

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: BRAZIL AFTER HUMBOLDT – TRIANGULAR PERCEPTIONS AND THE COLONIAL GAZE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN TRAVEL NARRATIVES

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This project is a study of nine German travel narratives on Brazil written between 1803 and 1899, identifying their contribution to the discourses on German national identity in the nineteenth century. Famous German explorer and scientist Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1834) influenced travelers to explore Brazil, the part of South America that he was not able to enter for political reasons. I approach their accounts from new historicist and post/colonial perspectives. My thesis is that these narratives help construct a German national identity that occupies a fluid (colonial) position in response to diverse “Others” encountered in colonial Brazil. While contributing to the study of travel literature, my dissertation contributes significantly to the field of German Cultural Studies by applying a post/colonial approach to the reading of German texts.

Chapter I locates my investigation theoretically at the intersection between post/colonialism – the critique of colonization and colonial ideology – and new historicism – the reading of texts within their historical contexts, identifying discourses by juxtaposing them with various other contemporary texts. Katrin Sieg’s concept of *triangular thinking* and Susanne Zantop’s idea of *colonial fantasies* are instrumental in my reading. Chapter II places my selection of travelogues in the historical contexts of nineteenth-century Germany and Brazil, underscoring their paths to nationhood and changes in *Wissenschaft*. Chapter III shows that Alexander von Humboldt’s influence on German explorers of Brazil is more evident in the scope of their research than in their writing styles. Chapter IV interprets German travelers as surprised yet critical *flâneurs* in Rio de Janeiro, as skeptical listeners to the stories of German immigrants, and seekers of *Germania* in their responses to Brazilian women. Chapter V shows how a German understanding of ‘race’ as an ingredient of national identity colors the travelers’ anthropological observations of blacks and native populations in Brazil.

Through various triangulations, German travelers to Brazil ambivalently identified with Portuguese colonizers and, at times, with colonized subjects (native populations, blacks), constructing diverse colonial/nationalistic fantasies in their narratives. All of these texts bare witness to specific historical events, and provide a comparative view of nationalism in nineteenth-century Germany and Brazil.

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IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN TRAVEL NARRATIVES

by

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Brazil after Humboldt: An Introduction

Brasilien [...] hat seit mehr als einem halben Jahrhundert unter allen Staaten Südamerikas das Interesse des Naturforschers wie des Nationalökonomen, des Kaufmannes wie des Auswanderers am meisten auf sich gezogen. [Among all South American states, Brazil has attracted the attention of researchers as well as national economists, traders as well as immigrants, for more than half a century].
Karl Scherzer, 1857¹

A. My Path to the Journey:

The concept of travel has been more than a literary trope in my experience. Born to a multilingual and multicultural family, and having boarded my first flight as an infant, I developed a world view and an identity located in an inbetween space, later on theorized by critics such as Homi Bhabha and Doris Bachmann-Medick; therefore, my choice of topic pertaining to travel for this project was not unexpected. In May 2002, girded with theoretical training received during my studies, I went to Germany, in pursuit of nineteenth-century travel texts, seeking unexplored territory, so to speak, in this field of research. The following is a description of my journey through this study, which started with my 2002 decision to travel to Berlin and Frankfurt.

I begin with a summary of the circumstances and choices that have shaped this project and continue by discussing Alexander von Humboldt's (1769-1859) relevance to this study as an influential German traveler to South America; I will then present my methodology, which is located at an intersection between two theoretical tendencies:

¹ Karl Scherzer was a nineteenth-century Austrian ethnographer, who participated in an expedition (1857-1859) of the Novara frigate commissioned by Austrian King Ferdinand Maximilian, and led by Commodore Bernhard von Wüllersdorf-Urbair. The commodore kept a journal of the world tour, which became the basis of a travel narrative by Scherzer.

post/colonial studies and new historicism. Subsequently I will introduce the ten travel narratives included in this project through a short biography of the travelers and their itineraries. Finally, I will give a preview of things to come in the chapters.

B. Journey Mercies

My search began in the colonial archives of Frankfurt am Main because of my interest in questions of identity among Afro-Germans. Since Germany's relatively brief participation in the colonization of Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries partially accounts for the presence of Black people in Germany, an exploration of German texts about Africa seemed a logical continuation of my research. However, the existence of secondary literature in this domain and the proximity of this topic to my own identity location motivated me to continue my search with an eye for a topic that would broaden my horizons even further than my choice of German studies already had.

During a visit to the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut* in Berlin I encountered a notable number of nineteenth- and twentieth- century travel diaries in German focusing specifically on Brazil. The lack of secondary literature on this topic seemed to point to a scholarly unbeaten path in the post/colonial discussion of German travel narratives. I was further inspired by a volume entitled Der postkoloniale Blick (The Postcolonial Gaze) edited by Paul Michael Lützeler (1997). It is a collection of excerpts from travel essays and descriptions by contemporary German authors who had visited so-called Third-World countries in the 1970s and 1980s. Lützeler pointed to the complex position of these authors: as critics of their time they were nevertheless, in some ways, mental

accomplices to persistent neocolonial conditions in the countries visited. While Lützeler's text includes twentieth century travelers to various nations, I decided in 2002 to narrow my choice down to descriptions of one colonial territory, Brazil, by German-speaking travelers of a different period, the nineteenth century. In other words, this is a post/colonial reading of the colonial gaze. In contrast to Lützeler's postcolonial gaze (postkoloniale Blick), my analysis presents a layered colonial gaze. I say 'layered' because, in opposition to descriptions of German colonial territories in Africa, my selection of narratives describes a colonial situation in which other Europeans – the Portuguese – were the colonizers.

A serendipitous occurrence sealed my choice of this topic: during my 2002 stay in Berlin, one afternoon while standing on a platform in a *U-bahn* station waiting for the next train, I turned around to glance at the billboard behind me. It read:

Deutsche am Amazonas – Forscher oder Abenteurer? Expeditionen in Brasilien 1800 bis 1914. Ausstellung am ethnologischen Museum Dahlem. 18. April 2002 bis 29. Juni 2003.

[Germans in the Amazon – Explorers or Adventurers? Expeditions in Brazil between 1800 and 1914. Exhibit at the Dahlem Museum of Ethnology. From April 18, 2002 to June 29, 2003].²

The exhibit showed that in the nineteenth century, Brazil became a point of particular interest in Germany for historical and academic reasons: the opening of Brazil's borders to foreign explorers after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro (1808) was one reason; the popularization of ethnology and other scientific fields through academic associations led by the middle class during the second half of the

² Visit <http://www.telari.de/ausstellungen.htm> for images of the exhibit.

nineteenth century was another. Both will be explained in greater detail in chapters II and V of this project.

C. Description of the Project

This project is about German nationhood and examines the contribution of travel narratives to the discourse on German national identity in the nineteenth century.

Through a thematic study of several German descriptions of Brazil I will identify common discursive tendencies and analyze them in the context of nineteenth-century German nationalistic discourses. It is my thesis that the narratives of nineteenth-century German travelers to Brazil helped construct a German national identity that occupied a fluid (colonial) position in response to diverse colonial subjects (colonizers and colonized) encountered in Brazil. Such fluidity, I find, would serve well today in a world where globalization is challenging national boundaries and understandings of national identities.

Travel texts by Germans have been the subject of research conducted in various countries. In the German-speaking realm more general studies such as Peter Brenner's edited volume Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur, [The Travelogue: The Development of a Genre in German Literature] 1989, attempt a definition of travel writing as a genre, while other critics seek to balance the gender representations of travelers (Elke Frederiksen, Annegret Pelz, Tamara Felden, Stephanie Ohnesorg). Susanne Zantop's research affirms that travel narratives – more precisely descriptions of South America – were of particular interest to German readers of the nineteenth century and influenced public perceptions of colonialism (Colonial

Fantasies 38-41). There is a lack of secondary literature on most of the texts selected for my investigation and I have not yet encountered studies of German travel literature with a specific focus on nineteenth century descriptions of Brazil. The relative distance between the German subjects and the colonial situation seemed to represent a unique perspective that I was seeking in my selection of a dissertation topic.

German interest in Brazil did not begin in the nineteenth century, but reaches back as far as Hans Staden's (1525-1579) two journeys to South America (1548 and 1549 to 1552). In the nineteenth century Germans traveled to Brazil for different reasons, as Scherzer's quote at the beginning of this project shows. After my visit to the Museum of Ethnology in Dahlem, I decided to focus on narratives of expeditions to Brazil as opposed to immigration accounts with one exception – the narrative of Ina von Binzer, Leid und Freud einer deutschen Erzieherin in Brasilien (1887), is such a relevant source in studies of nineteenth-century Germany and Brazil that excluding it from this study would almost appear as a noticeable omission; therefore, all but one of the travelers discussed in my dissertation were explorers. In his time, Alexander von Humboldt was the most famous German explorer of South America. He influenced nineteenth-century German travelers to Brazil significantly without having visited the former Portuguese colony himself. A discussion of German travelers to South America will inevitably stumble upon references to Humboldt's journey. Therefore, a substantial portion of this study is dedicated to his writings on the region. However, at this time, I would like to summarize the methodology and theoretical approach of my study, which will be presented in detail in Chapter I.

