Racial Hierarchy and the Representations of Brazilians, 1500-1870

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Historiography

The maps and images produced by the first explorers to Brazil conveyed a very clear message, showing the naked inhabitants living in a state of nature, surrounded by Edenic bounty, and so they were instantly perceived to be inferior to civilized, urban, Europeans. By the time the technological and political environment changed enough to allow British and Americans travelers, scientists, and explorers to fully exploit the nation and its people in the mid nineteenth century, scientific thought had also evolved into a profession with an established set of rules for discussing and presenting subjects of research. These established Western notions of science and classification were applied to Brazilians and used to rank and classify human beings as a way to justify British and Americans’ own belief in their racial and cultural superiority.

The classification of people in Brazil did not emerge immediately with the first landing of Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500. Rather, initial impressions were slowly sent back to Europe by sailors and explorers, which were then distributed to a mostly illiterate population through visual representations in maps. Visual language was, and still is, much more widely understood than written languages, and often the same plates were used to create a basic map for a variety of European audiences. Furthermore, when written text was added to maps, it was often in multiple languages. For this reason, maps in multiple languages dating from approximately 1530 to 1737 will be examined. These first impressions created a very simple classification, directly separating the native peoples of the Americas as distinct and different, as “Others” when compared to the European observer.

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Concurrently, this period also saw the spread of the printing press and increased literacy in Northern Europe and England, a population of central focus in this study. Between 1500 and 1800, literacy in England jumped from roughly 6 percent of the population to 53 percent.\(^2\) This development, coupled with technological improvements that made travel to Brazil much easier in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, make it increasingly important to consider the value of written travel narratives as important sources of information on Brazil. Along with maps, this study will then also examine nineteenth century travel narratives, or travelogues, written in English. Travelogues prior to this century constitute only a “trickle,”\(^3\) with many more written after 1850 and the rise of steamships for travel. While this may appear to hamper efforts to understand the racial classification of Brazilians by Europeans, as Charles Granville Hamilton notes of English language travel narratives of Brazil between 1850 and 1887, “[w]e do not reduce the number greatly when we limit ourselves to those who wrote in the English language.”\(^4\) Furthermore, this is the time period when science begins to formalize as a profession, and so debates over the proper way to classify humans become more common. Scholars have tended to begin their research around this time because it is when the travel texts and scientific treatises about Brazil begin to appear in the historical record, but it neglects the long history of representing the Brazilians that is evident in maps. Only by studying both maps and travel narratives over a longer time period can one view the changing forms of


representation that convey and deepen the idea of Brazilian racial inferiority as portrayed by the English-speaking British and American observers.

In order to understand this enduring power of representation, it is necessary to first consider the power of discourse, and how it shaped people’s thoughts, attitudes, and patterns of communication. Michel Foucault’s essay, “The Order of Discourse,” along with his book, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, are two important texts that define discourse and instruct how to apply its principles of deconstruction to the study of historical texts. While these sources are very useful, they do not necessarily help one to confront the different kinds of challenges presented when attempting to understand the visual language of maps. However, *Visual Methodologies* by Gillian Rose provides numerous strategies for interpreting the dense meaning contained in pictorial representations. Together, these works help to provide the philosophy underpinning the argument. They show how representations, both visual and textual, have a strength that can exert subtle influences over the viewer/reader.

Discourse analysis as a concept then must be applied to specific texts in order to deconstruct their meanings. One way to accomplish this is to examine a specific genre of texts and evaluate the kinds of conventions that structured their representations and findings. For example, Sara Mills, in her work *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*, examines the discourse evident in women’s travel writing to gain a sense of how the strictures of imperialism shaped how they could present themselves as travelers, as well as their writings. Roy Bridges, in “Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720 – 1914),” also analyzes the discursive boundaries of travel writing and the assumptions about the world it made during this period. As a
popular form of literature often based on firsthand observation and enjoyed for both its informational and entertainment value, travel writing was in a unique position to both claim authority and disperse ideas about the people inhabiting the different destinations of traveler-authors to a very wide audience. The fact that a travel narrative’s author may have been a scientist, a businessman, or a diplomat, would indicate that they were writing for different audiences and had different goals for their work. It also could shape each text according to slightly different conventions within the travel writing genre.

The study of imperial discourse is another major theory attempting to understand the connection between European representations of distant peoples and their subsequent relations. Imperial discourse, or colonial discourse as it is also called, is perhaps best defined by Peter Hulme in his book *Colonial Encounters*. He defines it as “the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery.”

Through applying the ideas of discourse analysis to the various documents produced by encounters between the colonizer and the colonized, the reader can seek to understand some of these overlapping ideas. It can also shed some light on how the two groups interacted. However, since Europeans and other representatives of imperial power produced nearly all of the documents, they can only really express the colonizers' impressions of dominated peoples. Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing*

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and Transculturation,\textsuperscript{6} and David Spurr in \textit{The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration}, prove how valuable this technique can be through their analysis of popular representations of the colonial “Other,” in such mediums as travel writing and journalism.\textsuperscript{7} Additionally, Edward W. Said’s book, \textit{Orientalism}, reveals the extra layers of meaning that can result from studying how the combination of European knowledge and power created a complex discursive structure for representing the foreign peoples of the “East” to the Europeans in the “West.”\textsuperscript{8} These works demonstrate how the classification of human beings was not a theoretical pursuit for many authors but intricately tied to the pursuit of empire.

In addition to a travel writing discourse, scientific discourse also formed a significant component of many maps and travel narratives. Maps, in particular, are within the sphere of scientific discourse since they are largely scientific productions and were intended to circulate scientific information. Scientific discourse changed dramatically over the period as the discovery of places like Brazil presented an imposing barrier to Renaissance conceptions of the world. William H. McNeill in the Introduction to Susan Danforth’s \textit{Encountering the New World: 1493 – 1800}, explains this challenge succinctly, noting that the discovery of the New World, along with its new peoples, caused revolutionary changes for European science and conceptions of the world.\textsuperscript{9} As Hayden White explains in \textit{Tropics of Discourse}, while traditional representations of the


\textsuperscript{7} David Spurr, \textit{The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration} (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).


mythic Other, like “the wild man,” were usually repeated about the natives of Brazil, this idea was complicated by the developing universalist approach to science. Numerous authors, notably Nina G. Jablonski in *Living Color: The Biological and Social Meaning of Skin Color*, argue for the immense impact of Carl Linnaeus and his system of binomial taxonomic classification on European science, enabling any person to be a naturalist and classify all biological life into a standard system. Frederick B. Pike in *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* details how this kind of scientific transformation was not limited to Europe, as American scientists and travelers came to share many of the same beliefs about the universality of science and the quest to dominate nature. The Mismeasure of Man by Stephen Jay Gould builds off of this narrative to show how “natural” the idea of ranking human beings was to both Europeans and Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. These works demonstrate that classification of human beings was not just a matter of describing attributes and placing each race hierarchically. Instead, intense scientific debates were fought over the basis for classification, whether human beings were one species or many, whether these racial differences were cultural or purely biological, and what this meant for British and American policies towards people of other races, like many of those in Brazil.

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All of these debates can be traced back to the first depictions of Brazilians in maps, where notions of their fundamental difference from Europeans and their natural inferiority are central themes. While the outline of the South American coast may have improved and new cities were added to the maps over time, this basic component of classification never changed. Importantly, early maps link Brazilian inferiority with a number of cultural and biological traits, which are easily readable in the images of the people. In this way, the maps served as visual ethnographies of the people of the New World, allowing Europeans to see what kinds of people lay across the Atlantic Ocean, and illustrating both what individuals and larger society looked like. Any observer, literate or not, could compare themselves and their countrymen with the naked savages living in Brazil, who could be seen cooking human body parts or reclining in hammocks. Difference, the essential basis of any classification system, is thus firmly established visually in the first maps of Brazil. The descriptive text that often accompanied the images of the maps also explained these differences and became increasingly important as more complex and informative ideas about Brazilians were communicated. Eventually, the two functions of visual and textual representation were further separated into maps and books of travel writing. As maps became more scientific and abandoned visual representations of people, travel writing also became more scientific and discussed foreign peoples in more systematic language. Interestingly, the initial, non-scientific representation of Brazilians that appeared in the early maps of the territory, and which were created by mapmakers who had never visited Brazil, match the later representations of Brazilians described by educated British and American travelers in their books. Travel writing and the richly described subjects of study it permitted, coupled with the
increasing professionalization of science, provided some new evidence, but most importantly a new language, to explain and express the obvious differences between white Europeans and darker races in Brazil.

At this intersection of European and American science with nature is where the classification of human beings according to race becomes more complex and meaningful. While it is clear that travelers had long denigrated the “Other,” science now provided the justification for doing so. Western technological improvements, along with their complex economies and ability to push back nature all highlighted British and Americans’ supposed biological superiority when compared to the technologically and socially backward Brazilians. British and American scientific ideas may have changed over the centuries from the first Portuguese landfall on Brazil up to the end of the nineteenth century, but the underlying ideas about their superiority had not.
Chapter 1 – Brazilians as “Others” – 1500 – 1700

Following Columbus’ encounter with the Americas, Europeans craved information about the new peoples and places across the Atlantic Ocean. Traditional sources of information about the world had failed to report these new continents and so new maps, along with detailed information about the lands and its peoples and products, were desperately needed. The truth about the world “was no longer to be sought primarily or exclusively in ancient, authoritative texts.”\(^\text{14}\) Even the standard authority on world geography, Claudius Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, handed down from the classical era and first translated into Latin in 1472, had not foreseen the Americas and had no information to offer despite its respected stature.\(^\text{15}\) Although this atlas provided pages of descriptions for each region in addition to maps, the Americas presented people, as well as some fauna, flora, and landscapes that were all very different from the European experience. These first expeditions to the Americas then needed to record and share their discoveries with their countrymen, however these explorers “were not careful observers, and had no vocabulary to describe what they saw accurately.”\(^\text{16}\) As a result, these heralds of the New World relied on the vocabulary that they did possess to best describe what they had seen. After Pedro Alvares Cabral became the first European to land in Brazil in 1500,\(^\text{17}\) these rough descriptions also came to include the Brazilian coast, where the lack

\(^{14}\) McNeill, introduction to *Encountering the New World: 1493-1800*, xix.
\(^{16}\) McNeill, introduction to *Encountering the New World: 1493-1800*, xix.
\(^{17}\) Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 31.
of substantial knowledge of the territory created room for the imagination, particularly in the interior of the continent.

While Brazil and Brazilians were new to Europeans, the tradition of attempting to represent unknown people and unexplored lands had existed for centuries. Europeans frequently presented those outside of their civilization as essential “Others,” who were different in every possible way. According to Said, the othering process depends on “this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerms in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand.”18 When discussing Brazilians, and the inhabitants of the Americas in general, the positional superiority of Europeans is also always evident. This relationship most often places the two peoples in opposition, with each representing a number of values or intrinsic characteristics. The Western, European or American observer, is defined as civilized or educated, or ascribed any number of other positive attributes, while the indigenous inhabitants are portrayed as savages, idolaters, cannibals, and generally inferior humans. David Spurr refers to this common discourse as “a universal binarism that derives ethical value from an entire series of polarities.”19 However, this kind of representational relationship was not invented with the European discovery of America but had a history as old as the first “historian,” the ancient Greek writer Herodotus,20 and had continued to inform depictions of the native inhabitants of the Americas, or Amerindians. Although many European accounts varied in time and in their exact location, the descriptions used for different people in Brazil retained a remarkable consistency. As Michel Foucault

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18 Said, Orientalism, 7.
notes, “Whenever between objects, types of statement, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity… we are dealing with a discursive formation.”

The European characterization of Brazilians can then be said to form such a discursive formation, or a specific set of beliefs and representations that crosses various European discourses.

The multiple discourses that define European representation of Brazilians at this time did not appear unexpectedly and fully formed but were instead subject to continual “regrouping and unification.” They may include separate but related discourses such as scientific discourse, travel writing and adventure discourse, and commercial discourse, that would have been reproduced in maps, atlases and books following the Portuguese claim to Brazil in 1500. Within this group of overlapping discourses, “It is possible to think of visuality as a sort of discourse too,” considering the impact that a single image can carry for the viewer. Gillian Rose states that “visual imagery is never innocent [and] it is always constructed through various practices, technologies and knowledges.”

Maps, as visual documents produced with the latest technology and containing the latest knowledge, then provide a unique perspective on the intersection of various discourses and the European construction of Brazilians. In addition to their value as scientific documents portraying an expanding world, they often also included “[e]xtensive embellishments with beasts, combining real and imaginary features, [which] heightened

the storytelling character; legends and myths collided with new perceptions.”

It is then clear that these maps cannot be taken purely as scientific documents interested only in indicating the outlines of the continents. They intended to communicate information about the lands shown in the maps, depicting the strange plants and animals that resided in these new lands, along with its inhabitants. Yet, “it was not usually the most intrinsically ‘correct’ or informative geographical representations that reached the public.” All of the images in maps could find their way into the public sphere through publishing and “as they become more and more a part of everyday life, they played a subtle but important role in the shaping of ideas about the world.”

Examining these maps can then reveal the features of European discursive formation representing Brazilians in the sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries.

Regardless of the factual truth of the images, their presentation of Brazilians confirmed their difference, yet still allowed Brazilians to be comprehensible to European audiences. For example, some of the earliest maps of the Americas continue the long tradition “universal binarism” and apply this principle to non-Europeans, depicting them as both a “fierce cannibal and noble savage – [which] has such obvious continuities with the classical Mediterranean paradigm.”

