

Costa (2010:7) remind the relevance of the heritage that Brazil as a country, received from Maria Graham, after other academicians previously had recognised, such Oliveira Lima (*Dom João VI no Brasil*, 1906) or Gilberto Freyre (*Casa Grande e Sanzala*, 1933), whom quoted Graham several times in his historic romance, using her information:

*among the British portraitists of our people there were two English women. Almost two novelists: one good, one bad. The bad one was a Mrs. Kindersley, who was here in the 17th century; the good one – excellent, even, for her acumen and objectivity – was Maria Graham, who got to know Brazil at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and portrayed it in pages that are still fresh today [18 p8].*

Everything would have happened the same but differently. One person would be missing in this people's life: live observations and thoughts would not be shared; social meetings, *conversation pieces*, dramatic episodes and facts would not be witnessed or fewer described or enlightened.

## 6. Invited Lecture f2f Session Insight

These reflections were presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference of ‘Whatif?..’ World History, in 25<sup>th</sup> November 2021<sup>11</sup>. The importance of access to records, of the need to study directly in the sources and not only in the academic production, as a cause to fight the invisibility of women-travellers and artists was one of the aspects that marked the conversation.

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The presentation can be viewed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bDVL14oi2NA>

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