

VIRTUAL BRAZILIAN BILINGUAL BOOK CLUB |
MARIA GRAHAM | *JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO BRAZIL, AND
RESIDENCE THERE, DURING PART OF THE YEARS 1821, 1822,
1823* | *LIVRO DIÁRIO DE UMA VIAGEM AO BRASIL DIÁRIO DE
UMA VIAGEM AO BRASIL - E DE UMA ESTADA NESSE PAÍS
DURANTE PARTE DOS ANOS DE 1821, 1822 E 1823*

2021 Celebrating the Pleasures of Reading Brazilian Literature
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22nd APRIL 2021, 18.30-21.00

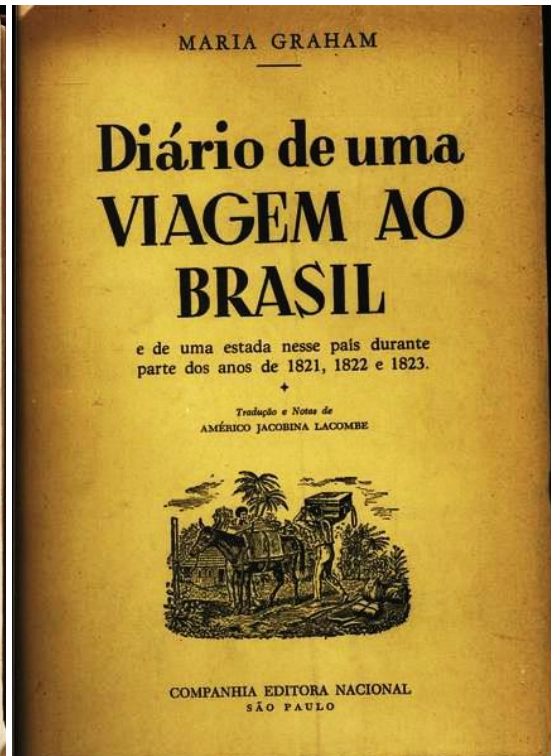
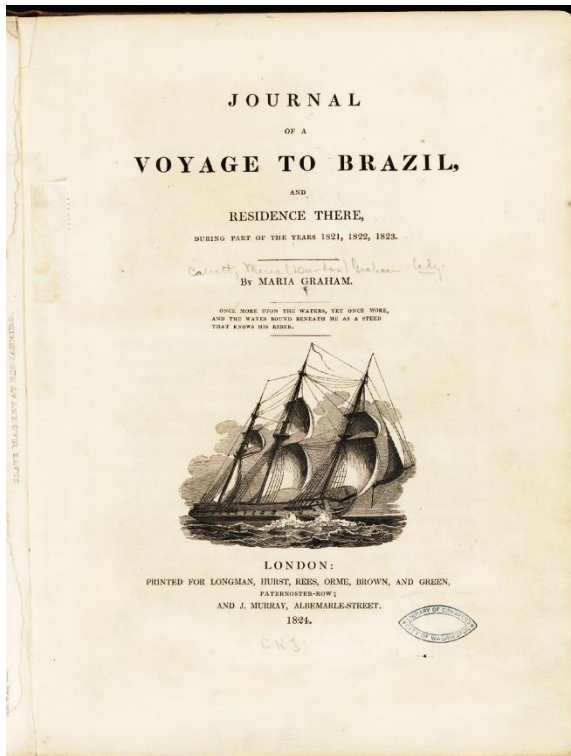
*Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the
years 1821, 1822, 1823 (1824)*

by

MARIA GRAHAM,
Later, Maria, Lady Callcott (1785-1842)

translated as

*Livro Diário De Uma Viagem Ao Brasil Diário De Uma Viagem Ao
Brasil - E De Uma Estada Nesse País Durante Parte Dos Anos De
1821, 1822 E 1823 (1956)*



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A first for our book club in its seventh year:
we are reading a British author, but why?

A monumental travelogue by a trailblazing British author, poet, illustrator and lithographer, historian and art historian, scientist, naturalist, botanist, and a diplomatic agent, imbued with an exceptional intellectual prowess, who chronicled on the epoch-making events nearly two hundred years ago in Brazil.

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

What captured her imagination in Brazil?
How punctiliously did she observe and record what she saw on her travels?

This delightful journal offers an opportunity to catch a glimpse of the scientific mind of this amazing woman with a keen sense of intellectual curiosity, a cultured lady with a broad circle of intellectual, professional, and social acquaintances, a self-effacing botanist and naturalist, a scientific discoverer, a naval and military historian, and a Royal Navy daughter and wife.

She did not waste time chattering about barriers or glass ceilings,
but applied herself to learning continually, taking advantage of any opportunity life presented her, and executing her work with fabulous verve!

What delight she offers readers by interspersing her narrative with quotations of or commentaries on her contemporary fellow writers, poets, and others including Jane Austen (1775-1817), Walter Scott (1771-1832), Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), Lord Byron (1788-1824), Robert Southey (1774-1843), John Murray (1778-1843), Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838) and many more!

A keen reader, she soon discovered and became a reader of the Brazilian Royal Library (later Imperial and later the National Library), eulogising its holdings, opening hours and free access to the public.

How did she briefly become a governess of an imperial Princess,
the future Queen of Portugal?

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

Her journal was translated in Portuguese 132 years after its publication in the twentieth century. Its content, however, had been used by many a Brazilian author before its published translation.

In 2004, Maria Graham appeared in the London National Portrait Gallery promotional poster for the 2004 exhibition featuring her portrait (1819) by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) held an exhibition on women travellers. The exhibition book, *Off the Beaten Track, Three Centuries of Women Travellers*, is by Dea Birkett (1958-)

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DETAILS OF AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS:

ENGLISH

1824 - *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823* published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, and J. Murray, London.

Various editions and reprints, e. g. ISBN13: 978-0554389530 ISBN10: 0554389533
ISBN: 9781108018289 ASIN B006HI5TIC

Free downloads (various), for example:

<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/21201/21201-h/21201-h.htm>

[Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823. : Callcott, Maria, Lady, 1785-1842 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive](#)

PORTUGUESE

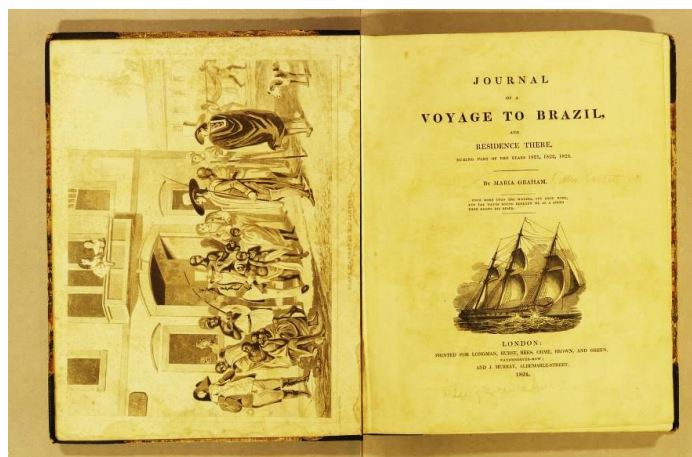
1956 *Livro Diário De Uma Viagem Ao Brasil Diário De Uma Viagem Ao Brasil - E De Uma Estada Nesse País Durante Parte Dos Anos De 1821, 1822 E 1823*. Translated by A. J. Lacombe (1909-1993), published by the Companhia Editora Nacional, in the Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira | Brasiliana series V, Volume 8, in São Paulo.