This continuity of representing the “Other” as elemental symbols of good and evil is evident in many of the early maps of Brazil. Their essential difference from Europeans is perhaps best exemplified in *Typus cosmographicus universalis*, a map created by Sebastian Münster in 1532. Although the

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28 Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, 47.
shape of South America appears more funnel-like than a modern observer may recognize, the location of modern day northern Brazil is marked by the word “Canibali.” Peter Hulme states that this word was originally derived from “a group of Caribs in the Antilles [and] through the connection made between that people and the practice of eating the flesh of their fellow-creatures.” The cannibal label fixed to the land of Brazil then places its inhabitants “on the very borders of humanity,” warning the observer what kinds of people live in these far off lands. This point is made even more explicit by the details in the corner of the map nearest to Brazil. In front of a crude lean-to shelter built of tree limbs, a number of nude natives are shown cutting up a dismembered body and roasting limbs over an open fire. The shelter also has a hand and a head hanging from different branches and is placed directly under a banner reading “Canibali.” In case any observer was unaware of what a “Canibali” was, the image makes their activities very clear. They are primitive humans who lack civilization, and not only eat people but display their limbs as trophies. They are to be seen as fundamentally different versions of humans, the antithesis to Europeans. While they cannot be “regarded as inhuman because if they were animals their behavior would be natural,” they are certainly not civilized, respectable human beings on an equal level with Europeans.

The Münster map also refers to another feature in European’s attempts to understand the people living in the New World, the presence of monstrous humans or

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30 Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, 15.
32 See Figure 2 – Münster, *Typus cosmographicus universalis* [map].
33 Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, 14.
“wild men.” The other American corner of the map depicts naked, large-mouthed human-like creatures walking amongst killer elephants and giant winged snakes.\(^3^4\) The wild men may not be modern human beings so they serve to highlight not just the strangeness and difference of the land, but the range of humanity that can be found within it. While the humans inhabiting the other corners of the map representing Asia are clothed and evidently somewhat civilized, to the West of Europe lie only cannibals and beasts that look like men.

Although these kinds of depictions of American natives do not disappear, the idea of the noble savage is also frequently presented alongside, or instead of, these other images in maps. The noble savage trope had been applied to Brazilians as early as the first Cabral expedition, when Pero Vaz de Caminha “marvel[led] at the Indians’ simplicity, beauty, and natural innocence.”\(^3^5\) Similarly, Jean de Lery, a French Calvinist who attempted settlement in Brazil in the sixteenth century, described Brazilian Amerindians as “stronger, more robust and well filled-out, more nimble, [and] less subject to disease,” when compared to Europeans.\(^3^6\) It was these ideas about the noble savage that informed Hendrik Hondius’ 1638 map, \textit{Americae pars meriodionalis} and appeared in Hondius’ and Gerald Mercator’s atlas, \textit{Atlas Novus}. Although knowledge of Brazil had grown tremendously in the century since the Münster map was published, the interior of the continent was still largely blank. Beyond the cities that lined the coast, the interior was filled with hypothetical mountains or lakes or imagined scenes of people and

\(^{3^4}\) See Figure 3 – Münster, \textit{Typus cosmographicus universalis} [map].  
animals. Few Europeans had explored the interior of Brazil and reported back on their experiences, so mapmakers generally covered this space and their lack of knowledge with images of what they assumed the lands must be like, given what was known of the animals, people, and their culture. As a result, in the Hondius map, in between pictures of some creatures are also images of what it was believed the native inhabitants must do. This included activities novel to Europeans like cooking over an open fire and reclining in hammocks and other sketches of warring parties and rectangular huts. The interior of Brazil is still represented as wild, residing somewhere between idleness and warfare, neither positive societal attributes. The bottom of the map holds the cartouche, which not only names the map and its creator but also brings the inhabitants of the continent up to the eye of the observer. The nameplate is flanked on either side by a group of Amerindians carrying some weapons and wearing only headdresses. Interestingly, the native women are protected from being shown fully nude by skillfully positioned spears or arms, except for the one figure where this is impossible, who is then partially clothed. These natives embody the “noble savage” ideal. They may be naked savages, but they appear to be healthy, well-formed human beings. Their depiction matches those described by Pero Vaz de Caminha and Jean de Lery, indicating the constant interplay between pictorial representation and textual description. They might not be at a European level of civilization but the viewer may imply that they possess other honorable traits, perhaps lost in the increasingly urbanized European civilization.


38 See Figure 5 – Hondius, *Americae pars meridionalis* [map].
Hayden White argues that it is this kind of wild man or noble savage that places him as “the incarnation of ‘desire’ on the one side and of ‘anxiety’ on the other,” reflecting Europeans’ urge to escape the confines of society while simultaneously fearing the consequences of such freedom. While the figures in the cartouche are certainly free from the constraints of European society, the rest of the map indicates the dangers that this kind of society still has to deal with, specifically warfare and indolence. While nothing about their physical appearance would indicate that they were cannibals or some monstrous sub-species of humanity, the fact that they are nude already encodes these figures with certain associations with wilderness and barbarism. Even this noble savage type of representation serves a similar purpose to the cannibal image in that they mark the inhabitants of Brazil as very different from Europeans. They may be noble, but they are clearly also savages, and so inferior to the European observer.

These early maps of Brazil and the Americas also exhibit a tension between specificity and generalizations, especially when depicting the people of the continents. The urge for information about the Americas conflicted with the relatively little knowledge about the interior of the continents and their people. The little useful information provided in some maps may have indicated the positions of cities, but it could not accurately depict the diversity of peoples in any given place. Some mapmakers tried to be more specific with the addition of textual descriptions, but the information was repetitive and mostly anecdotal. Furthermore, “many early writers propagated stereotypes due to their ignorance of the diversity of New World peoples,” and these

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39 White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 156.
stereotypes then found their way into maps. These generalized accounts were not enough and Europeans required still more detailed information. The broad characterizations of early maps had already provided basic impressions of Amerindians, which confirmed their superiority, but any differences between groups were impossible to discern from these images alone.

Joan Blaeu was one mapmaker who attempted to provide more accurate and specific information in his atlas, *Le Theatre du Monde, ou, Nouvelle Atlas*, printed in 1650. The second part of his atlas focused specifically on territories outside of Europe, providing a map of each region and an accompanying page or two of description about its history, geography, and people. The section on the Americas begins with a large, detailed map, engraved by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, that not only shows a number of cityscapes along the top border but also provides detailed images of people from the numerous territories of the continents. Men and women from places as far apart as Greenland, Virginia, Mexico, and Peru populate registers on both sides of the map, rendering differences and allowing the viewer to compare the peoples of each region. Uniquely, Brazilians are afforded 2 registers, one simply called “Brasiliani” or Brazilians, and the other “Brasiliani milites,” which translates from Latin to “Brazilian soldiers.” In the first group, a barely clothed man is standing next to a naked woman who is

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reclining in a hammock in front of a fire.⁴³ The position of the hammock is such that the viewer is not sure if the man is trying to cook the woman while she reclines, or the fire is merely in front of her, reminding the viewer of the possibility of cannibalism. Beneath them are a couple of Brazilians, carrying bows and arrows and ready for war.⁴⁴ All of the Brazilian figures are the least clothed of all the people depicted, which one could argue signifies them as possessing the lowest level of civilization. Together these couples embody the full range of characteristics affixed to Brazilians in European visual imagery. The hammocks, nudity, warfare, open fires, and simple homes are all images that define Brazilians and therefore they are also frequently placed in the interior of Brazil to show where these kinds of people live. This repertoire of imagery occurs not only in this map, but also in the earlier Hendrik Hondius map, and a number of others.

Already at this stage a simple comparison can be made between the people of Brazil and the people of Europe, the basic foundation for any classification in this period. The kind of ethnographic map produced by Blaeu facilitated such an easy comparison between American peoples that any European viewer would instantly recognize themselves as superior to all of the brutish and half-nude Americans, wearing feathers or carrying clubs. While the images were capable of imparting this message, maps and atlases also increasingly relied on text to convey the specific details of American and Brazilian inferiority. In the section dedicated to Brazil marked "Description de Brasil," Blaeu stated that, "The Brazilians have neither God nor religion... [and] women as well as men go naked."⁴⁵ He also supported the claims of Brazilian cannibalism claiming that

⁴³ See Figure 7 – Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Americae nova tabula* [map].
⁴⁴ See Figure 8 – Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Americae nova tabula* [map].
⁴⁵ Joan Blaeu, *Le theatre du monde, ou, Nouuel atlas* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1650),
when a prisoner is taken in war, "they fatten them for several days... & having made them to roast on the spit, they eat." Unlike the Hondius map or Blaeu’s continental map, the blank space in the interior of Brazil on the additional territory map does not need to be filled in with such scenes of war or cannibalism; the description provides enough detail. The combination of the descriptive text, along with the images of Brazilians in the map of the Americas, allowed the reader to establish a firm impression of Brazilians as inferior to the European audiences.

John Speed presented a very similar image of Brazil and the Americas in his atlas, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the world*, published in 1662. His atlas has a number of similarities with Blaeu's earlier work. Like Blaeu, Speed provided a general map of the Americas before a more detailed map and descriptive section for each region. In his map of the Americas, "America: with those known parts in that unknowne worlde both people and manner of buildings discribed and inlarged," Speed also positioned registers on both sides of the map depicting the inhabitants of various lands, along with numerous cityscapes along the top border of the map. His images of Americans differ from Blaeu in presenting just one figure per register, but interestingly he also devotes two spaces to Brazilians, one showing a male and the other a female. The representations themselves, however, could have been taken straight from Blaeu, they appear so similar, nearly identical. Both the male and female Brazilian figures are naked, wearing just

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section 16, 2.
"Les Brasiliens n'ont ni Dieu, ni religion, mais ils sont fort adonnez à l'art de deviner: les femmes aussi bien que les hommes vont nuës"

"Quand ils nont pris en guerre quelques uns de leur ennemys, ils les engraissent durant plusieurs jours, puis les tuent, menans grande feste & les ayant faits rostir à la broche ils les mangent."
feather headdresses, and carrying weapons, just as with Blaeu’s representations. The female figure is further identified as "Brasiliane foulc," meaning literally "Brazilian troop" in old French, corresponding to the “Brasiliani milites” or Brazilian soldiers depicted by Blaeu. The interior of Brazil is further detailed with scenes of human figures cooking over an open fire and hunting, also similar to Blaeu’s map. All of these similarities suggest it is likely that Speed was familiar with Blaeu’s work, but the depiction of naked Amerindians, wearing colorful feathers and carrying weapons, preceded both of their maps and continued for long after.

In the descriptive essay that accompanied his map of South America in the atlas, Speed also repeated the same tropes about Brazilians and Brazilian society. He referred to their “Barbarisme of manners, idolatry in Reilgion, and sottish ignorance,” and remarked that “they goe naked, and are very lustfull people without distinction of sexe.” Speed also made the customary mention that “In many places they are Anthropophagi, and prey upon each other like wolves.” Speed claimed, “They labour not much to sustaine themselves: but are rather content to take what the Earth can yeeld without Tillage. This is generall.” This comment reflects another stereotype that is included in the European construction of Brazilians; that the land of Brazil is like a Garden of Eden,

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47 See Figures 9 (male) & 10 (female) – John Speed, America: with those known parts in that unknowne worlde both people and manner of buildings discribed and enlarged [map] (London: John Speed, 1662), from Norman Leventhal Map Center, A prospect of the most famous parts of the world, http://maps.bpl.org/id/17637 (accessed October 19, 2013).
49 John Speed, A prospect of the most famous parts of the world (London: John Speed, 1662), 9, section 7-8.
50 Speed, A prospect of the most famous parts of the world, 9, section 8.
51 Speed, A prospect of the most famous parts of the world, 9, section 8.
a natural paradise, and so Brazilians do not have to work for their own survival. They are perceived similar to any other animal in that they are a part of the ecosystem and take only what the Earth provides. They do not farm, the basic foundation for any civilization, and so they lack a civilization. The belief that Brazilians, and especially Amerindians, had a “penchant to think only of today and its immediate necessities testified to their savagery,” as opposed to the “civilized men [who] looked to the future,” and farmed.\(^{52}\)

The association between Brazilians and nature is then considered firmly opposed to Europeans and civilization. Speed ended his description of Brazilians by stating that “The people are covered with naturell haire, cruel lascivious, false and what not?”\(^{53}\) The list of Brazilian traits can end by just stating “and what not” because the positional superiority of Europeans is already established. The reader can fill in the blank with whatever inferior characteristics they can think of.

It is important at this time to consider the kind of relationship mapmakers established visually between Europeans and Brazilians. Based on the representations, and also later texts added to maps and atlases, it was immediately clear to Europeans that they were superior to all American inhabitants, and in particular Brazilians. However, this superiority was based primarily on cultural attributes and perceived level of civilization and sophistication. Obviously to Europeans, any peoples who worshipped idols and practiced cannibalism could not be considered equals. The number of other visual descriptors, like clubs to show their warlike attitudes or hammocks to show their laziness, only highlights their subordination to Europeans. Yet the mapmakers do not

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52 Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature*, 71.
53 Speed, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the world*, 10, section 26.
imply that their state reflects any kind of inherent inferiority, but rather a cultural one. If Brazilians were suddenly to practice the right kind of Christianity and become sedentary agriculturalists, they may not be presented as such inferior beings. The maps so far analyzed though, do not even account for differences between indigenous tribes, Portuguese immigrants, or African slaves. It is possible that this is because the European audience was most interested in the unknown Brazilian peoples, rather than the Portuguese or Africans, of whom they likely had more sources of information about, including even the classical authorities, like Ptolemy. Yet the choice not to distinguish between different Brazilian groups and describe all Brazilians as if they were one inferior block of humanity had profound impact on later travelers and the accounts they produced. This is because “Europeans (and all the other people of the Old World) had fixed ideas about one another and the distant lands different peoples inhabited,”54 and so these particular images of Brazilians became largely cemented in European imagination through such repeated depictions. These stereotyped images span European language and nationality, as Dutch as well as English mapmakers propagated the same view of Brazilians. While exact descriptions of Brazilians or the manner in which they are shown may change over time, the positional superiority established by the early maps of Brazilians enshrines their inferiority to later European observers.