D. New Historicist Post/colonialism: “German Studies go Post/colonial”

New historicism and post/colonialism represent two strands of what is known today in academia as Cultural Studies. Cultural Studies have come to signify, among other things, an interdisciplinary approach to text (in the broader sense of the word) or to culture. Scholars from the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies have influenced western academia for decades drawing attention to people or subjects at the margins of society and of the canons. Post/colonial studies and new historicism, as offshoots of Cultural Studies, have this interest in marginal voices in common. The combination of the two in this project might seem slightly contradictory because of an apparent resistance to theory in new historicism (Howard 9). Stephen Greenblatt, who coined the term ‘new historicism’, describes the approach more as a set of methodologies than as a theory. In response to ‘close readings’ of the new criticism, new historicism proposes a reading of literary texts in their historical contexts by including nonliterary texts in their interpretations and thereby identifying intertextual concepts and trends in the cultural discourse of a particular time. My reading of nineteenth-century texts that were produced at a turning point in German literature is in line with this area of Cultural Studies: During this time, confessional forms of writing, such as letters and travel texts, which for a long time had been considered non-literary, were gaining prominence on the literary scene. My interpretation of the discourse takes this study beyond new historicism into the realm of post/colonial studies.

In an article entitled “German Studies Go Postcolonial” (2002), Oliver Lubrich and Rex Clark review fifteen key publications in German post/colonial studies and summarize the general trends in this area of investigation. I quote or refer to most of the

authors discussed in the article (Susanne Zantop, Paul Michael Lützeler, Ottmar Ette, Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Russell Berman) as the present investigation joins in the same conversation carried out in their texts. Chapter I of this dissertation will define the theoretical framework of my study; I will offer a definition of the term ‘post/colonial’ and review literature relevant to the present discussion including works by the authors mentioned above. Lubrich and Clark identified three trends in German post/colonial studies (Clark and Lubrich 631):

- re-valu[ing] texts, artifacts, representations, and all other kinds of voices from former colonies, from international migrants and from cultural minorities;
- re-read[ing] colonial texts from a critical perspective;
- and re-conceptualiz[ing] theories of culture according to historical experiences and inter-culturality after colonialism.

My study participates in the second project of post/colonialism by approaching colonial texts – nineteenth-century descriptions of Brazil in German travelogues – “from a critical perspective” (Clark and Lubrich 631).

The “critical perspective” in question refers to the challenging or perpetuating of eurocentrism in texts, which draws attention to an article by Sara Lennox entitled “Beyond Eurocentrism” (2005). Lennox locates eurocentrism in “[the] failure to acknowledge Europe’s centuries of embeddedness in globalized relationships” and defines it as the assumption that “the history of modernity consists of the transmission of Western accomplishments to the rest of the world” and “that European development can be understood as sufficient unto itself without reference to extra-European events”

(517). Instead of a post/colonial understanding of Germany, Lennox calls for a “post-eurocentric” approach (519), which, in my view, entails the former. Quoting from Jenseits des Eurozentrismus, coedited by Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria (2002), Lennox defines ‘post-Eurocentrism’ as a historical approach that is “transnational [and places Europe] in complex and reciprocal relationship to the rest of the world” (517). In my project, I examine travel diaries – subjective yet historical documents – that relate Germany to Brazil, which does shift the focus away from Europe. Nevertheless, the question of how reciprocal the relationship is in this context remains.

“Beyond Eurocentrism” challenges German Cultural Studies with a call for more consideration of race in deconstructing eurocentrism. According to Lennox “[O]nly few scholars of German Studies regard race and racialization as categories central to an understanding of Germany” (518). My project responds to this challenge: it is impossible to discuss German descriptions of colonial Brazil – a society heavily dependant on the enslavement of African people and the displacement of native populations – without exploring questions of race. Eighteenth-century German debates, based on craniology studies by University of Göttingen professors, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) and Christoph Meiners (1747-1810), for instance, placed race at the center of nineteenth-century and subsequent discourses on national identity. The fourth and fifth chapters of this project include considerations of race as I examine responses to slavery and to native populations.

In a post/colonial analysis of colonial texts, Clark and Lubrich oppose two approaches:

Whereas [Edward] Said's approach is essentially Foucaultian, aiming at 'discourse analysis', and the reconstruction of a totalitarian colonial discourse with its stereotypes, strategies of appropriation, etc., [Homi] Bhabha uses Derridean terminology and poststructuralist motifs for the deconstruction of colonial texts. (630)

I disagree with this opposition,³ as my study combines aspects of both approaches: the purpose of "discourse analysis" is, at least in this context, the deconstruction of colonial and eurocentric assumptions. This is my approach to texts by Alexander von Humboldt and nine German travelers whom he influenced to visit colonial Brazil.

E. Humboldt and South America

Alexander von Humboldt, a Prussian aristocrat, was the most famous and influential German-speaking private traveler. He undertook expeditions with the permission of other European colonial powers. In 1798 Alexander von Humboldt traveled to Paris, the center for European scientific research at the time, interested in undertaking an expedition (Fröhling and Reuss 68-89). There he became acquainted with a young medical doctor and botanist, who later became his faithful friend and travel companion: Aimé Bonpland. With permission from the King of Spain, Bonpland and Humboldt departed for the New World in 1799. While they were able to visit the United States and other parts of South America, Bonpland and Humboldt were not granted permission to enter Brazil (Fröhling and Reuss 79; Bueno 146). The travelers returned to Europe in 1804 with enough material to publish for the subsequent three

³ Although Said's and Bhabha's approaches are different, I do not find them in opposition to each other, since their ultimate objective is the same: challenging colonialism/Eurocentrism.

decades. Humboldt wrote Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804 in French between 1807 and 1834. Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales du Nouveau continent fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804 is the portion of Voyage that explicitly narrates the journey. His travel diary was promptly translated into German under the title Reise in die Äquinocialgegenden des neuen Kontinents (1860) and subsequently into other languages, which afforded it a broad readership. The narrative became an inspiration to many German-speaking travelers. Even Peter Schneider, twentieth century German author and critic, refers to this travel diary which he read in preparation for his own travels to South America (Schneider, 1981). The travel diaries discussed in this dissertation are by German travelers who were able to go where Humboldt and Bonpland could not.

Through his narrative, Humboldt, as "intellectual godfather" to many subsequent travelers and explorers (Wilson, 1994 xxxvi) set a number of standards for traveling and for travel writing in the nineteenth century. However, I find that, while many of them sought to follow his example by investigating various fields of knowledge and publishing rather voluminous summaries of their findings, they did differ in one important way: their style of writing was much more accessible to a broader audience than Humboldt's. Many of them had either corresponded with or spoken to Alexander von Humboldt about their plans to travel to South America. Although I have not found evidence of the other authors actually having read the Relation Historique, they all had heard about his expedition and writings.

Their journeys occurred during three different periods in German history: the period of revolutions (1800-1848) under the shadow of the French Revolution (1792), the age of Restoration (1849-1860), and, thirdly, the period of Imperialism (1869-1900). Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1803-1807 and 1825), Maximilian zu Wied (1815-1818), Dr. Carl Friedrich Philip Martius and J. B. von Spix (1817-1820), Prince Adalbert of Prussia (1842) and Ida Pfeiffer (1846) can be located historically in the time of liberation from Napoleon's France and the political revolutions leading to the National Assembly of Frankfurt. Commodore Bernhard von Wüllersdorf (1857) traveled to Brazil with the *Novara* frigate during the political challenges of the *Deutsche[r] Bund* (1849-1866), a time of political upheaval and tension between nationalistic liberals who dreamt of uniting the members of the federation into one German Republic and those for whom the idea of a Republic was an undesirable notion (the monarchs of Prussia and Austria). The last three travelers – Ina von Binzer (1880-1883), Karl von den Steinen (1884 and 1886), and Princess Therese von Bayern (1888) – were in Brazil during the Second German Reich (1871-1918) under Wilhelm I (1797-1888) who was King of Prussia and became Emperor of Germany in 1871 with Otto von Bismarck presiding over the government. The authors represent various professions and walks of life: a governess, explorers and scientists, members of the nobility interested in the sciences and sponsored scientists. This fact calls for a consideration of class and how it might have colored the travelers' perceptions of Brazil. Since most of them are unknown today, I will introduce them in brief biographical summaries that include their itineraries in Brazil.

F. Germania Explores the Tropics

In my research, I continually came across more travel texts in German pertaining to Brazil. Each text seemed to contribute something unique to the representation of Brazil and the nationalistic discourse of the nineteenth century. I narrowed my selection down to nine travel narratives, focusing primarily on texts by explorers and seeking to present an array of perspectives that was as gender-balanced as possible.

An additional consideration was that some texts related to each other in one way or another: either the travelers had interacted or communicated with each other or made explicit references to previous texts in some narratives. For instance, **Georg von Langsdorff** hosted Prussian ethnologist **Maximilian zu Wied**, and the Bavarian explorers **Johann Baptist von Spix** and **Carl von Martius** during their stays in Brazil, and is consequently mentioned in their travel accounts. Martius is quoted in the narratives of **Adalbert von Preussen**'s, **Bernhard von Wüllersdorf**'s, **Therese von Bayern**'s and **Karl von den Steinen**'s voyages. Steinen's narrative of his first journey to central Brazil begins with a chapter on the Xingu region which is illustrated with a portrait of Prince Adalbert. Wied, Spix and Martius, **Ida Pfeiffer** and Commodore Wüllersdorf communicated with Alexander von Humboldt prior to traveling. I included **Ina von Binzer**'s narrative in my selection because of her perspective and access to the private lives of wealthy Brazilians. The following introduces each traveler in a biographical summary and a description of their itineraries.

Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1774-1852) was born in 1774 in Wöllstein. From 1793-1797 he studied natural science and medicine, more precisely gynecology,⁴ at the University of Göttingen at the Academy of Sciences. From 1797 to 1800 he practiced medicine in Portugal. He also pursued his interest in natural sciences and “established contacts with members of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg” (Moessner xii-xiii), which enabled him in 1803 to join the members of a Russian expedition around the world as a physician at their service and scientist pursuing new knowledge. By this time, Alexander von Humboldt was on the last segment of his American journey. Humboldt’s failed attempt to enter Brazil (1799) had occurred four years earlier. In my research, I have not found evidence of contact between Humboldt and Langsdorff; however, both explorers had been students of the physiologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) at the University of Göttingen. Langsdorff enrolled four years after Humboldt making an encounter at that time possible but questionable. In any case, this suggests the influence of a common teacher for the two explorers. Langsdorff’s journey included a one-year stay on the island of Santa Catarina in Brazil. In 1812, he published his observations in the two-volume Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807, a text which will be discussed further along in this study. Other publications of Langsdorff about Brazil were either intended for potential immigrants or other naturalists, I therefore found his Bemerkungen to be more appropriate for my analysis. He returned to Rio de Janeiro in 1813 as Russian consul to Brazil. He established a well-known coffee plantation called *Mandioca*, where he hosted numerous European explorers, including Wied, Spix, and Martius. Langsdorff

⁴ This detail is relevant to my analysis, as chapter five will show that Langsdorff’s narrative displays a certain interest in the lives of Brazilian women not expressed in the narratives by the other men.

undertook several explorations of the Amazon region with the support of the Russian tsar. One consequence of his travels was a tropical fever that caused him to become psychologically ill in 1828. In 1830, he returned to Germany (Freiburg) where he died in 1852.

Prince Maximilian Alexander Phillip von Wied-Neuwied (1782-1867) was born in 1782 in Neuwied in Prussia. After military service under Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, he pursued his naturalist interests at the University of Göttingen (Bueno 150), although he was known for having acquired most of his knowledge on his own through substantial reading. He was passionately interested in ethnology. In 1814 he met Alexander von Humboldt in Paris who became his mentor and encouraged him to explore Brazil. Between 1815 and 1817 Wied traveled through the Espirito Santo region between Minas and Bahia under the pseudonym of Max von Braunsberg in order to maintain anonymity. In 1820 he published two volumes of the Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817 which is of interest in my discussion.

Bavarian zoologist **Johann Baptist von Spix (1781-1826)** and medical doctor and botanist **Carl Friedrich Phillip von Martius (1794-1868)** arrived in Brazil the year of Wied's departure in 1817 and returned to Europe in 1820, the publication year of Wied's travelogue. Spix and Martius were members of an entourage accompanying Austrian Princess Leopoldina as she journeyed to Brazil to join her new husband, Don Pedro, the crown prince of the Portuguese empire. They traveled up the Amazon River, visiting such cities as São Salvador and São Luis and each gathering samples pertaining to his particular field of research. Six years after their return to Europe, Spix died at the age of 46 due to health complications resulting from an illness contracted during their

stay in Brazil. Martius was left to complete the publication of their travelogue, Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1817-1820 (1823) and to summarize their scientific findings alone. I will be quoting from Reise nach Brasilien in this study. Although the popularization of the sciences was spearheaded primarily by educated members of the bourgeoisie, such as Martius and Spix who were sponsored financially by royalty, some royal aristocrats did not limit themselves to funding expeditions: they undertook their own. Adalbert von Preussen was one of them.

Prince Heinrich Wilhelm Adalbert von Preussen (1811-1873), was the nephew of King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840). He was founding commander of the German navy, which was voted into existence by the 1848 National Assembly in Frankfurt. In 1852 he was called to relinquish the position in order to focus on building the Prussian marine. After a tenure marked by ambition and adventure, the prince was relieved of his duties and the Prussian fleet was placed under the control of the Prussian ministry of defense in 1861. He retired from his military career in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian war and died two years later of liver disease. In his earlier years Prince Adalbert was an avid traveler, visiting the Netherlands, Great Britain, Turkey, Greece, and Brazil between 1826 and 1842. Excerpts from Prince Adalbert's diary of his journey to Brazil were published in 1847 under the title Aus meinem Tagebuch in a limited edition that was distributed to a limited audience. The same year writer and publicist Hermann Kletke (1813-1886) obtained permission from the prince for another edition for a broader readership, Reise seiner königlichen Hoheit Prinz Adalbert von Preussen nach Brasilien 1842-1843. Kletke's rendition of the prince's journey is included in my analysis.

Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858)⁵ was born in Austria into a wealthy bourgeois family. She is said to have been a tomboy in her youth. Her father died in 1806 and her mother prepared her for a traditional life as a wife and mother (Habinger 20-55). After raising two sons, then separating from her husband and losing her mother, Ida Pfeiffer began to lead the life of her choice: she began to travel in 1842 visited places such as Palestine, Egypt, and Turkey. In 1845 she traveled to northern Europe (Iceland and Norway). Subsequently she undertook two world tours (1846-1848 and 1851-1855). Brazil was the first stop on her first journey around the world in 1846. She continued on to other destinations such as Tahiti, Hong Kong, India, and Russia – and returned to Austria through Turkey and Greece in 1848 (Donner 98-152). She then published Eine Frau reist um die Welt (A Lady travels around the World, 1850), a text that made her famous throughout Europe. This discussion will focus on the first part of her narrative which entails Pfeiffer's impressions of Brazil. Pfeiffer was a well respected friend of Alexander von Humboldt, with whose help she became an honorary member of the *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* [Geographical Society of Berlin]. She was the first woman to be honored in this manner. Humboldt also tried to dissuade her from undertaking what became her last trip: a journey to Madagascar (Hiltgund 33). Pfeiffer did indeed travel to Madagascar, but immediately became ill with fever. Her failing health thwarted her ambitions to reach Australia by keeping her in Mauritius for several months. She returned to Vienna in 1858 where she died later that year (Hiltgund 35).

In 1856, the year Ida Pfeiffer published the narratives of her first and second world tours, Duke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, commander of the Austrian

⁵ Critics such as Tamara Felden, Gloria Kaiser, Anne Fuchs, Gabriele Habinger, Hiltgund Jehle and Eka Donner have written extensively about Ida.

marine corp, convinced his older brother, Emperor Franz Josef I, to commission a team of scientists for a world tour on the Novara frigate. The journey was to provide training for cadets and an opportunity for Austrian researchers to make contributions to their individual fields (zoology, geology, botany, ethnology, astronomy) while investigating international trade possibilities for the Austrian empire. In 1857 the Novara departed from Trieste under the command of **Commodore Bernhard von Wüllersdorf-Urbair (1816-1883)** and returned to the port in 1859, the year of Alexander von Humboldt's death. The Novara docked in several cities around the world including Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Madras, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sydney, and Tahiti. Karl von Scherzer, who was charged with summarizing and reporting the results of the expedition, published a two-volume narrative entitled, Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde, in 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehl des Commodore B. von Wüllersdorf-Urbair (1861). In the foreword to the volumes Commodore Wüllersdorf explained:

Mit der Bearbeitung und Redaktion der vorliegenden Reisebeschreibung in deutscher und englischer Sprache wurde Herr Dr. Karl von Scherzer beauftragt, welchem zur Lösung dieser eben so schwierigen als beneidenswerthen Aufgabe nebst dem von ihm selbst gesammelten reichhaltigen literarischen Material auch meine Tagebücher und offiziellen Berichte, so wie die Aufsätze der Herren Naturforscher zur beliebigen Benutzung zu Gebote standen. (Wüllersdorf iv)

[Dr. Karl Scherzer was charged with [the task of] processing and composing the present travel narrative in German and in English; for the

fulfillment of this difficult as well as enviable assignment, my diaries and official reports as well as essays by the naturalists [on board] stood available to him in addition to [Scherzer's] own comprehensive collection of literature.]

Wüllersdorf and Scherzer were the last travelers in my selection to have communicated directly with Alexander von Humboldt during his lifetime. As a matter of fact, Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara includes two addendae pertaining to the famous explorer. The first addendum is a letter from Alexander von Humboldt to the commander of the Novara, apologetically indicating that, on request of Duke Ferdinand Maximilian, he would be forwarding geographical information that might be of assistance to preparations for the Novara's tour. In this same letter, Humboldt entrusted members of the scientific team, Dr. Ferdinand Hochstetter, Dr. Karl Scherzer and Dr. Robert L'Allemand, whom he referred to as "liebe Freunde" [dear friends] to the care of the Commodore. Interestingly, Humboldt described the Austrian project as one that would "bring honor to scholarship and to the German fatherland" ("das deutsche Vaterland und die Wissenschaft ehrend Unternehmen" [Addendum I]). Humboldt spoke of a German fatherland with his Austrian counterparts at a time when Germany was not yet unified (1857). Indeed the idea of German nationhood had permeated the public sphere in Germany at the time. Prior to the political manifestation of the Wilhelminean Empire, German-speaking intelligentsia was already expressing some level of cultural unity. The last three travelers wrote about Brazil against the backdrop of the united *Vaterland* referred to by Alexander von Humboldt in his letter to Wüllersdorf-Urbair.

Ina von Binzer (alias Ulla von Eck, 1856-1916) was born in Schleswig-Holstein. After her mother's death her family moved to Königsberg, but Ina von Binzer accepted employment with a wealthy Brazilian family and went to Brazil in 1881 (Güde-Martin 260). She took up one of the few professions available to women in nineteenth-century Germany: the profession of governess. Ray-Güde Mertin writes:

Im 19. Jahrhundert entwickelte sich ein regelrechter Arbeitsmarkt, auf dem Stellen für Hauslehrerinnen vermittelt wurden. [...] Als Ina von Binzer 1881 nach Brasilien ging, wurde in Deutschland bereits die Überfüllung des Lehrerinnenstandes' beklagt. (260)

[In the nineteenth century a significant job market developed in which employment for governesses was advertised... In 1881, when Ina von Binzer went to Brazil, there were already concerns about a surplus of governesses.]