Various editions/reprints: e.g. ISBN: 9788535932621

Free downloads

<https://bdor.sibi.ufrj.br/bitstream/doc/444/1/GF%2008%20PDF%20-%20OCR%20-%20RED.pdf>

SHORT HISTORY OF THE BOOK AND TRANSLATION



Maria Graham was a published author by the time she started writing another travel journal - *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823*.

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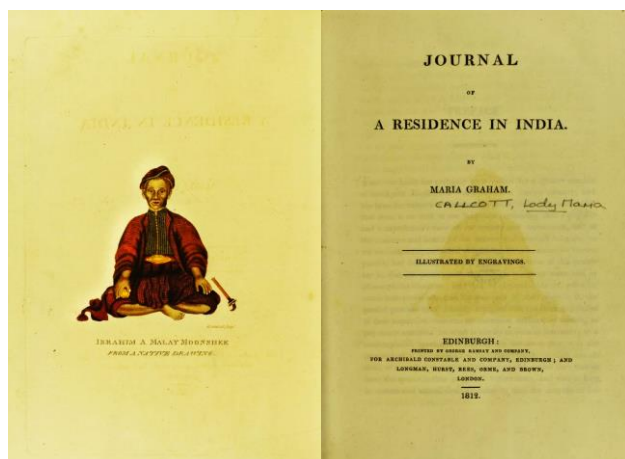
Her first book, *Journal of a Residence in India*, published in 1812, was the result of her journey to India, followed by *Letters from India* in 1814 containing her etchings and a map. The British Library holds numerous works by her, and describes the *Journal of a Residence in India*:

In 1808 Maria Graham (later Callcott) travelled to India with her two siblings and father, a naval officer who had been posted to Bombay. Docking there in December 1809 – a full year after they set sail from England – Maria began to travel widely around southern and eastern India. She visited Madras (Chennai), Calcutta (Kolkata) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) as well as the ancient city of Maliaballipooram and the temples at Elephanta, Carli, and Canary.

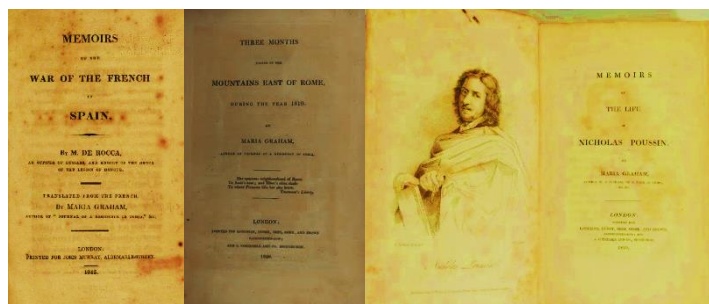
Maria kept a diary of her two-year stay, documenting, as she put it, the country's 'scenery and monuments' and the 'manners and habits of its natives and resident colonists'. This was published in 1812 and contains more studied descriptions of the Hindu religion and culture, which continued to interest Maria throughout her life. Engravings after sketches she made at antiquarian and sacred sites were also published in the 1812 edition.

Letters from India was released two years after the Journal, and after that followed journals of travels in Brazil, Chile, and Italy, as well publications in the fields of history, art history and popular science.

<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/journal-of-a-residence-in-india>



Her interest in natural history and gardens is already present in her first book. She saw and drew the famous banyan tree in the botanic gardens in Calcutta. She would continue applying her knowledge of botany and natural history in all her subsequent journals and publications. An example is her reference to the banyan tree in the description of Brazilian trees. Three more publications followed.



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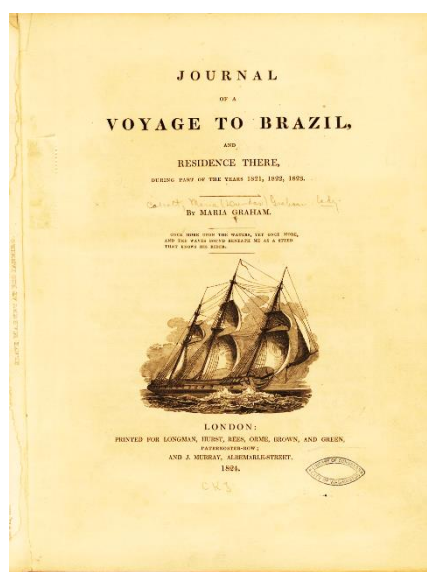
Maria Graham did not accompany her husband, Thomas Graham R.N. during the Napoleonic wars. She used her time to translate the *Mémoires sur la guerre des Français en Espagne* (1814) by Albert Jean Michel de Rocca (1788 -1818) as *Memoirs of the war of the French in Spain* published by John Murray in 1815. Once, the wars finished, the couple went on a cultural tour to Italy in 1819 and another publication *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820) ensued from it. She also wrote a biography of Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* published in 1820, which was the first study of the painter published in English.

In 1821, Thomas Graham was given command of HMS *Doris*, a 36-gun frigate, which was being sent out to the Pacific coast of South America to protect Britain's growing trade with the newly independent South American republics, particularly Chile. Maria accompanied her husband on the beautifully named Royal Navy vessel.

HMS *Doris* was a 36-gun fifth-rate frigate of the Royal Navy which served between 1808 and 1829. However, Maria Graham describes it as a 42-gun frigate at the beginning of her journal at variance with various records. *Doris* was placed in ordinary (reserve fleet) in 1815, then recommissioned in 1821, and went on two tours of duty to the South America station during the Chilean and Brazilian wars of independence and the Cisplatine War of 1825-1828 between Argentina and Brazil.

The name of the vessel, *Doris*, is fascinating. In Greek Δωρίς/Δωρίδος meant 'Dorian woman'. In Greek mythology, *Doris* was a sea nymph or goddess, one of the many children (Oceanids) of Oceanus and Tethys and wife of Nereus. The name *Doris* is linked with two words in Greek: *Dôron* meaning 'gift' or 'abundance', and *Zôros*, meaning the 'pure' and 'unmixed'. *Zôros* was often used to describe fresh water or in terms of the teachings of the day, the pure soul of a woman. It began to be used as an English name in the 19th century.