The persistent image of one kind of Brazilian, however, was complicated by a number of maps produced during the middle of the seventeenth century. This includes the heavily textual map titled, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula*, published by the Dutch cartographer Frederik de Wit in 1660. The three sides bordering this map of the

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54 McNeill, introduction to *Encountering the New World: 1493-1800*, xviii.
Americas are filled with descriptions of the people and places of the New World in Latin, Dutch, and French. This trilingual presentation indicates that this map was intended to be a resource to a very wide European audience and it communicates many of the same notions as older maps through the pictorial representations of Brazilians placed in the interior of the South American continent. It records the same ideas about Brazilians as seen in all of the other maps, including cannibalism and warfare, nudity and indolence, but in much finer detail and color. However, this map is the only one of those examined to attempt to distinguish native Brazilian Amerindians from Europeans within the depictions of the interior of the territory. Native Brazilians are clearly recognizable by their nudity, while Europeans are not only clothed, but colored bright red or blue to distinguish them even further. It appears that even Africans can be seen in the Brazilian interior, identifiable not only by their darker shade but by their partial clothing that places them somewhere between clothed Europeans and naked indigenous Brazilians. This system of representation allows the viewer to not only distinguish cannibals in the interior of Brazil, but one can see that they are cooking and eating the limbs of a red-clothed European. While the images in this map may record the increasing immigration and diverse populace of Brazil, the enduring warning of native Brazilians as dangerous cannibals persists.

The text alongside the map indicates a different interest in the Americas than the descriptions of Blaeu or Speed. While the latter authors attempt to present general

55 See Figure 11 – Frederik de Wit, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula* [map] (Amsterdam: Frederik de Wit, 1660), from Norman Leventhal Map Center. http://maps.bpl.org/id/m8705 (accessed October 19, 2013).
56 See Figure 12 – de Wit, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula* [map].
57 See Figure 13 – de Wit, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula* [map].
information about the territory and its people, de Wit’s text seems much more tailored for
the economic interests of merchants. The customs and culture of the inhabitants of the
Americas are given much less attention, as the text is more dedicated to listing the
products of each land and notable cities. Of course Americans, and Brazilians in
particular, are referred to as cannibals and idolaters, but the text also emphasizes the
cotton, sugar, and dyes that are produced in Brazil.

The de Wit map illustrates one of the first major changes that occurred in the
European construction of Brazilians, the inclusion of Brazil and its products into the
international system of trade, in the middle of the seventeenth century. Even though
some commerce had always existed, from the time of its initial discovery and settlement,
“Portugal restricted trade to its own nationals” although they “lacked a large merchant
fleet and had always relied on the English for shipping.”58 This trade restricted European
knowledge of Brazilians to the coastal cities and their limited produce. This system was
supplemented by the Dutch conquest of Northern Brazil, beginning in 1630, which
helped to bring increased attention towards the economic potential of Brazil, especially
its sugar industry, and resulted in increased trade between Brazil and the nations of
Europe.59 However, following the expulsion of the Dutch in 1654, “foreigners continued
to covet Brazil’s wealth and considered its setting a kind of Eden.”60 Europeans,
especially the British, wanted more trade and access to Brazilian goods but were
prevented from doing so while Brazil remained Portuguese.

59 Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 43.
60 Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 47.
Frederik de Wit reflected the increasing focus on trade in another map, *Novissima et accuratissima totius Americae descriptio*, published in 1670. While the geography of the Americas is nearly identical to his earlier 1660 map, the images around the map make abundantly clear the economic promise of America and some of the different races of people who inhabit its lands. On first glance, the most noticeable thing about the map is the large cartouche in the bottom left hand corner. This scene shows dark skinned figures, emptying the bounty of the land, including gold bricks, at the feet of an androgynous native, clad in feathers.\(^6^1\) Depicting “America in its traditional European depiction as a barebreasted Amerindian woman,”\(^6^2\) was nothing new, but the fact that the map differentiates between lighter skinned natives, like the one who represents America, and darker skinned figures suggests skin color or ethnic background plays some factor. The entire scene proposes that the darker skinned figures, possibly African slaves, will be the ones to deliver the bounty of the Americas. Brazil had been importing African slaves for decades before this map was produced and was virtually dependent on slave labor by 1600.\(^6^3\) These slaves were employed primarily in agriculture and their presence in both Brazil and the map implies that dark skinned African slaves played an important role in producing the wealth of the Americas.

The top image adds another dimension to the interaction of different races in the Americas as it shows a group of people carrying a plaque that contains a brief summary

\(^6^1\) See Figure 14 – Frederik de Wit, *Novissima et accuratissima totius Americae description* [map] (Amsterdam: Frederik de Wit, 1670), from Norman Leventhal Map Center. http://maps.bpl.org/id/m8711 (accessed October 19, 2013).
\(^6^2\) Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 173.
\(^6^3\) Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 42.
of American history. Of the four individuals, the plaque is being lifted up by an angel figure, while an Amerindian looks worried as it struggles to support the plaques weight. A white woman holding a cross soars next to them and points to the cross as a dark, demonic figure with curved fingers and toes falls away. The image suggests that Europeans bringing Christianity will help lift up Amerindians. However, the darker skinned figure, an African, is doomed to fall away. Even if this proposes some hopeful idea of cooperation, be it at the expense of African slaves, de Wit continues to render the same imagery of the Brazilian interior as with all other maps. Images of huts, a hammock, and a large battle remind viewers that there are still dangers in this part of the continent, regardless of the civilizing mission or potential profit. The inclusion of clearly recognizable races in de Wit’s map shows the beginnings of racial classification in imagery.

The positional superiority of Europeans is further demonstrated in another map by Joan Blaeu, dating from 1662, which details the coastline of the territory below a large scene of Brazilian plantation. The bottom half of the document containing the map, shows the increasing importance of accuracy, as the correct placement of towns and courses of rivers are given precedence over imagery. However, as knowledge of the interior of Brazil still has not progressed much, the entire top half of the map depicts a scene of an “engenho,” or “sugar plantation with mill driven by oxen or water power.”

The exact ethnicity of all the individuals in the scene may not be discernable, but the skin

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64 See Figure 15 – de Wit, Novissima et accuratissima totius Americae description [map].
66 Levine, The History of Brazil, 192.
color and relative position of each person is communicated very clearly. Almost all of the individuals are darker skinned and shirtless, working around the mill or leading carts pulling animals. The few darker skinned figures that appear to be more clothed are also carrying bundles on their heads, indicating they likely represent female laborers, who are not European. These representations combined with the increasing reliance in Brazil on slavery at this time support an interpretation of these figures as being African slaves working in the mill. Only two or three figures that are clearly differentiated from the many slaves are depicted, and they are likely European or European descendants since they are shown either on horseback or leaning out the window of a building, fully clothed and even wearing hats, commanding the scene.\textsuperscript{67} Blaue’s map of the Brazilian coast reports on not just the coastal positions of cities but also on the lifestyle of those Europeans who reside there. While it continues the similar nude, or nearly nude, representations of Brazilians as seen in earlier maps, it interweaves this trope with the economic promise of Brazil.

Although the maps that portrayed Brazil to Europeans appeared to change dramatically over nearly two centuries of depictions, the representations of Brazilians stayed remarkably consistent. Even the introduction of text in maps, a feature which greatly added to the depth of descriptions possible, only further elaborated on the inherited stereotypes of Brazilians as cannibals at war or lazy natives in hammocks. The growing concerns of trade, however, encouraged maps to become more accurate and in the process they began to differentiate Brazilians of different classes and backgrounds. The increasing reliance on African slaves also brought Europeans into contact with

\textsuperscript{67} See Figure 17 – Joan Blau, \textit{Praefecturae Paranambucae pars Borealis, una cum Praefecture de Itamaraca} [map].
diverse groups that were to form the basis for the wealth extracted from Brazil. In order to maximize profits and make the most out of the large investment in purchased slaves, Europeans became more conscious of the subtle differences between African groups, observing which groups of people were best suited for the slave labor they desired. The rudimentary classification for these slaves would also be applied to all non-European groups. While the term “race” did not yet exist, maps of the seventeenth century had just begun to differentiate between the various groups of Brazilians, particularly in their economic context.
Chapter 2 – The Rise of Travelogues, 1700 – 1816

Until around 1650, the predominance of visual language presented general representations of Brazilians as one single, inferior block, with little attention paid to any kind of differences. However, the increasing literate and traveling population meant that more detailed and specific information could be communicated through texts. As the fascination with the discovery of new humans and different cultures subsided, Europeans desired more reports about the specific products and trade potential of Brazil. Even though some maps tried to include this information with lots of descriptive text, the text competed for space with the map itself, until the two separated. Beginning around the turn of the eighteenth century, maps and textual descriptions diverged, as each form of communication became more scientific and standardized. The textual descriptions of travelogues then allowed for greater levels of detail and a more specific system of classification.

Even though maps could impart tremendous meaning with detailed images, the increasing presence of texts in maps presaged the eventual disappearance of all artwork and images from maps. From a small fraction of the population in 1500, to more than half of the population of Great Britain and the Netherlands in 1800, literacy rates spiked across all of Western Europe. Even countries that experienced a far smaller growth still saw their literate populations double as a percent of total population.68 These people could read the descriptions in atlases like those published by Blaeu or Speed and learn much more than from the images alone. Additionally, the price of purchasing such

atlases had dropped enough to allow access to the newly literate public.\textsuperscript{69} The ethnographic information provided visually in some maps was also communicated much more effectively through text than solely through images. The European audience had for centuries received the same pictorial information, which texts expanded to provide additional information. While a picture in a map could render the physical appearance, it was the description provided nearby that fully detailed the character traits associated with the figure, along with their peoples’ customs, religion, and general behavior. The pretty images on maps had become much less important than practical information that the maps contained. While the geographical data continued to be valued in maps, the text in maps eclipsed the other images and became an important part of the popular travel narrative genre.

Concurrently, the rise in literacy created an audience for publishing separate narrative accounts of travels. Jan Borm defines this genre of travel books as “any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates (almost always) in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator, and principal character are but one or identical.”\textsuperscript{70} Many readers then considered travel books an authoritative source of information, a direct communication from the author/observer/traveler to the audience.


and even include maps, but also much more information. Even though the first travelogues of the seventeenth century were “so commonly regarded as a repository of wonderful lies,”\(^7\) this had changed as both the number of travelers and travelogues published had increased. By the time that the primitive form of travel narrative found in maps had divorced from maps and atlases around the turn of the eighteenth century, travel books were considered more authoritative sources of information as they provided the useful information needed for successful commerce, along with their accounts of foreign lands and peoples.

The rise in literacy and eyewitness nature of travelogues were just two factors that helped to explain their growing importance over maps. Although both maps and travel books began as ways to impart information about distant lands and peoples, each was also subject to Enlightenment ideas of standardization and scientific rationality, which pulled them in different ways. The growth of European capitalism had pushed the world “increasingly to be classified according to a purely utilitarian logic of instrumentality and quantification.”\(^8\) As a result the images in maps became superfluous, the geographical information was what a map was primarily needed for. The important function of description was then transferred from maps to separate accounts where their details could be more richly communicated. The writings produced by travelers then provided the kinds of descriptive, authoritative reports of the territory that could only be shared through first hand narrative accounts, and not in the limited text or pictorial

\(^8\) Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 129.
representation of maps. Textual descriptions enabled travelers to impart a much-expanded view of Brazil when compared to maps.

This expanded view increasingly took account of European economic interests. The mixing of trade concerns with other information about distant peoples had begun as a central focus of descriptive maps, but was greatly expanded in travel books. Through images and text, the impression created by the heavily informative maps of the late seventeenth century was of a bountiful territory, inhabited by a variety of peoples, all ruled over by Portugal. These maps explained the many opportunities available to exploit the land and showed the relative economic positions of different classes of people. As seen in the images of Blaeu’s and de Wit’s maps, Africans worked to extract the wealth of the land, while Europeans managed and profited from their labor. The place of Amerindians was less clear. Although they were initially captured for slave labor, they sometimes operated within the colonial Brazilian economy and sometimes were completely outside of it, depending on the tribe and the individual. Still, the image of Brazilians presented by Europeans is one of universal subordination, regardless of race or skin color. The European “sense of superiority was founded not on a race hierarchy, but on the belief that Europeans had achieved a level of civilization unknown in other nations.” So while the maps may have indicated a specific division of labor, this did not necessarily imply a racial division of humanity. It was “the relative sophistication of the political and social systems established in other countries,” that was the traditional foundation for beliefs in European superiority to other cultures. In fact, prior to the

73 Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 42.
74 Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race,’” 250.
75 Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race,’” 250.
eighteenth century, Europeans did not readily conceive of a definition of “race” as we use the word today. Rather, the maps and early travel books “contain[ed] a wealth of detailed descriptions of innumerable ‘nations’ in the non-European world.”

European travel across the world had initially instilled a belief in a diverse human species comprising many nations, rather than a few broad racial categories. Europeans were then considered superior to these other nations because it was believed they belonged to the most sophisticated and advanced nations.

As the increasing popularity of travelogues and desire for scientific accuracy rendered descriptive texts in maps less important, maps came to reflect the centrality of trade in Europe’s relationship with Brazil and lost most of their imagery. Although some maps may have retained colorful images and texts describing the history of the Americas, this appears increasingly rare as the practical concerns of accuracy and navigation became more heavily weighted. This change likely reflects a changing audience for maps that was now more commercially minded. *The English Pilot*, a series of atlases printed in the first decades of the eighteenth century, reflects the new demands placed on maps. These atlases were intended for use by ships’ pilots’ and so they did not need to contain elaborate descriptions. They only needed to function as scientific tools. For example, the map depicting the Atlantic world lacks color or embellishments, but lists many coastal cities, as well as showing lines of longitude and latitude. This map also includes

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76 Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race,’” 248.
instructions, which directs users how “to find the Distance of two Places in this Chart.”

Clearly anybody who was looking at this map was much more concerned with how to actually get to Brazil, or any other place across the ocean, than with the strange habits of people who may live there. Trade had surpassed intellectual curiosity as the main purpose for producing or using most maps of the Americas. Yet even in this kind of dry presentation some of the previous stereotypes of Brazil managed to live on. While the map really just lists place names, northern Brazil is the only region to have a somewhat descriptive name, being labeled “Wild Brasil.” The names “Brasil” and “Amazone” are also found in the territory of Brazil, but the additional name of “Wild Brasil” further highlighted the danger of the land, calling to mind the vivid images of cannibals and war parties that once fought in this space in older maps.