Ina von Binzer traveled to Brazil, apparently to escape this unfavorable job market. Between 1881 and 1883 Binzer changed positions several times. Her experience in Brazil was not always a positive one; nevertheless, the title of her text indicates that her stay in Brazil was not an entirely negative one either. She lived and worked in Rio de Janeiro, in São Paulo, and on a plantation near an area called Americana. She returned to Germany in 1883. A few years later, in 1887, she published Leid und Freud einer Erzieherin in Brasilien, using the pseudonym 'Ulla von Eck.' Ina von Binzer lived in Berlin and finally returned to Schleswig-Holstein, where she got married (very much unlike Ulla von Eck, the heroine of her fictionalized account, who married an English man living in Brazil). Binzer died in 1916. Leid und Freud einer Erzieherin in Brasilien

is a collection of forty letters from the governess Ulla to her friend back home. They are a personal account of her experiences in Brazil. Binzer's perspective differs from the others in that she was not an explorer pursuing new knowledge, but rather a teacher employed to impart knowledge while living in the most private spheres of privileged families in Brazil. This means that, among the travelers discussed in this project, Binzer is the one who experienced Brazilian slavery more closely and for an extended amount of time. Her narrative contributes a more private and personal perspective on life in nineteenth-century Brazil.

Karl von den Steinen (1855-1929) was a psychiatrist from the Ruhrgebiet (Mühlheim). While practicing medicine in Berlin, he began to travel by conducting research on mental health care in other European countries. His travels led him to the Americas and the Pacific Islands. During a stay in Hawaii (1880), he met Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), an influential figure in nineteenth century German ethnology who convinced him to turn his attention to anthropology. Steinen undertook two expeditions (1884 and 1887-1888) to central Brazil, traveling along the Xingu river (a branch of the Amazon River) and wrote extensively about the native peoples of the region. The description of his first journey to Brazil, Durch Central-Brasilien – Expedition zur Erforschung des Schingú im Jahre 1884 (1886) is of interest in the context of this study, particularly his representations of the native population (Hermannstädter 67).

And finally, **Therese von Bayern (1850-1925)**: the third woman among the travelers discussed in this project was an unusual princess, who at times has been described as the female Alexander von Humboldt (Huber). Therese Charlotte Marianne Auguste von Bayern was born in Munich. She was the third of four children and the

daughter of Prince Regent Luitpold of Bavaria and his wife, Auguste, Duchess of Austria, Princess of Toscana, and a descendent of Empress Maria Theresia. Her brother was King Ludwig III of Bavaria. Early in her life she displayed an interest in geography, botany, and cultures outside of Europe. Because nineteenth century universities and secondary schools did not welcome women (Huber), Therese acquired most of her knowledge through her own research. She also acquired a taste for travelling outside of Europe at the age of twenty-five when she accompanied, Leopold, and his wife, Gisela, to North Africa (Algeria and Tunisia). It was after this trip that she published her first travel narrative. She later on published in the area of anthropology, botany, and zoology and earned honorary memberships in organizations such as: societies for those interested in geography in Munich (1892), Vienna (1898) and Lisbon (1897), the “Bund deutscher Forscher” (1910), the “Société des Americanistes de Paris” and many other prestigious academic organizations. In 1897 she became the first woman in Bavaria to be honored with a doctorate for her numerous scientific publications. She visited Brazil in 1888 and published her travel log in 1897. Therese’s narrative represents the crossroad between three perspectives that rarely converged in the same traveler, at least not in the nineteenth century: a German-speaking woman, an aristocrat, and a scientist.

This broad selection of narratives permits the identification of common themes and tendencies in descriptions of Brazil. The thematic approach I have chosen is intended as an invitation firstly to rediscover this body of texts as witnesses of nineteenth-century Germany and Brazil from a unique perspective, which is in line with

the new historicist perspective; secondly, to expand the field of German post/colonial studies through closer examination and analysis of the discourse they entail.

G. Organization of the Project

My study is organized in the following five segments: the first chapter will define the theoretical framework of this project, locating it in new-historicism and post/colonial German Cultural Studies and discussing travel literature's contribution to the nationalistic discourse in nineteenth-century Germany. Katrin Sieg's concept of 'triangulation' will be explained in this chapter as instrumental in describing German traveling subjects⁶ position in Brazil, a space colonized by "other" Europeans. Abdul R. JanMohamed speaks of a manicheism⁷ of the settler – "the absolute negation of the very being of the colonized people" – that breeds a manicheism of the native in colonial contexts (4). This concept builds on the constructed binary opposition (colonized/colonizer) that is challenged by Homi Bhabha's idea of the hybrid subject. Chapters IV and V show that German travelers' triangular approach to the –colonizer and colonized– Other in Brazil hinders manicheisms or at least shifts them from the colonized-colonizer constellation to colonizer-colonizer.

⁶ Katrin Sieg coins this term to describe a perspective or a manner of responding to the other people by identifying with the colonized and criticizing the colonizers, yet maintaining one's position of power. It is a perspective that challenges the dualistic oppositions prevailing in earlier theories of post/colonialism.

⁷ Manichaeism was a Persian dualistic religion with strong Buddhist influence. It began during third-century Iran. The originator was a mystic by the name of Mani (216-274). Mani's theology understood the world as battlefield between two equally powerful and mutually exclusive realms, light and darkness or good and evil (Hay). JanMohamed uses the term in his interpretations of colonial situations. This mutually exclusive opposition between good and evil is transposed upon the relationship between colonizers and colonized. He observes that in colonial texts by colonizers, the colonized are erased from their natural spaces and replaced by colonizing subjects. He finds that in response to this erasure, colonized subjects respond with a similar Manichaeism, reversing the former and reinstating themselves into their own spaces (4). JanMohamed further explains that in order to maintain a "sense of moral superiority", colonizers often narrated native subjects as devoid of any morality, in the case of Africa, "as a literal repository of evil" (3). His *Manichean Aesthetics* (1983) is an examination of five post/colonial narratives following this line of thought.

The second chapter of my project places the selected texts in their historical context, highlighting the commonalities of nineteenth-century German and Brazilian histories. Napoleon's imperial ambitions affected both central European and the Portuguese colony in a surprisingly similar way: both regions found their way to nationhood in the nineteenth century. Chapter II underscores the popularization of *Wissenschaft* in Germany, a phenomenon specific to this time and an influential factor in the production of travel texts; the chapter points to Adolf Bastian, a key figure in this process.

In the third chapter, I turn my attention to Alexander von Humboldt as precursor to nineteenth-century German exploration of South America and significant influence on German travelers to Brazil. Clark and Lubrich affirm: “[s]eldom is Humboldt read on a textual basis” (632) and “[a] literary reading of Alexander von Humboldt’s travel writings from a postcolonial perspective is a promising project” (634). In chapter III, before tracing his influence on the travelers, I will briefly discuss Humboldt’s narration of his attempt to sail down the Orinoco River into Brazil in 1799 from a post/colonial point of view.

Chapter IV comments on German travelers to Brazil as marginal colonizers. I will focus on three aspects of their experiences: first, using Walter Benjamin’s understanding of the *flâneur*, I analyze their responses to Rio de Janeiro, tropical metropolis; then I will discuss their descriptions of Brazilian women; finally I show how social class was a consideration in uncanny encounters with German immigrants to Brazil. The discussion explores triangular understandings of the travelers’ representations of the ‘Other’.

Chapter V examines the travelers' reflections on Brazilian slavery and examines their representations of native South Americans. I begin by elaborating on the changes in *Wissenschaft* in Germany and the influence of anthropology as an emerging field on the travelers' responses to Blacks and native populations. This section of the discussion comments on German travelers as evaluators of Portuguese dominion in Brazil and compares Germany's fascination with native North America (as demonstrated in the popularity of Karl May's *Winnetou* novels in the late 1900s) with their interest in native Brazilians.

My general question is: what German identity is inferred by various differentiations of the 'Self' from the 'Other' in Brazil? Identity construction is a topic of special relevance today, since, as a side effect of globalization, the 'contact zone' has come to Germany in unforeseen ways; travel is no longer a prerequisite to experiencing an encounter with the 'Other'. Through globalization, there is a higher awareness of how interrelated histories are, a fact that can contribute to the dismantling of Eurocentrist understandings of the world. I agree with Clark and Lubrich that, "the literary text can transcend, critique, and subvert the colonial discourse that it is supposedly a part of" (631). I believe that the triangular relationship between German travelers and various subjects in colonial Brazil creates a space or a position with a potential for emancipatory discourse. The following chapters explore the remaining question of the travelers' choices. Do they pursue the fulfillment of their 'colonial fantasies'? Or do they correct their expectations in light of their experiences? And furthermore, what do they contribute to the construction of a German national identity?

Chapter I: New Historicist Post/colonialism – A Theoretical Approach

New historicism and post/colonial studies have attained prominence in the field of Cultural Studies. While the present study is primarily a contribution to post/colonial German studies, the two approaches intersect somewhat in my methodology. Therefore, I begin with a summary of new historicism, underscoring aspects reflected in my work. I continue with a definition of the post/colonialism and an overview of its development as a field, pointing to contributions and directions in German post/colonialism. This chapter will expound on ideas such as nation, travel, science, and race – concepts that are essential to this discussion.