A drawing of the HMS *Doris* appears on the original title page of *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823*. It was aboard this vessel that Maria Graham began to write the journal. As a superb wordsmith, she produced breath-taking landscapes and description of the actions which have a cinematic quality, and furthermore, as an accomplished draughtswoman, she sketched and painted numerous views of Brazil. They are treasured by all Brazilians.

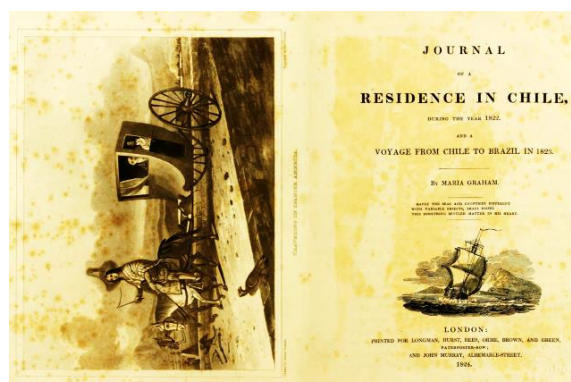


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Their voyage abounded with events along the coast of Brazil (Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro), which she diligently recorded and illustrated. There were various interruptions to the journey HMS *Doris* as events hailing the forthcoming independence of Brazil unravelled. At that time there were numerous Britons who lived and pursued various commercial ventures and activities and Britain supplied much of the contemporary technology from various industrial hubs (e. g. Birmingham) to Brazil.

In addition, during the Napoleonic invasions of Portugal, Britain and its Royal Navy had ensured safe passage to the Portuguese Royal Family with their court, their large entourage, and approximately sixty thousand books to Brazil in 1808. The transfer continued until 1821. Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Kingdom of Portugal. In December 1815, the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves was created, constituting a state of three kingdoms, thus, changing the status of Brazil, from colony to a kingdom.

On the same voyage, Maria Graham would lose her husband as they sailed southwards around the wildly perilous and treacherous Cape Horn. She would return to Brazil after the first time. Details appear in her Brazilian journal as well with fantastic description of birds and naturalist on board dissecting and describing one of them. Her records of the journey to Chile appear in a separate book under the title *Journal of a Residence in Chile during the Year 1822. And a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823*, also published in 1824.



The title page of the *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823* contains a quotation from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), Canto the Third, stanza two, lines 5- 18 by George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824):

ONCE MORE UPON THE WATERS, YET ONCE MORE,
AND THE WAVES BOUND BENEATH ME AS A STEED
THAT KNOWS HIS RIDER.

These lines provide an insight into the wild beauty of Nature and the Romantic themes of solitude, melancholy, and the transience of life, very apt for her Brazilian journal. It was inspired by Lord Byron's travels in Southern Europe. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* contains four Cantos, and the third and the fourth are regarded as its best. The word 'Childe' was the medieval title for a young squire about to take his vows of knighthood. Maria Graham was well acquainted with Lord Byron.

Maria Graham began her *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823* with a *Sketch of the History of Brazil* in the first part of the journal. The short history provides a concise introduction, and contextual background. She promptly referred to the notable three-volume *History of Brazil* by the Lake Poet and Poet Laureate Robert Southey (1774-1843) published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme from 1810-1819. Our book club members will recall that I have often referred to this first history

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of Brazil in English in numerous posts for other books which our book club has read and discussed.

Robert Southey's history was highly influential, and he perused copious primary source documents from mainly Portugal, Brazil, Spain, Great Britain. Originally, he had intended to write a history of Portugal including that of Brazil and other Portuguese colonies. As events unfolded, he decided to write a history of Brazil. Although he had never visited Brazil, he succeeded in creating a superb history which would be used and, indeed, plagiarised (e.g. Alphonse Beauchamp (1767-1832) and José Inácio de Abreu e Lima (1794-1869) *c.f.* W. Martins's *Historia da Inteligência Brasileira*, Vol. II). In addition, he also wrote a three-volume *History of the Peninsular War* published by John Murray in London in 1823, 1827, 1832, which has remained as a key source about the Napoleonic invasions of Portugal to date. One could speculate that he may have read some of Maria Graham's works.

Therefore, it is crucial to bear this history of publications and publishers in mind as Maria Graham was writing quite close to the time of the publication of Robert Southey's *History of Brazil*, often offering a critical appraisal of some of his assertions or a correction here and there. She would write her story from the stance of an eyewitness, empirically in the Baconian tradition, clearly stating what her aim was, and how she would use Robert Southey's history in the first two paragraphs:

I judged it necessary to prefix the following sketch of the history of Brazil to the journal of my voyage thither, in order that the political events to which I was an eyewitness might be the better understood.

The early part of the history is almost entirely taken from Mr. Southey. It would have been easy for me to have referred to the Portuguese authors, as I have read nearly all that are to be found in print of Mr. Southey's authorities, and some that he does not mention; but Mr. Southey had been so faithful as well as judicious in the use he has made of his authors, that it would have been absurd, if not impertinent, to have neglected his guidance. From the time of the King's arrival in Brazil, or rather of his leaving Lisbon, I am answerable for all I have stated: it is little, but I hope that little is correct.

Maria Graham's *Sketch* provides fascinating details in the history of Brazil, with some variance if compared with 'official' versions of history in Brazil and Portugal over the past two centuries. Equally, she was unafraid to express her views on various matters, for instance, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the local British community and their trades along with their country houses and beautiful gardens, Imperial affairs of Brazil, on the Portuguese, on the beauty of Brazilian flora and fauna, and poignantly on slavery, slave trade, slave owners (including women owners), abject practices, variety of slaves and freed slaves and the trades in which they engaged. A closer examination of the observations, commentary, and appraisal which she included shows that she was far more erudite and capable of providing incisive evidence than credit accorded to her. She clearly adopted a self-effacing stance, as this passage shows:

Such was the state of Brazil, generally speaking, on our arrival in that country, on the 21st of September, 1821. Much that might be interesting I have omitted, partly because I have not so correct a knowledge of it, as to venture to write it; much, because we are too near the time of action to know the motives and springs that guided the actors; and much, because neither my sex nor situation permitted me to inform myself more especially concerning the political events in a country where the periodical publications are few, recent, and though by law free, yet, in fact, owing to the

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circumstances of the times, imperfect, timorous, and uncertain. What I have ventured to write is, I trust, correct as to facts and dates; it is merely intended as an introduction, without which, the journal of what passed while I was in Brazil would be scarcely intelligible.