The fact that The English Pilot was clearly produced by and intended for use by English navigators indicates the growing British Empire and their presence in worldwide trade networks. The British merchant fleet “tripled during the first three quarters of the [eighteenth] century,” as their economy boomed and merchants sought new trade opportunities. This “ever closer engagement with the wider world meant that larger and larger numbers of travellers and explorers made journeys to report upon it.” One such account, published in 1735, was titled A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies; in His Majesty’s Ships, the Swallow and Weymouth. The author, John Atkins, a surgeon

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78 See Figure 20 – Moll, A new generall chart for the West Indies [map].
79 See Figure 21 – Moll, A new generall chart for the West Indies [map].
in the Royal Navy, structured his account similarly to the atlases of the previous century, dividing much of the book into sections matching a geographical region of the voyage. The book also acknowledged some of the general notions applied to foreigners that were stated in many of the earlier atlases, but Atkins refuted them. For example, he denied the common charges of cannibalism that were hurled against non-Europeans by so many other authors, stating

My Aim, therefore, was to shew in the best manner I could, that the Accusation every where has probably proceeded from Fear in some, to magnify the Miracle of escaping an inhospitable and strange Country, and from Design in others, to justify Dispossession, and arm Colonies with Union and Courage against the supposed Enemies of Mankind.\textsuperscript{82}

However, as enlightened as he could be, Atkins expressed his perceived superiority when discussing the traits of the various nations he encountered. Atkins described the inhabitants of the port of Sesthos, in modern day Liberia, as “exceedingly cowardly” and “so lazy.”\textsuperscript{83} He went on to state, “they want the Means or Inclination to catch [fish], chusing rather to loiter and jump about the Sands, or play at round Holes, than endeavor to get Food for themselves.”\textsuperscript{84}

Atkins travelogue also reveals the urge to divide humanity and to describe what makes each group different. For instance, Atkins describes the inhabitants of Madeira, a Portuguese colony like Brazil, as “consist[ing] of a mixed Race; Portuguese, Blacks, and

\[\textsuperscript{82} 
\text{John Atkins, } A \text{ Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies}, (London: Ceasar Ward and Richard Chandler, 1735), xxiii.\]
\[\textsuperscript{83} 
\text{Atkins, } A \text{ Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies}, 68.\]
\[\textsuperscript{84} 
\text{Atkins, } A \text{ Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies}, 68.\]
Molattoes, who are civil, courteous, and equally respected in Trade; the Portuguese nowhere abroad scrupling an Alliance with darker Colours.”\(^{85}\) His distinctions here are based on skin color, but Atkins noted that society in Madeira did not seem to make the same distinctions he did. While travelling down the coast of Africa, Atkins made an attempt to classify the different nations of people he observed and stated “Slaves differ in their Goodness; those from the Gold Coast are accounted best.”\(^{86}\) He then added, “To Windward they approach in Goodness” but warned that “To Leeward from thence, they alter gradually for the worse; an Angolan Negro is a Proverb for worthlessness; and they mend (if we may call it so) in that way, till you come to the Hottentots, that is, to the Southernmost Extremity of Africa.” These statements support a kind of geographical division of humanity. Atkins may have suspected that geography played a role in the specific traits ascribed to each grouping, but whether due to climate, culture, or any other reason he did not venture a guess. Additionally, when arriving at Jamaica, Atkins adopted another different basis for classification, more closely related to a modern understanding of race. He claimed, “The Creoles (those born here)...are a spurious Race; the first Change by a Black and White, they call Mulatto; the second a Mustee, and the third a Castee; the Faces, like a Coat of Arms, discovering their Distinction.”\(^{87}\) The characteristics that divide these classes of people are described as easily discernible in an individual’s face. Clearly, Atkins writing conveyed the idea that there were multiple ways to divide humanity in different parts of the world, based on race, skin color, geography, or on perceived characteristics. All of these attempts at classification could

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\(^{86}\) Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies*, 179.

\(^{87}\) Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies*, 244.
also be explained by the European belief in the level of sophistication of a nation’s social and political systems as the basis for a hierarchy of humanity. Still, Atkins writing revealed the greater depth and nuance allowed by travelogues when compared to maps. His ability to carefully delineate the attributes of various groups, as well as describe his own and local opinions, prove how much more informative a firsthand travel book was to imagery and simple text. Although his travelogue did not mention much about Brazil specifically, his observations can be taken as an example of how some Europeans of the eighteenth century conceived of humanity’s differences across the globe.

Atkins’ emphasis on commerce and his repeated insistence on the utility of his book for future travelers is something evident in later travelogues as well. However, few travel books were written about Brazil prior to the nineteenth century due to the Portuguese ban on foreign ships entering Brazilian ports. As a result, one of the first accounts of a British subject in Brazil was recorded by the merchant Thomas Lindley, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to Brazil Terminating in the Seizure of a British Vessel*, published in 1805. After his ship was damaged in a storm, Lindley and his crew made for the nearest port, Bahia, Brazil, and although he was initially treated hospitably, he told of being tricked into a business arrangement that led to his imprisonment for smuggling. While this portion of his story alone would seem to signify the duplicitous nature of Brazilians, Lindley’s purpose for writing was to condemn the Portuguese government for limiting the economic potential of Brazil. He explained in the Preface that an “enmity to our commerce exists at this moment in the Portuguese Brazilian colonies” and that “all endeavours to gain information respecting it being industriously

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repressed by the Portuguese government.”

Lindley also insisted that his book contained “every piece of useful information” about Brazil and its inhabitants, and his hopes “to diffuse some new lights respecting the country, and be the means of exciting an emulation in some more competent and scientific traveller.” Lindley concluded, “his sole motive in publishing [was] to assist British commerce, and humbly endeavor to add his trivial contribution to the stock of human knowledge.”

In addition to denouncing the Portuguese, Thomas Lindley’s account also issues some general statements about Brazilians that repeat the same idea of Brazil as a “Garden of Eden” in need of human development. He stated “this beautiful country, one of the finest in the world, is entirely lost through want of its inhabitants, of cultivation, and of industry; mines of wealth being buried, far exceeding all their mineral or metallic ones.” He also expressed bewilderment at the thought that “in a country which, with cultivation and industry, would abound with the blessings of nature to excess, the greater part of the people exist in want and poverty.” These types of descriptions not only diminished the character of all Brazilians but also highlighted the opportunities in Brazil for any enterprising Englishman, should trade between the two nations ever be permitted. While earlier maps may have indicated the wealth of Brazil, it was through narrative accounts based on first hand observation, as in Lindley’s travelogue, that the opportunities for Europeans could be best communicated. For example, Lindley

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89 Lindley, *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil*, xi.
routinely stated “the ignorance of the inhabitants in general constantly appeared.” He remarked that, “Deceit, pride, and envy are still prevalent among them.” Lindley’s experiences and unfavorable descriptions of the national character of Brazilians could be considered either a warning for British merchants about working with Brazilians, or an invitation to exploit the land without local participation. Importantly, his conclusions were derived from his reporting of regular interactions with Brazilians, something that could be transmitted through travel books but not maps.

As one of the few British sources written by someone who actually traveled to Brazil, Lindley’s writings were considered authoritative and used extensively by contemporary authors like Andrew Grant in his History of Brazil, written in 1809. Grant not only related the story of Lindley’s imprisonment and maltreatment by Brazilian authorities but he also parroted many of the claims about Portuguese hostility to trade and Brazilian backwardness. He repeated Lindley’s charges of the general ignorance of Brazilians and added, “In short, the people here merely vegetate in a senseless apathy and unnerving indolence, increased by the equal neglect of their minds.” Writing during the Napoleonic Wars that had forced the Portuguese monarchy to flee Lisbon for Brazil, Grant questioned, “Now that the flight of this imbecile court has actually taken place, it becomes a subject of serious inquiry what effect will be produced by this political change on the trade and manufactures of Great Britain.” His reference to the “imbecile court” of Portugal shows the general contempt many British felt for the Portuguese, which would have certainly affected their view of the Portuguese colony of Brazil.

95 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 24.  
96 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 278.  
97 Andrew Grant, History of Brazil, (London: Henry Colburn, 1809), 181.  
98 Grant, History of Brazil, 291-292.
Grant’s question was answered by a new treaty, signed in 1810, which permitted trade relations between Brazil and the United Kingdom. In exchange for British assistance with the removal of the royal family, Portugal opened Brazilian ports to British merchants and granted “exclusive rights to build and repair ships in Brazil and to purchase timber.”

Just six years later, by 1816, “two-thirds of the transatlantic vessels that anchored at Rio de Janeiro were foreign, 113 of them British.” The Portuguese monopoly on Brazil was coming to an end and the number of British subjects traveling to Brazil and writing about their experiences increased.

Henry Koster was one of the first British travelers to Brazil, and arrived in 1809 even before the ban on foreign trade was lifted. Koster was “a wealthy invalid…[who] stayed in Pernambuco for the sake of his health,” moved back to England to publish his *Travels in Brazil* in 1816. Although Koster and Lindley found themselves in Brazil for very different reasons, their travelogues share some characteristics. For example, Koster also frequently discussed trade, noting the most important port cities and the typical European goods that are exchanged in each place. He revealed that, “since the opening of the ports to foreign trade, English goods are finding their way all over the country.”

Koster, like Lindley, also condemned Brazilians as technologically and socially backwards for failing to cultivate the natural paradise that surrounded them, observing, “the wild fruits are numerous, and to be obtained in any quantities, but few species are

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100 Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 59.
cultivated.”  He later added, “it is strange that, although there are many [fruits] which may be raised with very little trouble, still upon far the greater number of plantations even oranges are not to be found.”  Another contemporary British traveler, John Mawe, believed Brazilians had “only lived to study dress and parade,” and so teaching them modern agricultural practices would be “an useless task.”  “For when principals are totally ignorant of what they undertake or superintend, they will have neither the power nor the inclination to maintain it in credit, much less, bring it to perfection,” he reasoned.  While the idea of an uncultivated paradise may seem to conflict with the visions of thriving plantations and plentitude seen in some older maps, one must consider the growing presence of Europeans in Brazil.  Thomas Lindley stated, “the plantation of San Lazar evinces that the soil of Brazil is capable of raising the united products of the globe” and if this plantations practices were “generally followed, would not only enrich, but make the country a perfect paradise.”  Of course, though, this plantation is run by an “old gentleman (an European),” and not an identified Brazilian.  Koster also remarked that agriculture in Brazil was stunted and planters craved European techniques, if not Europeans themselves, to operate successful plantations.  Lindley even made this point explicit and stated, “idleness characterizes the [Brazilian] male sex…while the

103 Koster, Travels in Brazil, 73.
104 Koster, Travels in Brazil, 96.
105 John Mawe, Travels in the Interior of Brazil, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812), 349. https://archive.org/stream/travelsininteri00mawe#page/n5/mode/2up
106 Mawe, Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 349.
107 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 135.
108 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 136.
109 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 136.
plantations, &c. are carried on by European overseers, some favourite mulattoes, or confidential slaves.” The bountiful land and native indolence previously portrayed in maps is then faithfully recreated by some of the first British travelers.

This last remark of Lindley’s indicates that the move from visual to textual descriptions that occurred in travel books also allowed for a greater detail in differentiating the various groups in Brazil. John Atkins disparate attempts at classification of different peoples are echoed in the later works of Lindley or Koster and are no more coherently arranged. Both Lindley and Koster may describe the different ethnic or racial groups they encountered and occasionally ascribe traits to the entire group, but there is no systematized method for describing peoples. There is no explicitly stated hierarchy of race, and it often seems that the two are much more concerned with social class and status than racial background. This impression again fits with the idea that initial concerns of European ethnographic literature were the perceived level of political and social sophistication of the described peoples. However, at the time of their writing, “generalized descriptions of ‘racial’ appearance and character had become one of the dominating features of travel literature and ‘histories’ of the non-European world.”

By the turn of the nineteenth century, scientific ideas about races and inborn character had entered European thinking about different groups. These “generalized descriptions” of race are also found in the works of Lindley and Koster and joined to ideas about class and refinement.

The group that is probably most often the subject of simplified descriptions are Amerindians. In early nineteenth century travelogues, Amerindians are often defined

111 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 220-221.
112 Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race,’” 250.
only by vague condemnations, and are sometimes further divided into the broad categories of friendly or civilized tribes and hostile tribes. This basic division of Amerindians allows Thomas Lindley to warn about “hostile Indians, [so] that travelling on the beach is extremely dangerous, and never attempted without a guard,”¹¹³ but also praise the “Tupinambas, one of the most social tribe of Indians; and who…are considerably advanced in civilization.”¹¹⁴ Even though Henry Koster had more contact with different Native peoples during his time in Brazil than Lindley, he also describes them generally and much more negatively. Koster may grant that “the Indians are in general a quiet and inoffensive people,”¹¹⁵ but then he claimed, “they are much addicted to liquor” and “lying and other vices attached to the savage life belong to them.”¹¹⁶ He also began to compare the different racial groups in Brazil, observing, “The mulattos consider themselves superior to the Indians, and even the creole blacks look down upon them.”¹¹⁷ While Koster may believe Amerindians were at the bottom of society, this view is not corroborated by Lindley’s writings. Furthermore, Koster’s writings reveal that a rough classification of Brazilian society was believed to exist by contemporary Brazilians, based on class or racial background.