A. New Historicism: Method or Theory?

New historicism emerged during the early 1980s as a new approach to English Renaissance literature. It was an attempt to reconstruct the historical context within which these literary texts were created by reading them parallel to contemporary non-literary texts of various kinds. Stephen Greenblatt, who coined the term, is still today the most prominent critic in this field,⁸ which he also refers to as ‘cultural poetics’. Other prominent personalities in this area are Louis Montrose (‘textuality of history’), and Clifford Geertz (‘thick description’).

According to Moritz Baßler, new historicists seek to explain historically the discursive content of texts (133). Despite its resistance to approaches of new criticism, it is nevertheless a close reading that, rather than seeking a supposedly essential

⁸ In his introduction to *Practicing New Historicism* (2000), Greenblatt expresses his surprise at new historicism, which he describes as “a new interpretive practice, hav[ing] become a ‘field’” (1).

meaning within one text, juxtaposes one historical text (a literary work) with several others (nonliterary writings) in search of common discursive threads. These threads are seen as expressions of culture; and in new historicism, culture is within itself a text (134). Although my selection of works might not have belonged to the canon of high literature in the nineteenth century, this study does juxtapose several contemporary historical texts – travel narratives – identifying and interpreting the discourse on national identity at a specific time in history.

An important aspect of new historicism is the rejection of established western meta-narratives of history under the influence of French philosophers such as Jean-François Lyotard and Michel Foucault (135). In other words, according to this approach, no single version of history can be accepted as an infallible, objective, and comprehensive account of occurrences during a certain era. Just as literary works, according to Louis Montrose, are to be read historically, history should be read as a text or a carrier of discourse that is also influenced by its cultural environment. Since, from this perspective, there is no longer a history, but histories, it becomes beneficial to pay attention to historical texts. The nineteenth-century travel journals discussed in my study represent histories from the personal perspective of the narrators.

According to Baßler, [every text – as a new context– colors and changes a discourse] “Jeder Text färbt – als neuer Kontext – einen Diskurs neu und anders ein” (136). This influence or ‘coloring’ is the object of my investigation. My method differs from what anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls a “thick description”⁹ by the fact that my

⁹ The concept of ‘thick description’ is a contribution of anthropologist Clifford Geertz to new historicism. It is an anthropological term that refers to the explanation of a text through the reconstruction of the cultural or historical context within which it was produced. He presents this idea in an essay “Thick

study discusses a selection of the same type of text from the same century and does not juxtapose various types of so-called literary and nonliterary works. Paul Michael Lützeler writes:

Das Bestechende an Greenblatts Methode ist, daß er Werkaussagen (etwa bei Shakespeare) nicht nur kontextualisiert, sondern die Stimme des literarischen Diskurses dem Chor der übrigen kulturellen Diskurse einer Zeit zuordnet (73).

[The attractiveness of Greenblatt's method lies in the fact that he not only contextualizes expressions within the works (of, say, Shakespeare), but he also aligns the voice of literary discourse in the chorus of other cultural voices of a period.]

This statement shows that although new historicism seemingly equalizes cultural discourses by juxtaposing literary texts with other cultural expressions, the division between literary and nonliterary texts seems to endure in this approach, with the reading of literary works as a privileged objective. I find that this boundary is challenged within the travel narratives analyzed in this project. Nevertheless, my study entails the new historicist attempt to read texts within their historical contexts, the parallel reading of contemporary works in search of common discursive threads, and an interest in nonliterary or questionably literary texts.

A supposed shortcoming of new historicism turns out profitably for my study.

As Greenblatt notes:

Description" (1973). Greenblatt comments on this work and Geertz' influence on new historicism in "The Touch of the Real" (Practicing New Historicism, 2000, 20-48)

One of the recurrent criticisms of new historicism is that it is insufficiently theorized. The criticism is certainly just, and yet it seems curiously out of touch with the simultaneous fascination and resistance to it that has shaped from the start our whole attempt to rethink the practice of literary and Cultural Studies (2).

Practicing New Historicism (2000), a text by Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, responds to this criticism through reflections on various aspects of this field. I find this supposed resistance to theory profitable to combining new historicism as a textual approach with various theoretical directions such as post/colonialism. Greenblatt's position on the question of theory remains the same: he resists "formulat[ing] an abstract system and then apply[ing] it to literary works" (2). Greenblatt's assertion seems to imply that the anachronistic imposition of contemporary theories in the interpretation of literary texts is the only practical application of theory in literary or Cultural Studies. Although this might have been the tendency of certain critics, it is only one application among others. Theories can also be seen as analytical tools with which to respond to culture. In my study, rather than impose abstract ideas upon the chosen texts, I take a post/colonial approach to questioning the discourses expressed in them.

B. Post/colonialism: A Definition

The field of post/colonial studies has gained enough history by now to become an object of scholarly investigation on its own. Such texts as Postcolonial Studies and Beyond (Edited by Ania Loomba, Suvir Kaul, Matti Bunzl, Antoinette Burton, and Jed

Esty. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), seek to summarize the field – more specifically the shift from a historical emphasis to a more political or ideological one – and to predict future developments in this interdisciplinary approach to culture. The anthology calls for a broadening of the field. Some have already heard the call and studies such as Representing East Germany since Unification – from Colonization to Nostalgia (2005) in which Paul Cooke applies a post/colonial line of questioning of power constellations in his examinations representations of the former GDR, demonstrate that the field's potential has not been exhausted. This dissertation participates in this project, not only by contributing to this ongoing discussion of the persistently unequal power distribution in the world, but also by drawing attention to an unfamiliar area of colonial discourse.

1. Defining Post/colonialism

Firstly, 'post/colonialism' can be understood chronologically, referring to a historical period that is past. It is an "analysis of the cultural history of colonialism, and investigates its contemporary effects in western and tricontinental cultures, making connections between that past and the politics of the present" (Young, Postcolonialism 2001 6). Historically speaking, the point of reference will be the time during which European nations extended their borders by occupying foreign lands on the African, Asian and South American continents (from the sixteenth, through the first half of the twentieth century). Since the 1960s the world is officially no longer in this era, although the distribution of power today seems not much different than it was when many

colonized nations obtained independence. If the previous period is to be known as the colonial era, the current one is then postcolonial.

Secondly, this term is to be understood theoretically. Robert Young explains:

Postcolonialism claims the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being. The reality, though, is that the world today is a world of inequality, and much of the difference falls across the broad division between people of the west, and those of the non-west. The division between the rest and the west was made fairly absolute by the nineteenth century by the expansion of the European empires, as a result of which nine-tenths of the entire land surface of the globe was controlled by European, European-derived, powers. (Young, Postcolonialism 2003, 2)

In the 1960s a number of intellectuals from colonized countries (Franz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Léopold Senghor, in France, for example) studied at European universities and began to criticize the colonial ideologies that justified the domination of certain people by others. Although, according to Neil Lazarus, "there was no field of academic specialization that went by the name of 'postcolonial studies'" (1), preoccupation with post/colonial matters predates the establishment of this field in western academia. The term 'post-colonial' was used in the scholarly journals African Literature Today (1968) and Research in African Literatures (1970), but with a historical and political significance that was relevant when these periodicals were founded (Lazarus 2).

In the late 1970s this discourse continued in North American universities, led by scholars who originally came from former colonies (Edward Said, N'Gugi wa

Thiong'o, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, and others). This critique of colonization and colonial ideology is called Postcolonialism or postcolonial theory. It is a "dialectical process of colonized peoples claiming power and control over their lands back from European colonial empires in the twentieth century" (Young, Postcolonialism 2001, 4). On one hand, Postcolonial theorists today seek to unmask remnants of colonization, as expressed in neocolonialism – a situation in which "postcolonial state(s) remain in a situation of dependence on (their) former masters, and that the former masters continue to act in a colonialist manner towards formerly colonized states" (Young, Postcolonialism 2001, 45); on the other hand, post/colonialism also rereads colonial texts, and responds to the colonial discourses found in them. More specifically "as a mode of analysis, it attempts to revise those nationalist or 'nativist' pedagogies that set up the relation of Third and First World in a binary structure of opposition" (Bhabha, Location 173 qtd. in Lazarus 3) Robert Young warns against the dangers of enforcing this oversimplified worldview in the same criticism that seeks to dismantle it, indicating that both categories – colonized and colonizer – are more complex than expressed in their descriptions (Young, Postcolonialism, 2001 9). This line of thought leads to Homi Bhabha's understanding of *hybridity* or *hybrid identities* of the post/colonial or multicultural subject. This chapter will explore *hybridity* later on, as it will be essential to this discussion.