The first part of the journal begins with the departure of HMS *Doris* on 31st July 1821 and concludes on 2nd April 1822. The second part of journal entitled *Second Visit to Brazil* contains a shorter introductory account of historical events in Brazil during the year and three days when Maria Graham was away from Brazil and begins on 13th March 1823, when she arrived in Brazil with Lord Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, Marquess of Maranhão (1775-1860). It concludes on 18th December 1823.

In the detailed accounts of the journeys, Maria Graham includes longitudes and latitudes, and temperature in degrees Fahrenheit, weather conditions, and technical details of the vessel and how its naval components operated. As the narrative develops her scientific approach to describing everything becomes evident, for instance, in the references to the plants and trees, which appear with the Brazilian name (spelling of the time) and followed by the scientific name in Latin.

The book contains numerous illustrations with eleven plates and nine vignettes printed in black and white. Some of them are by well-known artists. The page opposite the title page features the *Val Longo, or Slave Market at Rio*. Her illustrations were done in watercolour. They are true treasures. Some illustrations accompany samples in her *herbarium* and are historically relevant. This is obviously reflected in the holdings of the Kew Gardens, the Natural History Museum, the *Acta Botanica Brasilica*, her contributions to *Exotic Flora* (1822-1827) by Sir Willian Jackson Hooker (1785-1865), the Gardens Trust, the British Library and elsewhere. Her expertise is also corroborated by her correspondence and her 1842 *A Scripture Herbal*.



Val Longo, Slave Market

View of Corcovado c. 1821

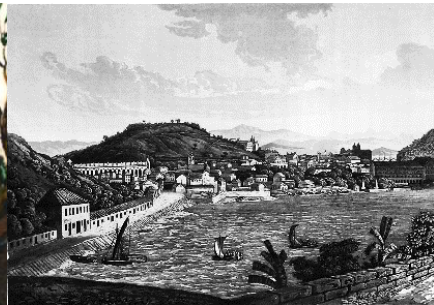


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The *Gate & Slave Market at Pernambuco* by the English artist Augustus Earle (1793-1838) who lived in Rio de Janeiro in 1820-1824 in the 1824 Royal Academy catalogue <http://www.slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/1934>



San Cristovam 1823



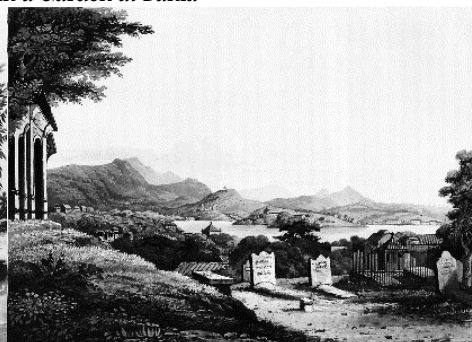
Rio from the Gloria Hill



Tree in a Garden at Bahia

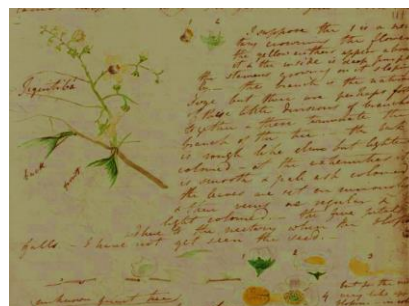


Dona Maria de Jesus.



The English Burial Ground.

Maria Graham records many Brazilian trees and plants: *jacarandá*, *pitangeira* (*Eugenia uniflora*), *jequitibá*, *gameleira* (she compares it to the Banyan tree) and various air plants (*Tillandsia ligulate*) and bromelias and many more.



Maria Graham's sketch of the Jequitibá
 (Archive ref DC 43 f.49, image RBG Kew)

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Being quite knowledgeable in naval vessels, Maria Graham recorded her surprise at discovering the *jangada* near Pernambuco stating that it ‘resembles nothing I have ever seen before; six or eight logs are ... (..)’, she described its sails, features and how *jangadas* transported all kinds of goods. Transportation is described in significant detail throughout the journal including the use of horses. She would often ride a horse to reach various sites.

Geological, geographical, and climatological details also abound in her journal. She demonstrated a keen interest in geology. In her journal, she mentioned how she set out to find a meteorite in Brazil on one occasion. Meteorites have long exerted great fascination for enquiring minds everywhere and recently in the UK. Another fascinating description found in the journal is the author’s awe in her first sighting of an iceberg as HMS *Doris* travelled southwards towards Chile.

Maria Graham followed the discussions of the first Constitutional bill in Brazil displaying significant insight:

This day the debate in the Assembly has been most interesting. It is some time since, in discussing that part of the proposed constitution, which treats of the persons who are to be considered as Brazilians, entitled to the protection of the laws of the empire, and amenable to those laws, the 8th paragraph of the 5th article was admitted without a dissentient voice: it is this—"All naturalised strangers, whatever be their religion." To-day the 3d paragraph of the 7th article came under discussion. This article treats of the individual rights of Brazilians; it runs thus—"The constitution guarantees to all Brazilians the following individual rights, with the explanations and limitations thereafter expressed:

- I- Personal Freedom.
- II - Trial by Jury.
- III - Religious Freedom.
- IV - Professional Freedom.
- V- Inviolability of Property.
- VI- Liberty of the Press."

The 14th article goes on to state, that all Christians may enjoy the political rights of the empire: 15th, "Other religions are hardly tolerated, and none but Christians shall enjoy political rights;" and the 16th declares the Roman Catholic religion to be that of the state, and the only one benefited by the state.

Maria Graham intersperses quotations from various poets in the body of the journal mostly without mentioning the source. It can be surmised that the quotations would be familiar to readers at the time. An illustration is the following excerpt from James Thomson (c. 1700 -1748) who was a British poet and playwright, known for his poems *The Seasons* and *The Castle of Indolence*, and for the lyrics of *Rule, Britannia!*

Friday, August 22d.—The day as fine as possible; and after breakfast we pursued our journey to Santa Cruz, the road improving in beauty as we proceeded

The noble sons of potent heat, and floods
Prone rushing from the clouds, rear'd high to heav'n
Their thorny stems, and broad around them threw
Meridian gloom."

The footnotes in the journal bring various interesting details as well. Maria Graham also included an *Appendix - Tables of Imports and Exports of the Province of Maranhão 1812-1821*, which nearly two hundred years later remain an important historical source of trade history. She introduces the section thus:

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It will appear from the following Tables of the Imports and Exports of the Province of Maranham, from 1812 to 1821, of how much importance the acquisition of that Province is to the Empire of Brazil. Some other Tables are added, which may serve to give a clearer idea of the state of the country. The amount of the duties on the importation of Slaves, paid by Maranham to the treasury at Rio de Janeiro during those ten years, was 30,239 milrees.

And I include, for illustration, the last table from the Appendix, which concisely represents the state of agriculture of the Province of Maranhão to illustrate.

STATEMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

In the whole Province		Employed	Existing.	Mean Worth.	Daily.
P e r s o n s	Freemen	19960	35618	————	de 240 a 326
	Slaves	69534	84434	200000	de 160 a 240
C a t t l e	Oxen	8811	130640	10000	————
	Asses	————	28	20000	————
	Goats	————	400	1200	————
	Sheep	————	1800	2000	————
	Horses	600	12240	20000	————
	Mares	————	9400	10000	————
	Mules	1100	3200	45000	————
	Ewes	————	890	1200	————
	Cows	————	20400	12000	————
	Total Amount of Agriculture				1,897,271,846
Capital employed				27,813,600,000	
Number of Farms				4,856	
Number of Proprietors				2,683	

Note.—The worth is calculated in rees, the 1,000, or milree, being worth 5s. 2d. sterling

Her appraisals of Dom Pedro I are equally insightful in the journal. Following the death of the Emperor, she started her biographical *Foreshortening of the Emperor Dom Pedro I* which she wrote from September 1834 completing it in July 1835. This was translated and published in Portuguese as *Escoço biográfico de Dom Pedro I* / Maria Graham -Maria Callcott, Lady, 1785-1842, in 1940 by the Brazilian National Library. It contained the biographical foreshadowing of Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, 1798-1834 and correspondence with the Empress Leopoldina, consort of Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, 1797-1826 and correspondence with the Baron Mareschal, Sir Charles Stuart, Sir Robert Gordon. It was reprinted in the series Cadernos da Biblioteca Nacional no. 7 in 2010 <https://www.bn.gov.br/producao/publicacoes/escorco-biografico-dom-pedro-i>



http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_obrasgerais/drg1305313.pdf

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Dom Pedro and Leopoldina (1826) by Arnaud Pallière (1784–1862)

The translation in Portuguese of the biography and the journal were made by Américo Lourenço Jacobina Lacombe (1909-1993), a lawyer, historian, and lecturer. The Portuguese translation of the journal *Livro Diário De Uma Viagem Ao Brasil Diário De Uma Viagem Ao Brasil - E De Uma Estada Nesse País Durante Parte Dos Anos De 1821, 1822 E 1823* (1956) was published by the Companhia Editora Nacional in São Paulo.



It contains some additional elements thanks to the efforts of the Brazilian historian and diplomat Manuel de Oliveira Lima (1867-1928) who wrote about her in the first decade

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of twentieth century. It has a reprint of the article entitled *Graham (Miss) e a Confederação do Equador* which was published by the *Journal of the Archaeological and Geographical Institute of Pernambuco*, Vol. XII, no.68, pages 306-10, in its June 1906 issue. The article was then reprinted in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* on 27th November 1906.



Brazilian Legation in London: from left to right: Graça Aranha, Sylvino Gurgel do Amaral, Joaquim Nabuco, Domicio da Gama and **Oliveira Lima** in London, March 1901

Manuel de Oliveira Lima told the readers that he had been lucky to have found a copy of Maria Graham's *Journal* at the 'Casa Edwards', that is, at the Francis Edwards Antiquarian Bookseller (founded in 1855), a delightful bookshop for any bibliophile. The copy was interleaved with various additional notes which the author took to Brazil. She intended to revise and expand the 1824 edition. Manuel de Oliveira Lima served as the Chargé d'Affaires of the Legation of Brazil in London in 1900. In addition to the article mentioned above, he would refer to Maria Graham's journal and other works in his *Pernambuco e seu desenvolvimento histórico* (1894), *D. João VI no Brasil* (1909), *O movimento da Independência* (1922).

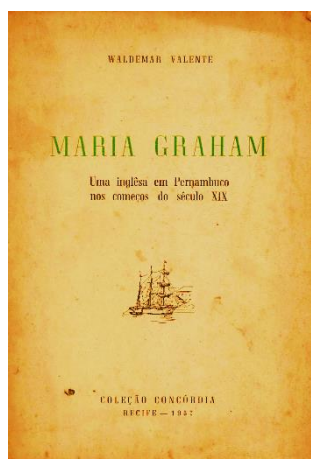
In 1938, the Brazilian National Library, through Mr Erik Eichner of the Kosmos bookshop in Rio de Janeiro, succeeded in purchasing part of Maria, Lady Callcott's estate which included 61 small watercolours from the London antiquarian book dealer Walter T. Spenser (27, New Oxford Street, London, W.C., Opposite Mudie's Library and near the British Museum) in 1938. The Brazilian translation contains many more of Maria Graham's illustrations.

The sociologist Gilberto de Mello Freyre (1900-1987) perused and quoted from *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823* in his *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (1933) and *Inglezes no Brasil: Aspectos da influência britânica sobre a vida, a paisagem e a cultura do Brasil* (1948).



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In 1957, Waldemar de Figueiredo Valente (1908-1992), a physician, anthropologist, and ethnographer, published his *Maria Graham: uma inglesa em Pernambuco nos começos do século XIX* (*Mary Graham: an English woman in Pernambuco in the early 19th Century*) in Recife, capital of Pernambuco. http://basilio.fundaj.gov.br/pesquisaescolar_en/index.php?option=com_content&id=1234



There are so many facets to the *Journal of a voyage to Brazil, and residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823*. Re-reading the journal two hundred years after it was written makes one realise what a formidable woman Maria Graham must have been. Her journal combines literary qualities with her scientifically crafted narrative. The breadth of her erudition demonstrates knowledge of a broad spectrum of matters and affairs, a woman in her mid-thirties, the wife of a naval officer certainly vouches for the trust she enjoyed among her contemporaries and the numerous biographical details available on the main UK art and sciences websites. For Brazil, her journal is an invaluable source of accounts of events, institutions, people, and culture.

Her punctilious descriptions mirror exceptional perceptiveness in a broad spectrum of themes which will often surprise the reader concerning how enlightened the author was: initiatives such as lotteries to support hospitals, vaccination institution, Lancasterian (monitorial) education, the Imperial Library opening hours with free access, the new Brazilian Imperial constitution, gold rushes in Brazil, figures such as Dona Maria de Jesus, the opera in Rio comparable to the Haymarket in London and its programme of Rossini, the behaviour of the public, the clergy paid the state, the dances (quadrilles) at the British residences, the navigation charts of the coast, and so much more in addition to what was said above. This journal deserves to be reread and valued as there is so much to discover about the world two hundred years ago.

SHORT BIOGRAPHY

MARIA GRAHAM,
Later, Maria, Lady Callcott
(19th July 1785-21st November 1842)

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Maria Graham, née Dundas, and Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842) after second marriage, author, poet, naturalist, botanist, historian, traveller, amateur draughtswoman and lithographer, children’s author, was born on 19th July 1785 at Papcastle, near Cockermouth in Cumberland (Cumbria).