Africans and Afro-Brazilian creoles in Brazil, were another block of people commonly grouped together by these early travelers. They also received some of the harshest descriptions of any group in Brazil. Koster declared, “From the black race the

¹¹⁵ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 55.
¹¹⁶ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 56.
¹¹⁷ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 56.
worst of men may be formed; but they are capable likewise of great and good actions.”118 In his attempt to compare them with Amerindians, Koster is unsure which group he approves of more, stating, “The character of the Negro is more decided; it is worse, but it is also better.”119 Thomas Lindley did not discuss his perceptions of the character of black people in Brazil as in depth as Koster did. He only wondered about their influence on the religious practices of Brazilians and the wearing of gold chains, questioning, “Whether the citizens have adopted this superstition from the negroes of Guinea, their slaves.”120

Interestingly, both Amerindians and African slaves are the only two groups of people distinguishable in early maps and they are also the groups of people described most severely in the first travelogues. Where the maps often depicted Amerindians as cannibals or warriors and Afro-Brazilians as workhorses, travelogues now described in more detail their characteristics that made them suitable or unsuitable for plantation work and why they were or may have been cannibals. Furthermore, the groups that were not depicted in maps are portrayed much more favorably in travelogues. This includes the mixed raced Brazilians, or “mulattoes” as the travel books often refer to them, and Portuguese or European Brazilians. For example, Henry Koster asserted, “bar to European ideas of beauty aside, finer specimens of the human form cannot be found than among the mulatto females whom I have seen.”121 He even argued that these “women of color” were “finer” than “the very fair sample of the white Brazilian females.”122 Lindley

118 Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 58.
119 Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 58.
120 Lindley, *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil*, 55.
121 Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 17.
122 Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 17.
scarceley mentions mixed race individuals at all, but he does provide some clues as to their relative status when compared with black Brazilians, the group they are most often conjoined with. When discussing a group of religious flagellants, Lindley related that, “a pecuniary gratification of two pounds each was also given to the mulattoes, and one to the negroes.”¹²³ This comment suggests that Brazilian society, if not Lindley himself, placed more value on mixed race individuals than black Brazilians. It seems evident that the lack of framework for discussing mixed race people was one reason why they were described more favorably, or at least less negatively, than other non-white groups. Europeans or white Brazilians are not directly identified as such by Lindley, but Koster did occasionally point to specific examples of white people he had met, and often described them as equals. For example, he mentioned he stopped in one village and “passed my time very pleasantly in daily intercourse with a most worthy Irish family.”¹²⁴ The conventions for discussing Brazilian inferiority did not readily apply to European or white Brazilians who could not be processed into the visual imagery of Brazilians created by early maps.

The early and simplistic characterization of Brazilians as wild cannibals or noble savages was clearly affected by the increased complexity and depth that travel books allowed for. Even though these specific stereotypes became less pronounced in travelogues, authors often employed images to continue other aspects of the discourse established in maps beyond simple racial descriptions. Images do not appear in all travelogues, they are completely absent in Thomas Lindley’s account for example, but when present they often signify a clear continuity of European thought that had

¹²³ Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 170.
¹²⁴ Koster, Travels in Brazil, 109.
transcended media. The image on the first page of John Mawe’s book indicated the
continued depiction of a racial division of labor, showing dark skinned slaves toiling in
front of white overseers.125 Likewise, the pictures that are included in Henry Koster’s
travel book not only illustrate anecdotes from his account but are also incredibly similar
to some images and representations in seventeenth century maps. The best example of
this continuity is the scene of a sugar mill that Koster included relating to his description
of a visit to an engenho.126 When one compares this image to the engenho in Blaeu’s
1662 map, Praefecturae Paranambucae pars Borealis, una cum Praefecture de
Itamaraca, the scenes are nearly identical.127 Not only are the buildings and mill
equipment identical, but even the African slaves working in the mill are in nearly the
same positions. The similarity suggests that if Koster had himself not seen the map, it is
likely the illustrator of the book had. Koster also chose to include a map of the port of
Pernambuco before the first chapter, and later a map of the entire coast around the city, so
it is conceivable he examined earlier maps before including these. Thomas Lindley had
also certainly reviewed maps of the Brazilian coast and commented, “I have seen
valuable manuscript Portuguese charts; the best English is a small one published by
Laurie and Whittle, Fleet-street.”128 For a merchant traveling by sea, these charts were
invaluable to help steer clear of hidden rocks and avoid having to sail into a port for
emergency repairs, as Lindley had to do prior to his arrest.

125 See Figure 22 – Mawe, Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Title page.
126 See Figure 18 – Koster, Travels in Brazil [Internet Archive], 337.
127 See Figure 17 – Blaeu - Praefecturae Paranambucae pars Borealis, una cum Praefecture de Itamaraca
128 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 162.
Mary Louis Pratt argues that this project of mapping the world’s coastlines to aid seagoing travelers was one of the most important scientific missions of the eighteenth century. It was also related to the increased European, and in particular British, engagement with the world that would eventually help systematize the multiple classification systems at work in these early travelogues. She states that the “circumnavigation and mapmaking” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries “had already given rise to what one might call a European global or planetary subject” based not only on actual exploration, but also on the print culture that made those voyages and their findings widely known.\textsuperscript{129} This “world historical subject [was] European, male, secular, and lettered,”\textsuperscript{130} and compared the different peoples they encountered, in either personal travels or books, to their own experiences. Henry Koster, for example, compared his experiences to what he knew of European history. “A remembrance of feudal times in Europe has crossed me, and I could not forbear comparing with them the present state of the interior of Brazil,” he commented, listing all of his reasons before concluding, “all these circumstances combined to render the similarity very great.”\textsuperscript{131} He was not the only European of the time to view the differences among humanity, not as eternal, but as different levels on one continuous plane of development. In this view, Europeans were just the most developed among the observed nations and Brazil might develop to the level of contemporary Europeans once they had progressed through their own feudal stage. Of course, by that point Europeans could have moved further along the

\textsuperscript{129} Pratt, \textit{Imperial Eyes}, 29.  
\textsuperscript{130} Pratt, \textit{Imperial Eyes}, 29-30.  
\textsuperscript{131} Koster, \textit{Travels in Brazil}, 111.
plane of development, but this view suggests that all humanity shared the same
developmental trajectory and so likely belonged to the same species.

While the continuum of development was one theory to explain the differences between human beings and societies, other Europeans looked to the natural world to provide some answers. Carl Linné, or Linnaeus, developed a “descriptive system to classify all the plants on the earth, known and unknown, according to the characteristics of their reproductive parts,” but his system was so successful he soon expanded it to include all biological life, including humans. The philosophy behind his arrangement of total classification, promised to find a scientific place for all organisms, providing a relationship between all forms of life. Order and reason could be imposed on the world of unknown mystery and chaos that was nature, especially its still unexplored regions like the Brazilian interior. Now that every species of plant and animal life could be systematically understood, “how timid seems the old navigational custom of filling in the blank spaces of maps with iconic drawings of regional curiosities and dangers.” The beautiful descriptive images in maps covered up Europeans’ ignorance about these distant lands but now science and classification could render them understandable, even if previously unknown. It was this totalizing nature of this scheme that meant it would eventually come to include humans. By the tenth edition of Linnaeus’ Systema Natura, published in 1758, he had outlined a number of different kinds of humans, all arranged according to physical descriptions and innate character traits. This kind of classification referred to the “moral or intellectual character in the human mind as well as

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132 Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 24.
133 Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 30.
134 Jablonski, Living Color, 128.
to the social and political character of human society,” for its rankings. The older idea of classification based just on the level of social or political sophistication was greatly expanded by Linnaeus and his focus on the individual.

Linnaeus began by first distinguishing between Homo sapiens, modern humans, and Homo ferus, wild men, of which he included six varieties. He then split this Homo sapiens grouping, into Homo americanus (Amerindians), Homo europaeus (Europeans), Homo asiaticus (Asians), Homo afer (Africans), and Homo monstruosus (Monstrous people). The differences between peoples across the globe were now easily explained. Just as Europeans were “governed by laws,” Africans were “governed by caprice” and Amerindians were “regulated by customs.” The implication of such a system was that each group had traits as fixed and natural as the characteristics of plants. Moreover, this system was “explicitly comparative. One could hardly ask for a more explicit attempt to ‘naturalize’ the myth of European superiority.” While Linnaeus’ classification system certainly provided the intellectual foundation for comparing different races, some modern scholars see his work as more benign. Stephen Gould points out that Linnaeus presented his “four major varieties arranged by geography and, interestingly, not in the ranked order favored by most Europeans in the racist tradition.” Still, there was nothing to stop anybody from the inevitable comparisons that such a system invites. As evidenced in seventeenth century maps and atlases, Europeans had long believed in their superiority

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135 Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 64.
139 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 32.
to other peoples, but now Linnaeus and his system of classification provided a coherent justification for these beliefs.

Linnaeus’ ideas about natural science and the organization of the human species was continued by a German naturalist named J.F. Blumenbach, who published “the most influential of all racial classifications…in 1795, in the third edition of his seminal work, *De generis humani varietate nativa (On the Natural Variety of Mankind).*”\(^{141}\) Blumenbach was one of many students of Linnaeus, who built off of his work by further developing his classification schema. In his 1795 work, Blumenbach continued the tradition of dividing all humans by geography, appearance, and character, but he also renamed the groups and added a new one. The new names were “Caucasian variety,” “Mongolian variety,” “Ethiopian variety,” “American variety,” and the newest addition “‘Malay variety,’ for Polynesians and Melanesians of Pacific islands, and for the aborigines of Australia.”\(^{142}\) Blumenbach believed that “our racial diversity…arose as a result of our movement to other climates and topographies” and termed the changes a group experienced “degenerations.”\(^{143}\) Although the addition of one more grouping and new terms may seem like minor changes, the “Malay addition…completed the geometric transformation from an unranked geographical model to the conventional hierarchy of implied worth.”\(^{144}\) His system broke away from Linnaeus’ geographical model “without explicit ranking [and moved] to a double hierarchy of worth, oddly based upon perceived beauty and fanning out in two directions from a Caucasian ideal.”\(^{145}\)

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“Caucasian ideal” were Amerindians and Malay peoples on the second tier, and below them Asian and African peoples on the bottom tier.

Even though the travelers of the early nineteenth century were not trained naturalists, it is clear that these ideas had penetrated their thinking to some extent. Thinking in terms of defined “races” and “the belief that humanity is divided into only four or five main ‘races,’ as was claimed in the eighteenth century,”146 is evident in the descriptions of both Lindley and Koster. Perhaps this is why they seem to be able to describe the traits of Amerindians and black Brazilians relatively easily, but don’t make the same kinds of declarative statements about the character of mixed race Brazilians. It is certain though that Thomas Lindley had at least some familiarity with natural sciences, as he praised a priest he met in Bahia as the exception to the ignorant masses of people he encountered. This priest had made numerous “botanical discoveries…the whole he arranges according to the Linnaean system, and forwards to Lisbon.”147 Lindley also admired his library and remarked that the priest had a copy of the works of the French naturalist Buffon, another European who had devised a classification system for humanity, although his system “stress[ed] the changing nature of human difference, particularly in response to environment.”148 Lindley confessed in the Preface that he was not a scientist, but even he seemed to be somewhat acquainted with the leading naturalists and the debates over the division of humanity. When he did attempt to provide information on the plants and animals in Brazil, he mostly used common or local names, indicating he was not fluent in Linnaean classification himself. By contrast,

146 Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race,’” 248.
147 Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil, 68.
148 Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race,’” 254.
Andrew Grant interspersed his *History of Brazil* with many references to plant and animal life by providing Latin names in the Linnaean style, alongside local names.\(^{149}\)

While Henry Koster did not specifically name any naturalists or their works in his travelogue, it appeared as though he was also familiar with contemporary scientific literature. Much like Linnaeus and Blumenbach, Koster divided the population of Brazil into a number of racial groupings each with their “shades of difference of character as well as color.”\(^{150}\) He began his description with the group presumed to be most superior, Europeans, followed by “Brazilians, that is, white persons born in Brazil.”\(^{151}\) He then descends to the racial groups he considered lowest,

“mulattos, that is the mixed cast between the whites and blacks… mamalucos, that is the mixed cast between the whites and Indians, and all its varieties; Indians in a domesticated state, who are generally called Caboclos; and those who still remain in a savage state, and are called generally Tapuyos; negroes born in Brazil, and manumitted Africans; lastly Mestizos, that is the mixed cast between Indians and slaves.”\(^{152}\)

Slaves were also further divided racially. Koster went on the ascribe some attributes to each group and discuss how each group felt superior to the one that was ranked beneath it in this rough hierarchy. The order Koster described matched the hierarchy created by Blumenbach with the position of Amerindians falling between Africans and Europeans.

The Appendix to Koster’s travelogue further revealed his knowledge of the prevailing

\(^{149}\) Grant, *History of Brazil*, 6, 10.
\(^{150}\) Koster, *Travels in Brazil* [Internet Archive], 387.
\(^{151}\) Koster, *Travels in Brazil* [Internet Archive], 386.
\(^{152}\) Koster, *Travels in Brazil* [Internet Archive], 386-387.
classification schemes, as he described each plant according the Linnaean system, using the “binomial system, whereby each species of plant and animal is given a genus name followed by a specific name.”

Clearly, the increasing literate and traveling population of Europe that had initially sought commercial opportunities overseas was also in dialogue with the developing field of natural science. While maps had at one time provided the information required for both commerce and science, travelogues had replaced them as sources of descriptive information by the nineteenth century. The images shown in maps did not disappear, however, but formed a basis for European interpretation and recreation of Brazil for home audiences. Adding to this base of information were both the ever-growing commercial interest in Brazil and also the newly developed natural sciences that helped to define the images of Brazil and Brazilian people. In the eighteenth century, the impetus for travel may have been commerce but by the time Portugal opened Brazilian ports to the British, science had also become a motivation for travel as it “created global imaginings above and beyond commerce.”

The scientific imagining of defined racial groups with inborn characteristics and inherent value enriched the representations of Brazilians first created in maps. As the numbers of travelers, and specifically scientists from the English-speaking world increased, these racial groups were defined more complexly and the racial hierarchy calcified.

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154 Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 34.
Chapter 3 – Scientific Classification At Work in Brazil, 1816 – 1870

The growing number of travelers to Brazil may all have had different experiences but they continued to describe the territory and its people in much the same way as early maps and travelogues. Even with the addition of scientific language and procedures to describe and understand their observations, the accounts from the middle of the nineteenth century differ little from their earlier counterparts. The travelogue discourse for Brazilians was standardized as it employed science to classify Brazilians further and explain their inferiority to British and American authors more thoroughly.