2. Dismantling Eurocentrism

If post/colonialism is a dismantling of eurocentrism, it will be necessary to see this ideology in more complex terms and to speak of eurocentrisms (plural). For my

purposes, this will apply to German and Portuguese subjects. Russell Berman suggests that the term 'eurocentrism' might be altogether obsolete at this time. I find validity in his proposal that "the blanket adoption of models of colonial studies current in English and French is inappropriate to the material of German colonial history" (Berman, "German Colonialism" 29). However, rather than abandon the terms 'postcolonialism' and 'eurocentrism' altogether at this time, I would suggest an expanded and more flexible understanding of them. As the opposition European vs. Other(s) has revealed itself as an oversimplification, it would be an overgeneralization to approach German colonialism as a duplicate of British and French colonialism. In her 2004 (University of Maryland) dissertation entitled "Samoa – 'Perle' der deutschen Kolonien? 'Bilder' des exotischen Anderen in Geschichte(n) des 20. Jahrhundert," Katrin DiPaola remarks the following:

Stösst man in der postkolonialen Debatte immer wieder auf die Forderung nach Selbstdefinition des unterdrückten, kolonisierten Subjektes– unter Berücksichtigung interner und externer Differenzen von Kolonisierung– so mangelt es häufig an der Umkehrung dieses Postulats in Form einer Positionierung, bzw. Positionsfindung für das europäische koloniale Subjekt. Und zwar gerade nicht aus der Perspektive des unterdrückten 'Fremden' heraus betrachtet, sondern aus der Auseinandersetzung mit den zugrunde liegenden kolonialistischen und kulturell bedingten Motivationen and ihrer Umsetzung (DiPaola 39).
 [While one encounters quite often in postcolonial discussions a call to self-definition addressed to the subaltern colonized subject – with

considerations for the internal and external variations in colonial experiences – an equivalent call to the European colonial subject in the form of a positioning or definition of position is lacking. And this lack is not from the perspective of the suppressed ‘Other’, but from a confrontation with the colonial and cultural motivations and their implementation].

DiPaola calls for a look at European subjects from a post/colonial perspective in addition to the usual attempts to identify the colonized Other(s) in order to give them a voice or acknowledge the voices they already have. The focus of my dissertation is not the perspective of the usual subaltern or colonized subject. This project will look at the representation of the 'contact zone' of a colonial scene – Brazil – from the perspective of a colonizing, yet, marginalized European subject. This differentiation within the category of "European colonizer" speaks to the lack as addressed by DiPaola by examining the position of German travelers as Europeans in a Portuguese South American colony.

3. Problems with the Term

The term 'postcolonialism', as a description of this area of study, is by no means a point of consensus among critics. Anne McClintock accuses the focus on colonialism of keeping Europe (5) at the center, in a time when 'subalterns' (Spivak), or marginal subjects, seem to be finding their voices and speaking (Friedrichsmeyer 3). She suggests that "the term postcolonialism [...] reorients the globe once more around a single, binary opposition: colonial-postcolonial" (McClintock 10). McClintock describes it as

"prematurely celebratory" (12) and understandably so since a number of nations today remain politically and/or economically subservient to others. McClintock also points to the still grossly unequal distribution of power between genders in the world today (13).

Ella Shohat finds it inadequate to describe a variety of unequal power distributions that span a wide time period (Shohat and Stam, Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality and Transnational Media 14-15; Unthinking Eurocentrism 38-39). In the same line of thinking, McClintock stresses that, for instance, "Brazil (is) not postcolonial in the same way as Zimbabwe" (12).

A term suggested by Walter Mignolo, 'post-occidental' (Mignolo; Delgado and Romero), does not solve this dilemma, in my opinion, but creates another by using a concept – occidental– laden with colonial connotations. The 'Occident' is as much a eurocentric construct as the 'Orient'. Furthermore, our world today seems as post/occidental as it is post/colonial in many ways. Robert Young favors the term 'tricontinentalism' (Young, Postcolonialism 2001, 5), moving the focus from Europe to the continents of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, all sites of European colonialism. I see three problems with this term as a substitute for postcolonialism. Firstly, if the goal of tricontinentalism is to bring sites of colonialism to the forefront, the aborigine peoples of Australia and New Zealand and their lands should be represented in this discussion. Secondly, the exclusion of Europe and North America creates a new imbalance of perspective that does not take into account the inevitable interaction between the three continents (Asia, Africa, South America) and the other two (Europe and North America). Thirdly, 'tricontinentalism' seems to be a euphemism that does not express that the world today still carries echoes of the European colonial enterprise or

refuses to acknowledge its far-reaching shadow over world affairs today. Maintaining the designation 'post/colonialism' (but with a fluid understanding of the term that adapts to the historical context within which it operates) would avoid a crystallization of the field into rigid constellations and outdated concepts. Post/colonial critics do "acknowledge that the postcolonial condition, itself a hybridized, synthetic product of local and global processes, elicits and necessitates quite heterogeneous responses" (Friedrichsmeyer 3). Therefore a flexible understanding of post/colonialism will allow the field to evolve into new directions in response to the current historical context.

The spelling of 'post/colonialism' warrants some attention as well as its definition. Initially spelled as one word, postcolonialism took on a hyphen in its American expression (post-colonialism), reflecting the controversy around the use of the term. The introduction of a volume entitled Postcolonial Studies and Beyond (Bunzl, Burton, Esty, Kaul and Loomba, 2005) explains that the term is problematic because of how colonial our supposedly postcolonial world still is today (1-38). Bill Ashcroft makes the following distinction between postcolonialism with or without the hyphen:

The hyphen puts an emphasis on the discursive and material effects of the historical 'fact' of colonialism, while the term 'postcolonialism' has come to represent an increasingly indiscriminate attention to cultural difference and marginality of all kinds, whether a consequence of the historical experience of colonialism or not [...] the hyphen in 'post-colonial' therefore signifies difference, resistance, opposition (qtd. in Thieme: 123).

John Thieme observes that however helpful this distinction might be, it remains a mostly theoretical one, as critics often seem to describe 'postcolonialism' as 'post-Colonialism' (with a hyphen) from Ashcroft's standpoint.

Some scholars choose to separate the prefix from the rest of the word with a 'slash,' indicating that the term is not to be understood only chronologically because, even in the post/colonial era, colonial attitudes find expression in certain arenas.¹⁰ A principal project of post/colonial theory is to unmask such expressions for what they are and to suggest alternatives. Although certain scholars find this spelling questionable (Lützeler), I find the above-mentioned significance supports my point of view, and will spell 'post/colonial' with a slash henceforth, as it is from the beginning of this thesis.

4. Relation with other Theories of Power

Neil Lazarus finds that most colonial critics display a "strong anti-nationalist and anti-Marxist disposition" (5). Robert Young affirms that the "historical role of Marxism in the history of anti-colonial resistance remains paramount as the fundamental framework of postcolonial thinking" (Young, Postcolonialism 2003, 6). Although it seems impossible to ignore the influence of Marxism on western post/colonial theorists, I question the tendency to establish Marxism as a foundation for post/colonial thought. Marxism may have inevitably shaped the ideas of critics involved in post/colonial questions in western academia or even influenced some leaders of post/colonial states; however, the resistance to colonialism by non-European peoples

¹⁰ In a seminar entitled 'What is German Studies?' held by Dr. Elke Frederiksen in 1996 at the University of Maryland, College Park, Frederiksen suggests the use of the slash (/) as opposed to a hyphen (-) in the spelling of 'post/colonialism', pointing to the lingering colonial tendencies of contemporary scenarios, while expressing the resistant or deconstructive intentions of the many critics in the field.

who were not exposed to Marxist theories puts in doubt Marxism's apparent monopoly in unmasking exploitive power distributions. Both directions seek to resist unequal distribution of power resulting in the exploitation of some by others. Post/colonial criticism, as any other cultural production, is a product of a given historical context and its evolution will be inevitably colored and shaped by the political and historical atmosphere surrounding the critics who produce the ideas. Today post/colonial critics are housed mostly in the humanities and in the social sciences (Lazarus 15) and pursue questions of anti-colonialism, neocolonialism, and nationalism with such factors as gender, race, class, and ethnicity in focus (Young, Postcolonialism 2001, 11). Postcolonial critics are influenced by a variety of theoretical approaches such as Marxism, psychoanalysis, feminism, poststructuralist, and postmodernism – a heterogeneous, interdisciplinary field indeed.

Paul Michael Lützeler relates post/colonial as well as feminist and multicultural theories to postmodernism (Lützeler, Postmoderne 23). He differentiates, however, post/colonial criticism from multicultural and feminist studies as follows: although all three fields share a preoccupation with unequal power dynamics, post/colonialism comes across as an initiative of people from formerly colonized regions of the world. Furthermore, post/colonial theory today seems to be located primarily in the context of literary studies, despite this field's increasingly interdisciplinary approaches (Lützeler, Schriftsteller und 'Dritte Welt' 16). Lützeler identifies two general directions in postcolonial studies: first, the analysis of texts bearing witness of colonial situations and, second, the production of contemporary literary texts with post/colonial intentions. This dissertation fits primarily within the first category of texts since I discuss travel

narratives of “colonial situations”, but it also shares the same post/colonial intentions as many contemporary literary texts do.

C. Post/colonialism in German Studies

1. Historical Amnesia

In the late 1990s, Susanne Zantop and Paul Michael Lützeler were pioneers in post/colonial German studies in the United States. Since then a number of scholars have responded to their work and contributed greatly to the German debate on post/colonialism. While Germanists in the United States initiated this discussion in their field, post/colonialism faced much resistance in German academia. Post/colonial questions seemed to lack relevance to the German historical context. Lützeler states two main arguments presented against the relevance of post/colonialism in the German context: first, a perception of Germany's share in colonial guilt as insignificant because of the country's relatively short-lived participation in the European colonial enterprise in the nineteenth century. (By now substantial research has refuted this understanding of Germany's colonial past); the second explanation for post/colonialism's later manifestation in the German context is the shortage of contemporary texts with a focus on colonial themes or on today's so-called Third World written in German.

Susanne Zantop's research attributes the minimizing of Germany's colonial participation to a convenient general amnesia on the subject caused by the overwhelming fall out from World War II and the Holocaust. Sara Friedrichsmeyer draws attention to the fact that even "when scholars today turn to the subject of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century imperialism, they most often focus on Great Britain

and France, ignoring the expansionist German and Austro-Hungarian empires" (3), which explains why, outside of German Studies, it would be difficult to find any reference to Germany in the context of post/colonial studies.