She was the eldest of the four children of George Dundas (1756-1814), a naval officer, and his wife, Miss Thomson/Thompson. Her mother was from Virginia and was brought up in Liverpool. She grew up on the Isle of Man and in Cheshire. She attended a boarding school in Oxford. Her father was mostly absent from her life. Her mother died when she was eighteen.

Her uncles were quite wealthy and gave support to her, after a brief teaching appointment in Devon, she went to stay with her uncle, James Dundas, in Edinburgh, where she met the leading lights of the Scottish Enlightenment such as Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) and John Playfair (1749-1819). Suffering from tuberculosis, she travelled to convalesce in south London over the winter of 1806-1807.

Following her recovery, the 23-year-old joined her father in 1808 on his journey by sea to Bombay, where he had been assigned the head of the naval works of the British East India Company's dockyard. Continuing her enthusiastic self-education, she used the journey to learn a little Persian, read Froissart's *Chronicles* and taught the four youngest midshipmen. She also recorded in her journal her pleasure tasting her first banana on that voyage.

There she met the naval lieutenant Thomas Graham, the third son to Robert Graham, the last Laird of Fintry, to whom she became engaged and they got married in India at the

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end of 1809. In 1811, the young couple returned to England, where Maria Graham published her first book, *Journal of a Residence in India*, followed by *Letters on India*. A few years later her father was appointed the commissioner of the naval dockyard in Cape Town, where he died in 1814, aged 58, having been promoted rear-admiral just two months earlier.

Maria Graham lived in London and Edinburgh, editing books, and carrying out translation work while her husband was away on duty until 1818, when she once more boarded a vessel with her husband to leave the shores of Britain, this time for Italy. After soaking up the culture in Rome and Lazio and mixing with artists including J.M.W. Turner and Charles Eastlake, they returned in 1820. She published a work on the life of Nicholas Poussin as well as a journal of the trip.

In 1821, she departed for South America aboard the HMS *Doris* under her husband's command bound for Chile. Her husband suffered from a fever and she often referred to his health in the Journal, he died at sea in April 1822 as they travelled to Chile. Maria Graham ventured to explore her new surroundings, staying with the Scottish Lord Cochrane in Quintero.

An earthquake shook the region, which she described in the *Transactions of the London Geological Society*. The geologist Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) used her description to support his theory that earthquakes cause land to rise; a theory criticised by George B. Greenough (1778-1855) at the time. She refused any assistance in the matter from her relatives and published a retaliatory pamphlet (See details on the Royal Society website). In 1835, when Charles Darwin was aboard the *Beagle*, he observed the same land-forming phenomenon corroborating Maria Graham's accurate observation and report.

Maria Graham spent most of 1823-1825 in Rio de Janeiro, where she was appointed governess to Dona Maria, daughter of the Emperor of Brazil (future Queen of Portugal). She had assembled various materials in London before she returned to Brazil to discharge her duties of preceptor. At various points in her journal, she refers to teaching midshipmen aboard the HMS *Doris* with its classroom and slate (blackboard). She learned Portuguese in Brazil as well. She prepared further journals for publication, which appeared in 1824. She supported herself by writing articles. After leaving Brazil, Maria Graham would correspond with the Empress who was Austrian and, therefore, regarded as a 'foreigner' and not trusted by the Portuguese courtiers. She was an educated woman with many interests in science and technological advancements. The Empress had to endure the elevation of one of the lovers of her husband at the court with all ensuing nefarious consequences. This was made worse considering the political events unravelling as Brazil became independent from Portugal.



Maria II, Queen of Portugal, at age 10, 1829, by Thomas Lawrence, Royal Collection

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On her return to England, Maria Graham met the English landscape painter Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, (1779-1844), and being a young widow and not wishing to spend her life alone, got married to him in 1827. Augustus Wall Callcott first studied music (his brother a famous musician), and he sang for several years in the Westminster Abbey Choir. At the age of twenty, he gave up music, and exhibited his first painting at the Royal Academy. He was elected an associate in 1807, and an academician in 1810. In 1827 he received the honour of knighthood; and, seven years later, he was appointed surveyor of the royal pictures.

Together Augustus and Maria travelled through Germany, Austria, Italy, and France in the year they got married and met with fellow artists and intellectuals who would be assiduous visitors in their Kensington home in London. Maria Callcott continued writing as she was permanently affected by a burst blood vessel in 1831. She nevertheless continued to receive distinguished visitors from the worlds of art, literature, science and politics, who conversed with her among her exotic plants, souvenirs of her extensive travels. Resuming her history writing, she went on to publish her most famous book, for children, *Little Arthur's History of England*, in 1835, and a tome on the history of painting, before publishing on botany. She died of her lifelong affliction, tuberculosis.

The plant *Escallonia callcottiae* Hook. & Arn. is named for her (*Escallonia callcottiae* Hook. & Arn).

As a woman traveller and author two hundred years ago, she was a notable trailblazer. In a research article, Carl Thompson published an article entitled ***Women Travellers, Romantic-era science and the Banksian empire Research article*** on 1st May 2019 on the Royal Society website. This is a more insightful appraisal of Maria Dundas/Graham/Callcott's role, and I highly recommend the whole article. I include here the section on Maria Graham: <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/10.1098/rsnr.2018.0062>

‘Maria Graham in South America

With Riddell, we see a woman traveller successfully negotiating women's ambiguous positioning in Romantic-era natural-historical networks, and thereby contributing to contemporary scientific endeavour and securing a degree of authority and influence. A later traveller, Maria Graham (née Dundas, 1785–1842), provides further evidence of women's ability to navigate the challenges they faced and make meaningful scientific contributions across a range of scientific disciplines. However, Graham's career, to a greater extent than Riddell's, also illustrates the pressures and reputational risks women might face when participating in science and some of the boundaries subtly shaping and constraining women's scientific endeavours in this period.

Graham, like Riddell, was from a genteel Scottish family, although raised initially in the northwest of England and then educated at a boarding school in Oxfordshire.⁴¹ A key phase of her intellectual formation came at the age of 18, when she moved to Edinburgh with her father. There she threw herself wholeheartedly into the stimulating social world of the late Scottish Enlightenment, associating with figures like the philosopher Dugald Stewart, the mathematician and geologist John Playfair (also an early mentor to Mary Somerville) and the chemist John Leslie. These connections kindled Graham's own intellectual and literary ambitions, which found expression in 1809 when she accompanied her father, a Naval officer, to a posting in India. En route to India she met, and soon married, her first husband, Thomas Graham, the son of a Scottish laird; returning from India in 1811, she wrote up and

published her *Journal of a residence in India* (1812). This launched a long-running, successful authorial career that encompassed a range of publications, including three more travel narratives (to Italy, Brazil and Chile), some innovative essays in art history and several works of popular history and children's literature.