As Brazil increasingly opened up to foreign trade, many people from the United States also journeyed to investigate commercial opportunities. One of the first Americans to publish an account of their travels was H. M. Brackenridge, the secretary of a diplomatic mission to establish relations with the newly independent nations of South America. Although Emperor Pedro I would not proclaim Brazil officially independent until 1822,\(^{155}\) and Brackenridge traveled through South America in 1817 and 1818, his comments about Brazil were some of the first recorded by an American citizen. Brazil was not even the main focus of his expedition but the remarks that Brackenridge made reveal the continuity of motives, and perceptions of Brazilians, carried over from the British progenitors of Americans. For example, Brackenridge maintained trade as a major purpose for future travel stating, “The position of South America, as relates to the United States, to Europe, Africa, and Asia, holds out the most singular advantages for

\(^{155}\) Levine, *The History of Brazil*, 55.
When discussing the inhabitants of the Spanish city of Montevideo, close to Brazil, he also repeated the same basic racial breakdown of earlier writers, dividing the population into European descended creoles, civilized or hostile Amerindians, “mixed blood” “casts,” and “Africans and their descendants, or Negroes and Mulattoes.”

Brackenridge also claimed, “The inhabitants [of Rio de Janeiro] in general are temperate in their living; but, if we may credit the accounts we hear, very depraved, as well as ignorant,” just like previous authors.

Brackenridge’s use of the simplistic form of human classification employed by previous British authors seems to indicate that the impact of more scientific forms of classification were still not widely felt, at least not by Americans. However, this does not mean that the scientific techniques were completely absent from all travelogues in the years around Brazilian independence. British diplomat W.B. Stevenson included a very complex chart that divided the population of Peru into 23 different castes depending on the ancestry of the parents in his book Narrative of Twenty Years ‘ Residence in South America. Based on this information, the chart predicted the skin color of the children down to a sixteenth fraction and gave each caste a racial name. This chart presented the quintessential example of the complex racial classification that was supported by scientific ideas of hierarchy and applied order. Even though a similar table was not created for Brazil, it was still possible to apply these terms

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159 W.B. Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years’ Residence in South America, in Three Volumes; Containing Travels in Arauco, Chile, Peru, and Colombia, with an Account of the Revolution, Its Rise, Progress, and Results* (London: Hurst, Robinson, and Co., 1825), 286. http://archive.org/stream/historicaldescri01stev#page/n7/mode/2up
to the different groups in that country. Stevenson may not have visited Brazil, but other European scientists were increasingly present in its cities and Brackenridge complained of being “accosted repeatedly by negroes, who offered to sell us some of the beautiful insects of the country, upon which they had been taught to place a value, probably by the recent visit of the European philosophers, or by persons employed to make collections for European cabinets.”

It was through these European scientists that complex forms of scientific classification would begin to be applied in Brazil before becoming a part of standard American travel discourse as well.

The scientific view of the world, increasingly present in the travelogues of the first decades of the nineteenth century, was just one of many different lenses that influenced both the views of the traveler and the travelogues they produced. The discourse of representing Brazilians as “Others” had continued from maps, with their images and textual descriptions, into the language of travelogues where they were further explained. William Edwards even credited his urge to travel to Brazil to “a curiosity excited by such wonders, and heightened by the graphic illustrations in school geographies, where men riding rebellious alligators form a foreground to tigers bounding over tall canes, and huge snakes embrace whole boats’ crews in their ample folds.”

Clearly, the fantastical images in maps had created an impression on travelers who visited Brazil much later. Additionally, since “travel writing is characterized by similarities of textual features, such as the narrative figure, narrative incidents and the description of

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objects, and these act as constraints on the writing,”¹⁶² the popularized representations of Brazilians continued without much dissent from travelers. The images and descriptions from earlier sources, whether accurate or not, often inspired British and Americans to travel, and guided what they saw. Especially with travelogues of the nineteenth century, the reader can see how often they referenced one another, and it is clear that the writings of contemporary travelers not only shaped an author’s perceptions of what they would find in Brazil, but also how they later wrote about their experiences. The recent professionalization of science merely provided a new language to describe their observations that was supposedly more grounded in objectivity and fact, than earlier accounts.

However, the conventions that structured travelogues were also not completely “static.”¹⁶³ The earlier travelogues and descriptions in maps emphasized natural products, trade opportunities, and local curiosities, while the descriptions of people occurred more haphazardly and informally. These parts of travel writing did not completely disappear in the nineteenth century, but additionally the descriptions of Brazilians became more standardized following the popularization of scientists like Linnaeus and Blumenbach. Earlier authors may have attempted to classify plants and animals according to the Linnaean system, but as the system appeared so rational and natural, human beings were also classified. Linnaeus and his classification scheme, when used to justify the inferior position of Brazilians, then presented a union between commerce and science, denigrating Brazilians and validating European appropriation.

¹⁶³ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 79.
“The two were believed to mirror and legitimate each other’s aspirations,”¹⁶⁴ and so were a perfect fit for travelogues, which intended to describe foreign peoples, lands, and their economic potential to European and American audiences. While the scientific writing about Brazilian was largely absent from earlier travel narratives, the appeal of “total classification” reached into travel books as well.

There were two major factors that helped to popularize the presence of scientific discourse and the Linnaean approach to classification in travelogues. Firstly, the arrival of the Portuguese court and later independence of Brazil opened the country up to more foreign travelers, including scientists. In 1809, Andrew Grant was one of many authors to complain that the fauna and flora of Brazil went unrecorded and were, “little known to the inhabitants, and from the extreme jealousy of the government, learned foreigners have been hitherto prevented from examining them.”¹⁶⁵ However the relatively smooth transition to independence a few years later allowed for the continuity of “effective bureaucratic institutions, backed by a cohesive elite,” which was interested in European lifestyles and trends,¹⁶⁶ including a gentlemanly pursuit of science. By the 1860s, an independent Brazil “welcomed and fostered in every possible way” any “scientific errand.”¹⁶⁷ This opening to science began with the presence of the royal court in Brazil, which “opened an extensive field of research [for scientists], of which the Germans

¹⁶⁴ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 34.
¹⁶⁵ Grant, History of Brazil, 186.
¹⁶⁶ Levine, The History of Brazil, 60.
¹⁶⁷ Louis Agassiz and Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz, A Journey in Brazil (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), 511.
https://archive.org/stream/journeyinbrazil00agasiala#page/n7/mode/2up
amply availed themselves.” Such German travelers included Prince Maximilian von Wied-Neuwied, Johann Baptist von Spix, and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius. Though, Alexander von Humboldt preceded them all. While he did not travel to Brazil, his writings were the second major factor that helped to popularize the use of scientific language in travelogues.

In 1799, Humboldt, and his partner Aimé Bonpland, had received “an unprecedented carte blanche to travel in Spain’s American territories,” and they spent the next five years traveling around South America and the Caribbean. His exploration coincided with a “hunger for firsthand information about on South America [that] was widespread and intense” in Europe and Humboldt published numerous books about his travels over the next decades. Interestingly, before his travels, Humboldt had studied under Blumenbach at the University of Gottingen where he was encouraged to pursue his interest in ethnography. Ethnography and the denoting of racial or ethnic differences may not have been the central focus of his works but they do appear often in the text. Once translated in English, Humboldt’s books had a serious impact on the travel discourse of British and American writers, influencing how they viewed and wrote about their journeys. The importance of his work can be seen in the book The Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt, published by William Macgillivray in 1833.

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169 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 114.


Mcgillivray was a member of Natural History Societies in both Edinburgh and Philadelphia,\footnote{William Macgillivray, The Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt Being a Condensed Narrative of His Journeys in the Equinoctial Regions of America, and in Asiatic Russia: - Together with Analyses of His More Important Investigations (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), 3.} so his interest in publishing a condensed and edited English version of Humboldt was presumably desired on both sides of the Atlantic. This work described nature in awe-inspiring terms, and as with other Humboldt publications, often included images of massive trees or giant mountains that dwarfed the small European traveler. Yet Humboldt also employed scientific language, including the Latin names of species in the Linnaean style of classification. The juxtaposition of such scenes of wild and overpowering nature with the measured and scientific language of classification implied an inherent order existed within the seemingly chaotic mass of nature. European science was the power that could make the hectic, observable world understandable and useable. Alongside these scenes of natural wonder, Humboldt also less occasionally referred to the various peoples of the Americas, but when he did, it was as specifically defined races with distinctive traits. As a result, his works served to “naturalize colonial relations and racial hierarchy, representing Americans, above all, in terms of the quintessential colonial relationship of disponibilité”\footnote{Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 128.} \footnote{“Translate.” Google. Accessed November 9, 2013. http://translate.google.com/#fr/en/disponibilite%C3%A9} The peoples of the Americas were just as knowable and simple to define and classify as nature, but his omission of their presence through much of the text highlighted their lack of political or economic agency and ability to have any affect on Europeans. Furthermore, their presence next to nature suggested they were just as unchanging as nature, having always possessed the traits that
the travelers affixed to them. The “Edenic fantasy” portrayed by Humboldt, of a land unchanged or unspoiled, meant that its inhabitants were a timeless people, incapable or unwilling to utilize the paradise that surrounded them and trapped them in a stage of primitive development, forever the cannibal or noble savage. The wild of South America is then seen as open and clear for European science and industry to utilize, the people are scarcely present or, if present, pose no real obstacle.

Even though Humboldt did not apply his work specifically to the country of Brazil, he was immediately followed by a student who did. Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, “perhaps the most successful of Humboldt’s protégés,” followed his mentor’s example with his book, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1815, 1816, 1817*, published in 1820. His book begins with a picture of what the average reader may expect to find in Brazil, an Amerindian family reclining in a hammock in the midst of an expansive jungle. It appears so familiar; one can speculate these are the people who inhabit the maps from previous centuries. If one zoomed into the interior of Brazil in those maps, this family would be there. The inclusion of this image is another example of the reinforcing of the discourse representing Brazilians, a discourse which is continually reproduced by such images and the descriptions in the book. The image is also supplemented by a map included after the table of contents, which localizes the Amerindian family and demarcates the ranges of three main tribes in the interior. This kind of presentation was not new but Prince Maximilian was one of the first trained

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175 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 124.
177 See Figure 22 – Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, *Travels in Brazil, in the Years 1815, 1816, 1817* (London: Henry Colburn & Co., 1820), ii.
https://archive.org/stream/travelsinbrazili00wied#page/n7/mode/2up
naturalists to travel in Brazil, and so his work carried an air of authority. He was also trained by J.F. Blumenbach, “perhaps the foremost German naturalist and anthropologist of his time,” and so his racial descriptions were believed to have a more scientific backing.

The German contributions to European and American perceptions of Brazil were furthered by the naturalists Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius in their account, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817-1820*. Together with Prince Maximilian, these naturalists were some of the first scientists to travel to Brazil and report about their journeys. Although it took some years for all of these works to be translated into English, their professional status meant that their writings might have carried more weight than an earlier English traveler, like Thomas Lindley, who was an imprisoned merchant and not an educated observer. Spix and Martius, as well as Prince Maximilian, are all like Humboldt in their ability to present nature as grand and powerful, and paradoxically to present Amerindians, the people living amongst it, as uncivilized and savage. Their writing successfully “assimilate[d] culture to nature in a way that guarantee[d] the inferior status of indigenous America: the more savage the nature, the more savage the culture.” They also all employed specific racial terms, often the same terms pioneered by Blumenbach, and discussed the minute differences among races as if they were the reproductive parts of plants. The popularity of their works and their repeated insistence that the untamed wilderness of Brazil “fills the European naturalist

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179 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 131.
with delight and astonishment,”\textsuperscript{180} ensured not only that other scientists would repeat their journeys, but that they would also be major referents for all future travelers.

However, before most English-speaking scientific travelers arrived in Brazil in the 1850’s and 1860’s, a number of other British and Americans had already explored the country and published their accounts. Although not scientists, these travelogues still conformed to the discursive conventions of the genre and portrayed Brazilians in much the same way as they had been for centuries prior. The scientific thread of the discourse is just not as pronounced in these works as in later travelogues. This first wave of travelers produced books more similar to the writings of Lindley, Koster, or Mawe, in that they describe the journey through the country and employ anecdotes to illuminate the character of each race, along with physical descriptions. Some of these travelers were also missionaries and so they also added a strain of strong anti-Catholicism that was not as present in the earlier travelogues and was mostly absent from maps. Still, the continuity of descriptions and themes from the earlier sources is very noticeable.

The presentation of Brazil as a paradise or “Garden of Eden” had never disappeared and was only strengthened by the popularity of Humboldt and the images he included. As in the earlier travelogues and even older maps, the widely believed view was that Brazil abounded in natural plenty that was underutilized by its inhabitants, and so the residents of Brazil were universally condemned as lazy or ignorant. The notion that “the material progress enjoined by rationality demanded that nature must be tamed,”\textsuperscript{181} had begun during the European Enlightenment but was also adopted by

\textsuperscript{180} Spix and Martius, \textit{Travels in Brazil, in the Years 1817-1820}, 242.
\textsuperscript{181} Pike, \textit{The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature}, 3.
Americans who applied this philosophy to the wilderness of North America. Americans in particular, “tended to equate wilderness and Indians, seeing the latter as the personification of the former.” As a result, the conquest of nature that European and Americans had long assumed to be necessary and preordained, also took on the dimensions of a “race-war” against Amerindians. They may not have been considered a serious obstacle to progress, but their presence in the untamed nature of Brazil still needed to be addressed. In his *Voyage Up the River Amazons*, the American traveler William Edwards observed the harsh treatment of Brazilian Amerindians and thought, “the only hope for them is, that, in course of a few generations, their race will be so amalgamated with that of the whites as to remove all distinction.” Although he was not a scientist, one may suspect that racist ideas of human classification would make him an opponent of miscegenation. However, apparently as long as the distinction between the races was eventually removed there would be no problem, as classification would mandate they were grouped with whites. This would increase the number of white Brazilians, who possessed the same admirable traits as the traveler, and decrease the number of Amerindians, who stood in the way of social and economic progress. Other travelers though, associated miscegenation “with inevitable retrogression, with debasement rather than invigoration of the civilized person’s gifts.” Rather than debase the superior races, opponents saw complete removal of all Amerindians as the way to progress. After discussing the “uncommonly fine” produce grown outside Rio de

Janeiro, Brackenridge argued that the “savage tribes…must finally disappear before the march of civilization.”\textsuperscript{185} Miscegenation to raise up Brazil’s natives, or extermination to remove them altogether, were the two possibilities to achieve progress, a goal that had been stipulated as early as John Speed and his 1662 atlas. John Codman even expanded this view to other races and “anticipate[d] the disappearance of the Indians, Negroes and Portuguese mixed races before the ever advancing Nordic.”\textsuperscript{186} Science could label the different groups in Brazil as distinct species, allowing such comments of amalgamation or extermination to fall within acceptable scientific discourse.