Zantop and Lützel agree that, despite Germany's short direct involvement in colonialism, there is a long history of indirect contribution to European imperialism dating back to the Welser's attempt to colonize a portion of Venezuela in the sixteenth century (Friedrichsmeyer 8-9; Zantop, Colonial Fantasies 19).

Die direkte Involvierung war allerdings bis ins späte 19. Jahrhundert episodisch. Das Augsburger Geschlecht der Welser kolonisierte während der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts Teile Venezuelas [...] Viel wichtiger als die direkte war die indirekte Involvierung. Die deutschen Länder boten nach dem dreißigjährigen Krieg einen beachtlichen Markt für Kolonialwaren, und norddeutsche Häfen wie Hamburg, die nach dem Niedergang der Hanse in eine Krise geraten waren, konnten sich nicht zuletzt deswegen behaupten, weil sie in den folgenden Jahrhunderten einen Großteil ihrer Kapazitäten für den Umschlag mit Waren aus Kolonien nutzen (Lützel, Der postkoloniale Blick 24).

[Until the late nineteenth century, Germany was only sporadically directly involved in colonialism. The house of Welser from Augsburg colonized parts of Venezuela in the sixteenth century... [However, Germany's] indirect participation was more relevant than its direct involvement. German territories represented a lucrative market for colonial products after the thirty-year war, and northern German ports,

such as Hamburg, that had experienced a decline after the fall of the Hanseatic League were last but not least, able to retain their position because they expended a greater portion of their resources towards the redistribution of goods from colonial territories during the following decades].

In addition to the indirect economical contributions to colonialism mentioned in the quote above, it is important to note that Germany was not immune to colonial ideology, but even contributed to it. According to Zantop, Germany's relative lack of opportunities to practice colonialism to the same extent as other European nations, turned it into fertile ground for the development of colonial idealism, something she describes as "colonial fantasies" (Colonial Fantasies 11).

While there is an abundance of post/colonial texts written in English and French by authors from former French and British colonies, the absence of similar texts in German (Lützel) has contributed to this amnesia concerning Germany's colonial past. According to Zantop and Friedrichsmeyer, even the descendents of German immigrants to other lands such as Namibia or Brazil, rarely wrote literary texts, leaving a void in this area of cultural production. Konstanze Streese speaks of "lapse in the production of literary texts on the formerly colonized after 1945", and dates the interest in colonial topics in German literature as recently as the 1970s in the Federal Republic of Germany (Streese 289). As mentioned earlier, Zantop agrees that, after 1945, Germany's thirty-year colonial tenure had become a vague memory because the country was overwhelmed by the horror of the Holocaust ("Colonial Legends" 192).

Aimé Césaire, the noted Martiniquan writer and statesman, defined fascism "as a form of colonialism brought home to Europe" (Young, Postcolonialism 2001, 2) and was one of the first to see a connection between fascism and colonialism. Hanna Arendt¹¹ saw colonial activities of the nineteenth century as direct precursors to the murderous activities against Jews during the national socialistic period in Germany. However, ideologically, it seemed more correct to label the Holocaust as an "historical aberration" rather than relate it to racial and colonial theories that justified genocidal policies carried out in Germany's former colonies in southwest Africa (Zantop, "Colonial Legends" 200).

The lack of literary texts bearing witness to German colonialism may also have played into the traditional division of cultural production into so-called high and low culture; the refusal to pay scholarly attention to 'non-literary' texts was only questioned with the advent of Cultural Studies in western universities. Therefore it would make sense that only recently 'non-literary' texts, or texts considered to be 'low literature' describing colonial situations (including travel narratives such as the ones featured in this project, for example), began to enjoy some attention after many years in archives.

In the late 1990s, scholars like Alexander Honold and Jürgen Osterhammel began in the field of *Germanistik* what Zantop and Lützel were able to accomplish for German Studies in the United States years earlier: establish a foundation or a foothold for post/colonialism in Germany.

The 'discovery' of the new world by Christopher Columbus opened an era of travel and of exploitation of far away places and peoples, leading to the massive

¹¹ Pascal Grosse, "What does German Colonialism have to do with National Socialism? A Conceptual Framework." Germany's Colonial Pasts, eds. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005) 115-134.

colonization of most of the globe by European nations. Since the nation of “Germany,” as it exists today, is a relatively recent construction, the various previous German states were not in a position to conquer their neighbors and much less foreign continents. Germany did not meet the necessary prerequisites for the imperial enterprise until most of the continents had already been divided among other European nations like Spain, Belgium, France, and Great Britain.

Recent Germanists in the United States built on the efforts of Zantop and Lützel to correct the silence around German post/colonialism. In a recent essay, Vera Lind expands on Russell Berman's work and comments on the relationship between Germans and Africans in the nineteenth century. German Orientalism has become the topic of a number of investigations recently, significantly expanding the field of German post/colonial studies. In addition, scholars such as Sidonie Smith,¹² Nina Berman, and Ted Kontje have made significant contributions to studies of German Orientalism in the United States. The September 2005 issue of the academic periodical seminar was dedicated to the subject of Orientalism in the German context. The next segment of this chapter will explain the relevance of Orientalism to this project.

Alexander Honold addresses the need to correct underestimations of Germany's participation in the colonial enterprise as follows:

Die weitverbreitete Einschätzung, dass Deutschland und die 'deutsche Kultur' nur über nachholende, jedoch nicht nachhaltige koloniale Erfahrung verfüge, bedarf der Korrektur, indem neben den unmittelbar politisch-militärischen Akteuren auch das diskursive Feld beispielsweise

¹² Sidonie Smith, "Isabella Eberhardt Traveling 'Other'/wise: the 'European' Subject in 'Oriental' Identity," Encountering the Other(s): Studies in Literature, History, and Culture. ed: Gisela Brinker-Gabler. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) 295-320.

der disziplinären Neugründungen und die bemerkenswerte Konjunktur geographischer Zeitschriften in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in den Blick genommen werden. (Honold, Kolonialismus als Kultur 11)

[The widespread estimation that Germany and German culture only have a remedial but not sustained colonial experience warrants corrections, wherein not only direct political and military actors will be considered, but also the discursive sphere of new disciplines, for instance, the noticeable increase in geographical periodicals during the second half of the nineteenth century].

While Paris was considered the center for scientific research in Europe during the nineteenth century, Berlin became a center for ethnological and anthropological research with Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) as a leading figure. Bastian's founding role in the field of German ethnology will be elaborated upon in the fourth chapter of this study. German scientists traveled overseas for research, often to supply newly founded museums with exotic items from far places (Honold, Kolonialismus als Kultur 11). For centuries, other European governments sponsored expeditions to far away shores and took possession of foreign lands, while, at least until the nineteenth century,

(w)ith few exceptions there existed no state-sponsored colonial enterprises. Most of the three hundred some states that comprised the Holy Roman Empire ("of German Nations") were far too small or far too poor to engage in such activities. (Zantop, Colonial Fantasies 18)¹³

¹³ Zantop's "Tiranos animals o alemanes: Germans and the "Conquest" in Colonial Fantasies gives examples of some failed attempts by German principalities during the seventeenth century and the reasons for their failure (Zantop, Colonial Fantasies 18-19).

It was in this context that individuals from the various German principalities traveled to foreign territories with the permission of, or under the cover of, other European nations. Examples of such enterprises are: the Welser's commercial/colonial project in (today's) Venezuela under the protection of Spain in the sixteenth century;¹⁴ Alexander von Humboldt's journey to the same region at his own expense, but with permission from the King of Spain in 1799 (Wilson xxxv). Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff's exploration of the Brazilian Amazons in 1825 (Bueno 152) is another example of such an enterprise. After Germany lost its colonies between 1918 and 1919, "German armchair colonialists" ascribed to themselves the moral authority to evaluate the colonial behavior of other European nations (Zantop, "Tiranos animales" 192-193). At this juncture, I would like to comment on Germany's relatively brief participation in colonialism as a nation.

Germany's different colonial experience, or this German *Sonderweg* into colonialism (Berman, Enlightenment an Empire 10),¹⁵ can be traced back to its different journey to nationhood. The German path to colonialism manifested itself as an attempt to catch up with British and French colonial activities. Russell Berman proposes three ways in which German nationalism differentiated itself from other nationalistic movements in Europe ("German Colonialism" 31-35).

- First, Germany's "belated" (1884) attainment of nationhood, contributed to a different sense of national identity and later (collective) arrival on the colonial scene (31).

¹⁴ In the sixteenth century, a German trader named Welser was allowed by King Charles V of Spain to colonize part of Spanish South America as a payment for a debt the monarch owed him.

¹⁵ Germany's *Sonderweg* into nationhood influenced its entrance into colonialism, making it the 'junior partner' in joint colonial ventures and before becoming the "other empire" (Berman, "German Colonialism" 10).

- Second, Germany departed from the colonial scene under very different circumstances than France and Great Britain. Germany lost its colonies earlier than other colonial powers as a result of the Versailles Treaty after World War I in 1918 (32).

Other colonial powers benefited from this loss; this marginalization of German subjects became a reason to identify to some extent with colonized subjects as opposed to other European colonizers. On the other hand, although German colonization was faced with violent resistance from the natives, anti-colonial wars during their tenure did not result in the liberation of their colonies, as was the case for most French and British colonies after 1945.

- Third, Germany's "tradition of cultural hermeneutics" has resulted in a proneness to accept the legitimacy of other cultures (Berman, "German Colonialism" 33). Unlike their European counterparts, German colonialists did not perceive themselves as representatives of a universal principal that needed to be propagated to other parts of the world (33).