Both in her publications and in life, Graham's principal fascination was with history, art, political economy and what we can broadly label ethnography. But the natural sciences were a constant, accompanying interest, often complementing Graham's enquiries and discussions of other fields. Throughout her travels she gathered and maintained her own collection of rock, mineral and insect specimens; some of the latter were passed on to the British Museum (BM) during Graham's lifetime, and the whole entomological collection was donated to the BM after Graham's death.⁴² As we shall see, her travel activities also included, in at least one period, gathering zoological specimens. But it was with geology and botany that Graham engaged most significantly, and made her most important contributions to contemporary scientific knowledge and debate. Her interactions with these two distinct (though overlapping) disciplinary communities form an interesting contrast, illustrative again of the varied reception Romantic-era women might face when pursuing scientific enquiries.

Botany was a lifelong interest of Graham's, and a range of botanical observations are woven into all her travelogues. These observations in turn frequently indicate a degree of botanical expertise, with Graham often citing Linnaean nomenclature or deploying technical descriptive terminology. At the same time, one might easily read these published references to interesting new plants and flowers simply as the work of a well-informed hobbyist, rather than evidence of more substantive botanical researches. Indeed, her Chile journal includes an apology for the author's supposed ignorance of botany, simultaneously expressing a distaste for Linnaean terminology.⁴³ As so often with women's travel writing in this period, however, the persona and activities presented in print do not necessarily correspond with the author's actual endeavours. Certainly, by the time of her South American travels (between 1821 and 1823 and then again between 1824 and 1825), Graham was plant-collecting in a fairly assiduous, expert fashion and, like Riddell before her, she was also connected to important botanical networks. In Brazil and Chile between 1821 and 1823—when Graham accompanied her husband on a Naval posting, although Thomas died before they arrived at Chile—she gathered an array of botanical materials: seeds were sent to the botanist Robert Graham at the University of Edinburgh; bulbs were preserved and then passed on, when back in Britain, to a major nursery of the day, Lee and Kennedy's Vineyard in Hammersmith.⁴⁴ When visiting the island of Juan Fernandez on her return voyage from Chile, moreover, Graham gathered plant specimens that have had enduring scientific value: the sample she gathered of one shrub was later selected as (and remains) the lectotype for that species, which was accordingly named, in 1884, 'Wahlenbergia Grahamiae'.⁴⁵

While returning to Britain from Chile in 1823, Graham—now a widow—visited Brazil for a second time, and on making the acquaintance of the emperor and empress was invited to take up the post of governess to their daughter. Graham therefore returned briefly to Britain, where she arranged publication of her travel accounts, before travelling back for a third residence in Brazil during 1824–1825. This venture marked a further step-up in Graham's scientific engagement and integration into contemporary botanical networks. Before she left Britain, Robert Graham put her in touch with William Hooker, then professor of botany at Glasgow University and in later life director of Kew Gardens. (Maria) Graham then supplied Hooker with an abundance of botanical materials from Rio de Janeiro and its environs, where she was based. These included plant specimens such as 'twenty two Varieties of Fern all growing between my cottage in the Larenjeiras & the top of the Corcovado on Granite

rock 1700 ft high’ and also a substantial album of botanical drawings, from which figures 2 and 3 are taken.46 In this period Graham also collected zoological material. A visitor to her cottage on the outskirts of Rio reported seeing ‘the skins of snakes and of other species of reptile’; these were later donated to the BM, along with several bird specimens.47



Figure 2. Maria Graham, botanical illustration supplied to William Hooker, 1825. © Trustees of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, and reproduced with their permission. (Online version in colour.)



Figure 3. Maria Graham, botanical illustration supplied to William Hooker, 1825. © Trustees of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, and reproduced with their permission. (Online version in colour.)

In botany, then, Graham had become a diligent and competent plant-collector by the mid 1820s, capable of preserving plants, making drawings and recording relevant situational data to the standards required by one of the most important ‘centres of calculation’ in the discipline. These activities were in turn acknowledged and respected by Hooker, who praised Graham's endeavours on several occasions in print and named several species after her.48 Significantly, however, Graham's contributions to contemporary botany proceeded almost entirely through the exchange of specimens and private correspondence. As noted, there is little in her published writings to indicate anything more than a casual, moderately informed enthusiasm for plants. In geology, however, Graham would move beyond this sphere of conversation and manuscript correspondence and make a published contribution to the field—but the reaction eventually provoked by this publication illustrates why many women in this era preferred to participate in science ‘behind the scenes’,

working within smaller, more supportive networks rather than in the fully public sphere of print.

As noted, Graham collected rocks and minerals throughout her extensive travels. Her early friendship with John Playfair, moreover, had given her a good grounding in current theoretical debates in geology. This meant that when Graham was caught up in a major earthquake in Chile in 1822, she was well equipped—and eager—to observe the effects of the quake. These observations then became the basis of a report she submitted to the Geological Society back in London in 1824 (prior to returning to Brazil to take up the role of governess at the imperial court). Graham could not read out this report herself, but delivered it through a proxy, since the Society only admitted men. Her observations were presented simply as ‘some extracts from my Journal’, but like Graham's contemporaneous claims to know nothing about botany in her Chile travelogue, this was disingenuous: the report was undoubtedly written specifically for this audience, and organized so as to address key concerns in contemporary geological debate.⁴⁹ Its usefulness to those debates was reflected in the fact that Graham's account was subsequently printed in the 1824 volume of the Transactions of the Geological Society, making Graham the first woman to publish in what was then the leading British journal in the discipline. Then in 1830 Graham's report became the principal account used by Charles Lyell to support his ‘Vulcanist’ thesis that earthquakes might cause the elevation of landmasses, in his seminal Principles of geology (1830): a further indication of the scientific importance of Graham's information.⁵⁰

When making her observations in Chile, Graham was well aware of the ‘Vulcanist’ implications of what she was witnessing. In keeping with the self-deprecatory tendency noted above, however, her original report to the Geological Society does not draw out this conclusion explicitly, but limits itself to a more empirical record of what she herself saw and measured. Lyell's clearer articulation of this conclusion, however, embroiled Graham in a geological controversy that was subtly but significantly gendered. One of Lyell's theoretical opponents on the issue of earthquakes elevating landmasses was George Greenough, president of the Geological Society. In 1834 Greenough used his presidential address to attack not Lyell directly but rather Graham, one of Lyell's main witnesses.⁵¹ Greenough does not make Graham's gender an explicit line of attack in his repudiation of her 1824 report; however, the clear subtext throughout is that as a woman Graham was less likely to be well-trained in making scientific observations, and more likely to be terrified—and so additionally unreliable as an observer—during the quake.⁵² These allegations incensed Graham, who quickly published a pamphlet refuting Greenough's accusations. The ensuing dispute for several years gripped not just the British but also the international geological community, until in 1836 reports from HMS Beagle—with Charles Darwin on board—corroborated the phenomena Graham had witnessed.⁵³