In addition to the linking of Amerindians with untamed nature, the connection between Afro-Brazilians and manual labor was another theme carried through maps and early travelogues to the works of the mid 19\textsuperscript{th} century travel books. Thomas Ewbank frequently noted the various service positions of Afro-Brazilians, both free and slave, in his travels around the country. He observed, “As with coal, so with every thing; when an article is once mounted on the head of a negro, it is only removed at the place where it is to remain.”\textsuperscript{187} Ewbank was not the only traveler to make such comparisons of Afro-Brazilians to beasts of burden. Daniel Parish Kidder and James Cooley Fletcher agreed that, “for the moving of light burdens and for the transportation of furniture, pianos, &c. the negro’s head has not been superseded by any vehicle.”\textsuperscript{188} Kidder and Fletcher supplemented their observations with images of the Afro-Brazilian laborers. These

\textsuperscript{185} Brackenridge, \textit{Voyage to Buenos Ayres}, 39.
\textsuperscript{186} Hamilton, “English-Speaking Travelers in Brazil, 1851-1887,”537.
\textsuperscript{188} Daniel Parish Kidder and James Cooley Fletcher, \textit{Brazil and the Brazilians, Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches} (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1857), 29.
pictures continue the tradition that presented this group as shirtless workhorses, responsible for the manual labor of Brazil, whether in sugar factories or the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. Their observations, unscientific as they are, still continued the visual presentation of Afro-Brazilians in the same way as seventeenth century maps. They are depicted as closer to animals than to humans and so support the dominant scientific view of Afro-Brazilians’ place at the bottom of a racial hierarchy.

The continuity of representing Amerindians and Afro-Brazilians is also evident in other images that were often included in travelogues. Engravings were a popular inclusion in many travelogues, as authors often listed how many images the book contained on the title page. Ewbank’s book boasted about his inclusion of over 100 images, and he was bested just a year after publishing when Kidder and Fletcher included over 150 engravings in their account. Both of these books, as well as many other travelogues, also included at least one map of Brazil in the beginning of the text, usually after the table of contents. This not only provided the background context for the location of the narrative, but also could have reminded knowledgeable readers of earlier printed maps, which provided so many of the initial descriptions of Brazilians. Many of the pictures included in nineteenth century travelogues were also nearly identical to details in maps from the seventeenth century. Just as the picture of the engenho included in Henry Koster’s narrative mirrored the image in the Blaeu map, other details from similar maps resurface in later travelogues. For example, the image of the rede, or hammock, which depicted a white Brazilian, being carried by two Afro-Brazilians, is visible in multiple sources across nearly 200 years of representation. One can see nearly

See Figures 23 & 24 – Kidder and Fletcher, Brazil and the Brazilians, 28-29.
the same image in Frederik de Wit’s 1660 map,\textsuperscript{190} Joan Blaeu’s 1662 map,\textsuperscript{191} Henry Koster’s \textit{Travels in Brazil},\textsuperscript{192} and Kidder and Fletcher’s \textit{Brazil and the Brazilians}.\textsuperscript{193} They all confirm the positional superiority of the white Brazilian or European traveler relative to the darker skinned members of Brazilian society who are carrying them. Naturally, the fair skinned rider is assumed superior to the rede’s carriers. This message is continually repeated but as time progressed, new generations of viewers could apply their own reasoning for the differences in power.

Similarly, the image of the Botacudo tribe of indigenous Brazilians, a tribe often associated with cannibalism, is frequently pictured in many travel books. In addition to their connection with cannibalism, which alone furnished much interest for British and American travelers, the large piercings in their lips and ears was something many travelers wanted to capture pictorially and not just with descriptions. As a result, an almost identical picture of a member of the Botacudo tribe is provided in many travelogues. Kidder and Fletcher,\textsuperscript{194} and Thomas Ewbank,\textsuperscript{195} as well as Spix and Martius,\textsuperscript{196} all provided a profile view of a Botacudo to show their distinct facial piercings. It is even possible that the strange large mouth figures on the corner of the 1532 Münster map are actually Botacudos.\textsuperscript{197} The large lip and ear piercings marked the Botacudo not just as different from British and American travelers, but also different

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{190} See Figure 12 – de Wit, \textit{Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula} [map].
\item \textsuperscript{191} See Figure 17 – Joan Blaeu, \textit{Praefecturae Paranambucae pars Borealis, una cum Praefectura de Itamaraca} [map].
\item \textsuperscript{192} See Figure 26 – Koster, \textit{Travels in Brazil} [Internet Archive], 385.
\item \textsuperscript{193} See Figure 27 – Kidder and Fletcher, \textit{Brazil and the Brazilians}, 129.
\item \textsuperscript{194} See Figure 27 – Kidder and Fletcher, \textit{Brazil and the Brazilians}, 471.
\item \textsuperscript{195} See Figure 28 – Ewbank, \textit{Life in Brazil}, 459.
\item \textsuperscript{196} See Figure 29 – Spix and Martius, \textit{Travels in Brazil, in the Years 1817-1820}, 142.
\item \textsuperscript{197} See Figure 3 – Münster, \textit{Typus cosmographicus universalis} [map].
\end{itemize}
from other indigenous Brazilian groups who did not practice this. Just like a naturalist examines related species of plants and animals, and separates and categorizes each according to physical characteristics, the travelers performed the same operation when examining the Botacudo and other Amerindians. Associating the tribe with these piercings identified, “the cannibal race of the Botocudos,”198 as amongst the lower orders of the Amerindian racial group. The popularization of the image maintained the established racial hierarchy and the notion of Amerindians as “Others,” but also illustrated the physical differences among the orders. The images of the Botacudos, and those depicting Afro-Brazilians as workhorses, were not original to these travelers but asserted the same views of Brazilians that had existed for centuries prior. The new scientific developments of anthropology and classification, however, were explaining these differences primarily as natural.

Although most of the previously mentioned travelers were not scientists or naturalists, they frequently cited the scientific authorities they knew of and were almost certainly read by the later scientific travelers. The influence of the first wave of German naturalists travelers, as well as the theories of classification they supported, can also be seen in the writings of later scientific travelers, both British and American. One of the first British naturalists to report about Brazil was George Gardner, the superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens of Ceylon, who published his *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* in 1846. Even with his scientific background, Gardner did not say anything new but repeated the same tropes about each race in Brazil. Yet, his style of writing confirms a scientist wrote it. His knowledge of scientific classification allowed Gardner to repeat

198 Spix and Martius, *Travels in Brazil, in the Years 1817-1820*, 143.
the claims about the backwardness and inferiority of various groups in Brazil while grounding his observations in the professional language of a naturalist. Gardner cited Spix and Martius, as well as Humboldt as authorities, and defined and organized the groups of Brazil according to physical attributes and behavior. For example, he criticized earlier British reports against slavery in Brazil noting, that Brazilians treat their slaves well because they “are of a slow and indolent habit, which causes much to be overlooked in a slave, that, by a people of a more active and ardent disposition, would be severely punished.” This kind of defining groups by observed differences is exactly the kind of application of classification that scientific travelers would undertake in Brazil.

The observation of small details and extrapolation of perceived differences to define groups was perhaps even more evident in the writing of Henry Walter Bates, who “inaugurate[d] the 1860 series of scientific travel books,” with his *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, published in 1864. These abilities are particularly important for entomology, a focus of his travel, where insects are classified by minute differences. Apparently, Bates was particularly astute at classification as Charles Darwin credited him with amassing a collection of over 14,000 different species during his time in Brazil. As may be expected, Bates applied this genius for classification to the people of Brazil, dividing each according to ancestry and characteristics. He went in more detail than many previous authors, providing names for the different mixed race groups, many of

\[199\] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Principally Through the Northern Provinces, and the Gold and Diamond Districts, During the Years 1836-1841* (London: Reeve Brothers, 1846), 14-15. https://archive.org/stream/travelsininteri01gardgoog#page/n14/mode/2up

\[200\] Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 17.

\[201\] Hamilton, “English-Speaking Travelers in Brazil, 1851-1887,” 536.

which are the same as those provided in the table in Stevenson’s *Narrative of Twenty Years Residence in South America*. Furthermore, his tendency to bounce back and forth between descriptions of plants and different people naturalizes the kind of classification he imposes on Brazilians.

In this way, Bates travelogue is similar to *A Journey in Brazil*, written by Louis Agassiz and his wife, Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz, in 1868. Louis Agassiz believed that “the true principles of classification exists in Nature herself, and we have only to decipher it.”\(^{203}\) After Agassiz’ immigration to the United States, he “never doubted the propriety of racial ranking,”\(^{204}\) which he then applied later to Brazilians on his expedition. In his book, after providing innumerable instances of his opinions of all the different races he encountered, and of Brazilians in general, Agassiz still included an appendix titled, “The Permanence of Characteristics in Different Human Species.” The title of the essay alone explained Agassiz view of human diversity and classification. Agassiz was a “polygenist” and believed that each of the different human races represented separate human species. Although Agassiz “was an extreme splitter in his taxonomic practice” and “focus[ed] on minute distinctions and establish[ed] species on the smallest peculiarities of design,”\(^ {205}\) much like Bates, the two had differed on their views of humanity. Agassiz’s ideas about the naturalization of racial rankings placed his philosophy closer to that of Joseph-Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, who devised his own racial classification system in the 1850s. The Darwinian idea of human classification, derived from Linnaeus and employed by naturalists like Bates, saw “the social and moral

\(^{203}\) Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 20.
\(^{204}\) Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 75.
\(^{205}\) Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 76.
inequalities among races as produced by differences in the evolving human relation to
natural environment.”

By contrast, the views of Gobineau and Agassiz, saw the
differences as natural and permanent. Despite their differences, both theories of
classification carried on inherited stereotypes of Brazilians and “insisted on the essential
superiority of the European.”

Since most of the travelers repeat very similar comments about Brazilians, what is
most interesting about the later scientific travelers, specifically, is not so much what they
say but the different reasons they give for Brazilian inferiority. These scientists, like all
other travelers to Brazil, had imbibed the same representations of Brazil before their
voyage and so they said many of the same things about Brazilians in their books. Though
they also had different views about the nature of classification, and took varying
approaches when applying these techniques to Brazilians. Whether they agreed or
disagreed with previous travelers, the reasons given for the differences between British or
American scientist/travelers and the Brazilian subjects still revealed continuities of their
established positional superiority and the deepening of the racial hierarchy. The question
of whether different races were really multiple species or a part of the same human
species was one such debate that split the authors, even as it united them in denigrating
Brazilians and asserting European superiority. This debate would not be resolved in
travel books, but Brazil provided a laboratory where these scientists measured and
compared the different groups to one another and proposed theories for their differences,
often based on the same repeated tropes evident in the first maps and travelogues.

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206 Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 65.
207 Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 65.
208 Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 66.
One common explanation was climate. Blumenbach had proposed this as a possible reason for human differentiation and it had “proved most popular as a primary cause for racial distinction,” among both scientific and non-scientific travelers. The same climate that made Brazil such a natural paradise was also responsible for their “stagnation in a state of nature.” The ancient and customary complaint that Brazilians had failed to develop their country was not just evidence of Brazilian indolence, but also a symptom of their living in a tropical climate. Thomas Ewbank even called this “the original sin of warm climates – aversion to labor.” Louis Agassiz may have patronizingly celebrated a number of qualities he found in Brazilians like “their susceptibility to lofty impulses and emotions, [and] their love of theoretical liberty,” but he then conceded, “if also I miss among them something of the stronger and more persistent qualities of the Northern races, I do but recall a distinction which is as ancient as the tropical and temperate zones themselves.” The racial hierarchy that placed British and Americans above Brazilians was seen to be as natural as the climatic zones. Nineteenth century scientists then argued whether these natural differences were permanent or if a cooler, more Northern climate might bring out the positive traits in non-white races.

As the former colonial power, many British and American travelers also blamed the Portuguese for their role in shaping Brazil. Popular beliefs in the nineteenth century held that there were “evidently customs and habits which result from climatic

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210 Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature*, 52.
211 Ewbank, *Life in Brazil*, 84.
212 Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 517.
conditions,“ and since Southern Europe was warmer than Northern Europe, the Portuguese were secondary to British and American travelers. This lesser status of the Southern European Portuguese relative to the Northern European British, and their descendants in North America, meant their inferior traits were only exacerbated in the even warmer climate of Brazil. Louis Agassiz reminded his readers “that the white population of Brazil is chiefly descended from the Portuguese…which at the time of the discovery and settlement of Brazil, had least been affected by the growth of our modern civilization.” The connection of the white population to Portugal highlighted the travelers’ differences from the group they labeled as generally on top of the Brazilian racial hierarchy. Even the pinnacle of Brazilian society at the time, Emperor Dom Pedro II, was not raised above Anglo-Saxon superiority. He was congratulated for parity and for his liberal constitutional rule, whose freedoms were “better secured than in any other Government of the New World, save where the Anglo-Saxon bears sway.” Even Brazil at its best was still seen as inherently inferior to the Northern European nations.

Some travelers also stipulated that physical surroundings and the majority of which kinds of people resided in a country, were responsible for the state of its people, even more so than climate. It was usually considered possible by some that any one member of a specific race could be lifted out of their natural inferior state if placed in the proper environment. For example Kidder and Fletcher believed African-Americans were superior to Afro-Brazilians because Americans taught the Bible to their slaves. “The North American negro has, by this very circumstance, a higher moral intelligence that his

214 Agassiz and Agassiz, A Journey in Brazil, 503.
215 Kidder and Fletcher, Brazil and the Brazilians, 23.
brother fresh from the wild freedom and heathenism of Africa,” whereas “in Brazil every
thing is in favor of freedom.”  All descendants of Africans were assumed lesser than
the descendants of Northern Europeans, but within the African tier of their racial
hierarchy, further division could be found, possibly due to environment. Although
Kidder and Fletcher later contradicted this argument by considering the different inborn
traits of various African tribes, 217 much like John Atkins a century prior. Henry Walter
Bates also questioned whether environment had a more important role in determining
behavior than ancestry. He observed, “It is interesting to find the mamelucos displaying
talent and enterprise, for it shows that degeneracy does not necessarily result from the
mixture of white and Indian blood.” 218 He added, “the inflexibility of character [of
Amerindians], although probably organic, is seen to be sometimes overcome,” before
claiming “it is most likely they will become extinct as a race.” 219 Like previous non-
scientific travelers, Bates also saw Amerindians difference as “probably organic” and
imagined Amerindians disappearing before Brazil could progress. Even after postulating
environment as a factor in their hierarchy, Bates, as well as Kidder and Fletcher, all fell
back on supposed biological reasons to support their racial hierarchy. Perhaps the
fleeting interest in the environment impact on racial character accounts for the frequent
anxiety about the racial makeup of the population of Brazil that is presented in many of
the travelogues. In one example, George Gardner cited Humboldt’s figures about the
composition of the population of Brazil and worried that the law to stop importation of

216 Kidder and Fletcher, Brazil and the Brazilians, 132-133.
217 Kidder and Fletcher, Brazil and the Brazilians, 135-136.
218 Henry Walter Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons (Santa Barbara: The
Narrative Press, 2002), 94.
slaves was being ignored, failing to stop the proportional increase in the number of Afro-Brazilians, relative to white Brazilians. Although the established racial hierarchy was grounded in the biological tenets of Linnaeus and Blumenbach, if the overwhelming presence of darker skinned Brazilians had an affect on Brazilian national character, it was presumed to be negative and not the progress desired by British and American travelers.

The Catholic religion of Brazil was another cause that some travelers believed poisoned the social atmosphere and was responsible for holding back the development of Brazil. While this charge is not as present in scientific travelogues, and is absent in early maps, it is a prominent feature in the works of non-scientific travelers. Ewbank stated his contempt for Catholicism bluntly and proclaimed, “I believe Romanism, as it exists in Brazil and South America generally, to be a barrier to progress…generations must pass before the scales drop from their eyes, and they become mentally free.” Bates echoed the opinion of nearly all other authors when he complained, “the holidays had become so numerous, and interfered so much with trade and industry,” and “little or no work was done anywhere whilst they lasted.” Almost all of the travelers also complain of Catholic clergy as omnipresent and a drain on the finances of Brazilians.

Catholicism and a culture associated with warmer climates, were both things that Brazil had inherited from their former colonial power, Portugal, and so many British and American authors believed the only way to redeem inferior Brazil was to import not just white Europeans, but Northern Europeans or Americans. Many of the travelogues end with advice for émigrés, one even including an appendix titled “Medical hints to

220 Gardner, Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 15.
221 Ewbank, Life in Brazil, viii-ix.
Europeans emigrating to Brazil.” Some authors particularly liked to cite the example of German villages, as an example of what Brazil could become when inhabited by the right kind of people. Agassiz stated German immigration “in itself [was] a great advantage to the country; wherever these little German villages occur…the general aspect of thrift and comfort, so characteristic of the better classes of the German peasantry,” could be found. He also contended that British or American immigrants “would not degrade themselves to the social level of Indians as the Portuguese do; they would not adopt his habits.” The idea of immigration complimented the hypothesis that Amerindians would have to be removed in order to make way for progress.

The encouragement for British and American readers to immigrate to Brazil revealed not just the widespread belief in the subordination of Brazilians due to their failure to develop their own country’s political and economic potential, but also the enduring foreign interest in Brazilian products. Economic motives were always evident in the European representation of Brazil, whether in maps or travelogues, but scientific ideas of classification justified their appropriation of resources from Brazilians. The image of Brazil as a land of wild nature, and various forms of inferior humanity was “bound up with prospects of vast expansionist possibilities for European capital, technology, commodities, and systems of knowledge.” If the locals would not utilize the vast potential of Brazil, then suitable European or American populations should be encouraged to move there and realize those possibilities. The less developed the region of Brazil, the more these ideas of potential development and Brazilian inferiority were

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223 Grant, History of Brazil, Table of Contents.
224 Agassiz and Agassiz, A Journey in Brazil, 64.
225 Agassiz and Agassiz, A Journey in Brazil, 247.
226 Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 110
raised. “While travelling upon the Amazons, I have often asked myself what would be
the best plan for developing the natural resources of that incomparable region,” Agassiz
queried.227 His solution was an improved immigration policy to bolster the population,
particularly among Europeans. The scientific theories of race that were used to justify
British and American economic interests in Brazil only deepened older stereotypes of the
different groups in Brazil. While the disparaging portrayal of Brazilians in old maps may
have begun out of ignorance, it was now actively supported with science and encouraged
for the economic benefits it could return.

However, this process was not some evil plan designed with the sole aim of
expropriation and economic imperialism. Although many of the scientific travelers
journeyed to Brazil with the specific intent to measure and classify people, in addition to
plants and animals, the racial classification in other travelogues was an unconscious
byproduct of the times. The discourse of representing Brazilians had persisted from maps
into travelogues where it continued to influence how individuals thought and wrote.

Most of these travelers did not imagine they were exceedingly racist or saying anything
that was unusual for their time. Many authors even alluded to the fact that prejudice
against color was much less pronounced in Brazil, especially when compared to the
United States. In then appears that the racial hierarchy that was applied to Brazilians was
brought by the travelers themselves and was not necessary native to the country. Still,
many travelers were strong opponents of slavery and the slave trade. William Edwards
noted, “the educated blacks are just as talented, and just as gentlemanly as the whites.”228

Similarly, Kidder and Fletcher state that “some of the most intelligent men that I met with

227 Agassiz and Agassiz, A Journey in Brazil, 511.
228 Edwards, Up the River Amazon, 250.
in Brazil…were of African descent, whose ancestors were slaves,” while still claiming a “prejudice existing all over the land in favor of men of pure white descent” was still somewhat evident.229 The European and American sense of superiority, initially portrayed in the first maps of Brazil and the Americas, had continued into the nineteenth century and still “dominated the political and social world of [their] contemporaries” and “notions of racial ranking fit well with such a world view.”230 Even though it was presented as objective science, the classification systems travelers employed was merely “recording the pervasive social view” of the time. The superiority that these travelers believed they possessed over Brazilians had been conditioned in them by generations of images of Brazilian “Otherness” and was only further confirmed by the accounts from other authors, including reputable scientists.

From the earliest representations of Brazilians found in seventeenth century maps, up until the scientific travelogues of the 1860’s, the image of Brazilians as strange and subordinate was always dominant. The mode of representation may have changed over time but the real substance of the characterization changed very little. Even the advanced scientific techniques of naturalists failed to alter the representation of inferior Brazilians, and only provided additional examples and reasons for their long-established lower status. Charles Granville Hamilton argued that the “greatest fault of these writers was their inevitable optimism,”231 however this optimism often meant the lower orders of humans found in Brazil were supposed to disappear into the unquestioned dominance of white Europeans. After around 1870, these opinions in travelogues only become stronger

229 Kidder and Fletcher, Brazil and the Brazilians, 133.
230 Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, 70.
as the imperialist push becomes stronger globally. The established modes of representing Brazilians never completely vanished and remained a part of European and American construction of Brazil and Brazilians of all colors.
Conclusion

Although maps and travelogues are very different mediums, the representation of Brazilians as inherently inferior to European and North American travelers is always clearly visible in both types of sources. The initial portrayal of Brazilians in maps set out their image as “Others,” defined through a number of cultural traits. They were seen to be cannibals and idolaters, either at war or lounging lazily in their natural paradise. These images were continually recreated and regardless of whether or not they were true, they shaped European perceptions of Brazilians. Originally the maps also did not distinguish between the various groups, but instead broadly characterized every human in the territory of Brazil as strange and different. Classification was a simple caricature indicating Brazilians were certainly not on par with European civilization, and so they were inferior.

As various political and technological changes opened Brazil up to European commerce and exploration the initial impressions of Brazil were expanded, but not fundamentally altered. The same charges of cannibalism and indolence, which characterized Brazilian inferiority, did not disappear and were supplemented by the light textual descriptions and the first indications of ethnic or racial difference among the inhabitants. These created a basic racial breakdown of Brazilian society, based primarily on race or background, and indicated by the various roles each group was seen to fill in a map. The portrayal of Amerindians did not change much at all, but the inclusion of African slaves showed them as workhorses, while the few Europeans seen in maps are depicted as plantation overseers, and explorers or traders. The images in maps then expanded the first simplistic classification of Brazilians from a simple statement of their
inferiority to a hierarchical arrangement which showed Europeans, or white Brazilians, profiting in Brazil, while dark skinned Afro-Brazilians or African slaves worked, with Amerindians largely outside this economic structure.

The increasing contact with Brazilians also occurred around the same time that books, and travelogues in particular, became much more popular and widely read, at the turn of the nineteenth century. These books could not only describe Brazil and its inhabitants in much greater depth and detail than maps could, but many also included pictures which perpetuated the same visual discourse that the maps had created. In addition to the clear continuity of imagery and description from maps to travelogues, many authors were also influenced by the developing fields of natural history and study of anthropology that had progressed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These schools of thought provided new scientific language to explain the differences that were long observed between European travelers and the inhabitants of Brazil. Although the old idea of European superiority based on cultural and political sophistication still disparaged Brazilians, the racial classification advocated by scientists like Blumenbach was much more complex and impactful with its notions of “implied worth.”

From analyzing British and American travel books of the nineteenth century it is clear that the characterizations of Brazilians first established in maps are elaborated and expanded by the introduction of scientific techniques and language. While it is possible that those powerful first representations were created from the ignorance of mapmakers of Brazilian indigenous diversity and inherited traditions of representing non-European peoples, they were encouraged by later travelers as a justification for economic

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imperialism and evidence for ideas of European superiority. As Stephen Gould cautions, “ideas do not reside in the ivory tower of our usual metaphor about academic irrelevancy...ideas motivate human history.”233 The belief in classification is one such idea, and while it has made the natural world infinitely more understandable to scientists, when applied to human beings in Brazil it served to legitimate social and political hierarchies and perpetuate an antiquated idea of a savage and uncivilized people residing in a natural paradise.

Appendix: Images

Figure 1 – Sebastian Münster, *Typus cosmographicus universalis*, appearing in the atlas *Novus Orbis Regionum* (1532). The region of northeastern Brazil is marked “Canibali.”
Figure 2 – Münster, *Typus cosmographicus universalis*. Detail from corner of map showing “cannibali” butchering victims.

Figure 3 – Münster, *Typus cosmographicus universalis*. Human-like creatures possibly living in Northern America. Could they be early representations of the Botacudo tribe?
Figure 4 - Hendrik Hondius, *Americae pars meridionalis*, appearing in the atlas, *Atlas Novus* (1638).

Figure 5 – Hondius, *Americae pars meridionalis*. Close-up of map cartouche.
Figure 7 (left) & Figure 8 (right) – Blaeu, *Americae nova tabula*. Blae’s Brazilians seem to be a possible influence on Speed’s later ethnographic map.

Figure 9 (left) & Figure 10 (right) – John Speed, *America: with those known parts in that unknowne worlde both people and manner of buildings discribed and inlarged*, appearing in “A prospect of the most famous parts of the world.” (1662). The Brazilian “foule” or soldier is a woman, showing the persistence of the Amazonian warrior image.
Figure 11 – Frederik de Wit, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula* (1660).

Figure 12 – de Wit, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula*. Detail from interior of Brazil in the above map. European on horseback leading slaves carrying a white person in a rede. This image is very common in later maps and travelogues.
Figure 13 – de Wit, *Nova et accurata totius Americae tabula*. Detail from interior of Brazil in the above map. Cannibals are shown butchering and cooking human limbs.

Figure 14 – Frederik de Wit, *Novissima et accuratissima totius Americae descriptio* (1670). Close-up of cartouche.
Figure 15 – de Wit, *Novissima et accuratissima totius Americae descriptio*. Notice the expression of the Amerindian and the sharped, curved fingers and toes of the falling darker skinned African.
Figure 16– Joan Blaeu, *Praefecturae Paranambucae pars Borealis, una cum Praefecture de Itamaraca* (1662). An idyllic image of rural life in Brazil on top of a coastal map.

Figure 17– Blaeu, *Praefecturae Paranambucae pars Borealis, una cum Praefecture de Itamaraca*. Detail from the above map depicting a Brazilian engenho.
Figure 18 – “A Sugar Mill” from Henry Koster’s *Travels in Brazil* (1816), 337. The image is remarkably similar to Blaue’s engenho, 150 years earlier.

Figure 19 – Herman Moll, *A new generall chart for the West Indies of E. Wrights projection vul. Mercators chart* (1737)
Figure 20 – Moll, *A new generall chart for the West Indies*. Instructions “To find the Distance of two Places”

Figure 21 – Moll, *A new generall chart for the West Indies*. The northeastern corner of Brazil is still referred to as “Wild Brasil”
Figure 22 – “View of Negroes washing for Diamonds at Mandango at the River Jigitonhonha in Corro do Frio Brazil” from John Mawe’s, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (1812), Title page.

Figure 23 – “Puris in their Hut” – from Prince Maximilan von Wied-Neuwied’s *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1815, 1816, 1817* (1820), ii.
Figure 24 – “A Rio Team,” from D.P. Kidder and J.C. Fletcher’s *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857), 28.

Figure 25 – “Coffee-Carriers” – from D.P. Kidder and J.C. Fletcher’s *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857), 29.
Figure 26 – “A Planter and his Wife on a Journey” from Henry Koster’s *Travels in Brazil* (1816), 385. This rede image is very similar to de Wit’s depiction.

Figure 27 – “The Beggar” from D.P. Kidder and J.C. Fletcher’s *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857), 129. Kidder and Fletcher described beggars who also carried redes.
Figure 28 (top left) – “Lip Ornament of the South American Indian,” from D.P. Kidder and J.C. Fletcher’s *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857), 471.

Figure 29 (top right) – “Boto-Cudos,” from Thomas Ewbank *Life in Brazil* (1856), 459.

Figure 30 (bottom) – “A Botocudo,” from Spix and Martius *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817-1820* (1824), 142.
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