Venturing into print, then, Graham found herself the focus of what one contemporary judged ‘so much, at times too acrimonious, controversy’.⁵⁴ Similar controversies would arise on another occasion when Graham stepped more visibly into the public arena as a purveyor of scientific knowledge. In 1826, the publisher John Murray commissioned Graham to edit for publication an account of the 1824 voyage of HMS Blonde to Hawaii. The voyage had been principally a diplomatic rather than exploratory venture; like most Naval voyages in this era, however, the ship's company and retinue gathered a range of natural-historical observations and materials, and part of Graham's editorial remit was to organize and incorporate at least some of this scientific information. It was a task she performed diligently, making use of what were by this stage of her career an extensive set of scientific contacts and networks.⁵⁵ It is in this period, moreover, that Graham established what would

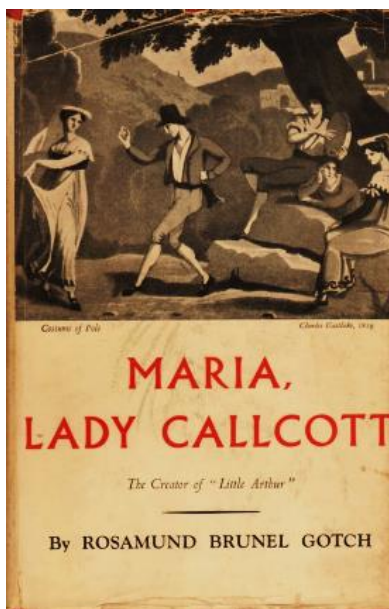
become a lifelong friendship with the botanist Robert Brown. Their friendship began through Graham's consultation, during the Blonde project, of Banks's library and herbarium, of which Brown was the custodian following Banks's death in 1820. At Soho Square, Graham consulted works such as Georg Forster's *De Plantis Esculentis Insulorum Australis* (1786) and Solander's manuscript *florilegium*.⁵⁶ She also made contact with the BM, in connection with the zoological specimens and observations brought back by the Blonde: it is unclear, however, how much support BM staff gave her in contextualizing these materials.⁵⁷

The published Blonde account initially aroused controversy because of the hostile portrait it painted of US missionary activity in Hawaii. This provoked angry responses in America, where one line of attack soon taken up was to target Maria Graham's role in editing the volume. Like Greenough's attack on Graham's 1824 earthquake report, these criticisms of Graham were seldom explicitly gendered, but they were again clearly pitched at, and encouraged, chauvinistic assumptions that women were unlikely to be competent and reliable as either scientific observers or editors.⁵⁸ Then later in the nineteenth century, Graham's editorship was again attacked, this time by the Cambridge ornithologist Alfred Newton, specifically for its presentation of scientific information. Declaring the published volume 'a disgrace to all concerned', in 1892 Newton suggested that it offered only a garbled version of the natural-historical information actually gathered by the Blonde's naturalist Andrew Bloxam.⁵⁹ The cause, Newton further asserted, was that 'the book was edited by a lady (as I have been informed) who had nothing but [Bloxam's] notes to guide her'. More recent studies have suggested, however, that Newton's targeting of Graham in this regard is erroneous: where there are problems with the Blonde volume's science, most of the errors and inaccuracies can in fact be traced back to Bloxam himself.⁶⁰ By the time of Newton's attack, Graham had been dead 50 years. In a way, however, this shows one of the dangers of being involved in print publication for a woman of Graham's era. As well as representing a more conspicuous assertion of authority and expertise, scientific contributions in print might have a much wider reach spatially, socially and temporally. As a result, they might be taken up by readers either actively hostile to women's participation in intellectual and scientific debate, or alternatively just unfamiliar with, and so distrustful of, the author's expertise—the latter of course being an issue largely negated when observations passed first, via conversation, private correspondence or manuscript transmission, to a recognized authority figure who then vouched for the observer's reliability when disseminating that information more widely. Graham's experiences give us an indication of why some scientifically-minded women preferred not to publish, and also why those who did publish often deployed a range of cautious, self-deprecatory tropes.⁶¹ At the same time, however, Graham's story also suggests that in the early nineteenth century there was more scope than we might assume for women to argue vigorously, even as they worked within these constraints. A combative personality, Graham seems to have been unabashed at stepping into what was one of the hottest debates in contemporary geology, issuing a scathing rebuttal to Greenough. And, crucially, she found many sympathetic readers and was widely viewed as having won the dispute with Greenough even before her observations were corroborated by the Beagle. As the *American Journal of Science and Arts* wrote in 1836, Graham 'was, we believe, regarded by the geological world as having fully sustained herself in the controversy'.⁶² Fully contextualized and properly parsed, therefore, Graham's dispute with Greenough illustrates not only the constraints women laboured under when participating in Romantic-era science, but also the recognition and respect they might nevertheless garner, even when debating science in a fully public arena.'

Source: <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/10.1098/rsnr.2018.0062>

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Rosamund Brunel Gotch (1864-1949) published a biography *Maria, Lady Callcott. The creator of "Little Arthur."* [With plates, including portraits.] 1937 (John Murray, London). It is often referenced both in the UK and in Brazilian publications about the author and has stood the test of time.



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As Maria Graham

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As Maria, Lady Callcott

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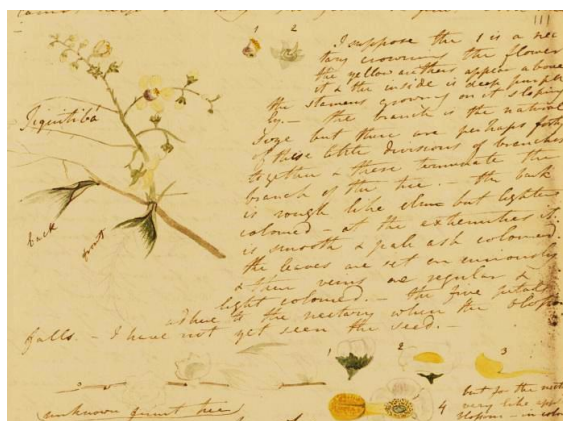


Photo of Maria Graham's sketch of the *Jiquitibã* (Archive ref DC 43 f.49, image RBG Kew)



Jacaranda jasminoides
collected by Maria Graham, Kew herbarium

HAPPY READING!

2021: [#BrazilianLitReadingPleasures](#)

Attendance is free, but booking is essential: nadia.kerecuk@itamaraty.gov.br

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the Embassy of Brazil in London