Although there was no effort to 'Germanize' native populations in German colonies, I doubt that it was out of any particular sympathy for local customs.

Berman believes it to be necessary for Germanists interested in post/colonialism to avoid any attempt to catch up on or reproduce post/colonial discourse carried on in English and French departments since the 1970's. Any such attempt would only reproduce theoretically the historical path of German colonialism and reinforce a false perception of a homogenous colonial experience. Germany's *Sonderweg* in colonialism

should lead to an approach to German post/colonialism that recognizes Germany's specific colonial experience, while shying away from any justification for Germany's participation in colonialism:

For unlike the study of colonial discourse in English and French, one of the interesting features of the German field is the relative separation of colonial discourse from the colonial practice. (Berman, "German Colonialism" 34)

To put it differently, colonial discourses in non-German European nations referred to the actual colonization of other parts of the world; whereas, long before there were German colonies, colonization was a topic of public and private discourses in Germany. Zantop's research illustrates this separation very clearly by underscoring the "colonial fantasies" prevailing in German literature prior to the nineteenth century. In my opinion, this evolution of German colonial discourse independently of the actual colonial enterprise liberates these "fantasies" from the constraints of reality. Imaginary colonialism can be formed or narrated and allows the exploration of a variety of colonial scenarios.

2. German Orientalism/Occidentalism

It might seem odd to speak of Orientalism in the context of nineteenth century Brazil. However, an essay by Oliver Lubrich shows that this line of inquiry is not as farfetched as one might imagine. Lubrich's article, "'Überall Ägypter.' Alexander von Humboldts orientalischer Blick auf Amerika" (2004), draws attention to orientalist projections in Alexander von Humboldt's descriptions. Humboldt, who had traveled to

Paris in 1798 with the intention of undertaking a journey to the 'Orient' after encountering a series of obstacles, decided to head for the Americas instead. Lubrich points to Humboldt's use of 'orientalistic' vocabulary to describe his experience in South America. This part of the continent became a canvas on which Humboldt could project his expectations of the 'Orient' which were not fulfilled due to his changed trajectory. Since, according to Edward Said's Orientalism (1978), the 'Orient' was in any case a European construct rooted in a projection of European fantasies onto a certain geographical region, Humboldt's 'oriental' descriptions of the Orinoco River came as a logical extension, reinforcing the construct of the 'Orient.' Since the 'Orient' represented much that was 'Other' in the eighteenth-century Europe, one could also suggest that Humboldt was using vocabulary familiar to most literate Europeans of his time in describing places that they never would have seen on their own.

Zantop used the term 'Occidentalism' differently than Walter Mignolo does in his discussions of colonial discourse. Mignolo saw it as an expression of a constructed eurocentric world view that (consciously or subconsciously) established Europe as the 'occidental' reference point to the idea of the "Orient". According to Zantop,

The New World's Southern hemisphere [...] remained the German colonialist dream even after the German Empire actively supported settlement in Africa [...] It produced what [she] would call in analogy to Said's Orientalism a German Occidentalism. (Colonial Fantasies 1-16)

Zantop's brand of 'Occidentalism' includes orientalistic descriptions of South America by Alexander von Humboldt.

Ning Wang's article on the topic of Occidentalism defines the term as a discursive strategy in response to Orientalism (Wang 62) – a variety of manners in which the "Empire writes back", or perhaps one should say: manners in which "Empire(s) write back,"¹⁶ in an attempt to acknowledge the variety of colonized identities. Wang's article does not advocate occidentalism as an effective response to orientalism, as it seems to perpetuate the construction of an Other that does not relate to reality – a practice found in orientalism. However, according to Wang, "although it has not been institutionalized as a discipline, its social influence should not be neglected." (65) In contrast to Wang's understanding of occidentalism, Zantop refers to a contribution to colonial thinking– colonial scenarios in which German fascination with South America found expression in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Colonial Fantasies 10).

Todd Kontje's research draws from canonical texts to differentiate German Orientalisms from other European varieties: "The German Orient was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient: It was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and novels, but was never actual" (2). Even before Kontje's investigation of German Orientalisms, Nina Berman's work on Karl May's Orientzyklus pointed to the didactic influence of colonial narratives on their audience:¹⁷ German readers would identify with the protagonists and the "development of the protagonist is what teaches the reader how to think and act like a colonizer, a Eurocentrist, and a racist" (56). The

¹⁶ I borrow the term here from a text by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith, and Helen Tiffin entitled The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).

¹⁷ Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's Orientzyklus," The Imperial Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy, eds. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998)

characters "teach their audience how to act like colonizers, how to treat their colonized subjects, and what to expect of them" (59).

Alexander Honold's research locates 'Orientalistik', the study of the Orient, in the field of theology and particularly in the sub areas of history and philology in the eighteenth century. It became a point of focus in archeology and classics a century later (144). According to Nina Berman, the word 'Orient' had a narrower meaning in the German context than in other European contexts since it referred to the Middle East and North Africa. (52) This imagined Orient (Kontje 2) was such a wide spread topic in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature that it was bound to influence German representations of other far away places such as Brazil.

3. Post/colonial Translation or Linguistic De/colonization

Russell Berman's Enlightenment or Empire (1998) defines colonial discourse as "the linguistic articulation of the process through which the non-European cultures were integrated into a Europe-based system of administration" and the authors' "capacity to articulate certain fundamental features of the colonial scene in which different cultures collide and intermingle" (8-9). Konstanze Streese identifies four such linguistic articulations – to borrow Berman's term – in her selection of colonial texts in German (285-293): "stylistic assimilation", "denial of difference", "reductive denigration" such as infantilization, eroticizing, "silencing (of) the Other," and "idealizing appropriation of the Other's language" (Streese 290-292). Mattson adds *Enthistorisierung* (94) – an attempt to erase or negate the Other's history– to this list. My discussion will also seek

to identify and interpret discursive strategies used in the selected travel descriptions to represent the Other(s).

Streese points out the importance of such strategies because of the central role of language in a rather exclusionary definition of German national identity in the nineteenth century (287). She contrasts them with the approaches in twentieth-century German anti-colonial texts. It will be interesting to see if any of the linguistic or narrative strategies found in novels such as Uwe Timm's Morenga (1978) manifest themselves similarly in any of the texts concerning Brazil.

These strategies of representation point to a type of inquiry in post/colonial theory that will provide a useful framework for this discussion: the concept of translation. Robert Young defines translation as "carry(ing) or bear(ing) across," thus creating a "copy of the original located elsewhere on the map." (Young, Postcolonialism 2003, 138-139) This definition implies a barrier between two locations, positions, cultures, languages or understandings, and the creation of a "copy", representation, or an "Other" of an original for the benefit of an/Other reader or perceiver.¹⁸ In my study, I examine translations of colonial Brazil in nine different texts.

Young comments on Frantz Fanon's writing – Black Skin, White Masks (1952) and Wretched of the Earth (1961) – and on his experience as a psychiatrist in an Algerian clinic (Blida-Joinville). According to Young, Fanon's project was to retranslate, or "detranslate," what had been falsely translated by colonialism (Young, Postcolonialism 2003 144). Post/colonialism questions the power relations that influence the activity of translating. Young interprets orientalism, for instance, as a false

¹⁸ Susanne Zantop speaks of the "domestication" of the other" in a 1995 essay, "Domesticating the Other: European Colonial Fantasies 1770-1830".

translation (the 'Orient') of a large and diverse number of people and cultures located supposedly to the East of Europe) because it represents them so inadequately: "Under colonialism, the colonial copy becomes more powerful than the indigenous original that is devalued" (Young, *Postcolonialism* 2003, 141).

Edward Saïd's text, *Orientalism*, underscores how the colonial idea of the 'Orient', which is not rooted in reality, has had more influence on Europe's approach to Asia and the Middle East than empirical experiences of those regions. Young's statement that "a colony begins as a translation" (Young, *Postcolonialism* 2003, 139) echoes Zantop's affirmation that German colonial fantasies preceded and outlived Germany's thirty-year participation in the colonial enterprise as a nation. When Konstanze Streese speaks of a linguistic "denial of difference," she is referring to a translation of the Other as the same as the Self, negating the "Otherness" of the Other. "Reductive denigrations" such as infantilization, erotizing, and *Enthistorisierung*, are translations of the Other as less than the Self, by denying the Other's history, by presenting one's sexual imagination of the Other as the original, or by presenting the Other as in need of patronizing. This project asks how the colonial scene in nineteenth century Brazil is linguistically 'domesticated' –or translated– into German understandings of nationhood.

4. Colonial Matrimony Relocated

In the eighteenth century travel narratives became a favored writing and reading option in Europe (Berman, *Enlightenment and Empire* 5). The reading population increased considerably and showed a preference for historical and popular stories,

especially in German-speaking countries (Peterson, History, Fiction and Germany 13). Susanne Zantop's research explores the dialectical relationship between such widely published cultural productions as travel narratives and the formation of a collective worldview; German colonial fantasies are constructed and propagated in these texts and such narratives allowed Germans to be vicarious "Conquistadors" or imaginary colonizers. Zantop referred to these recurring colonial scenarios as German colonial fantasies (Colonial Fantasies 38-41).

Streese joins Zantop in drawing attention to the special position vis-à-vis colonialism of nineteenth-century German-speaking authors such as the ones discussed in this dissertation: German travelers saw themselves as "critical observers of the practices of colonialism" (Streese 286). In Zantop's words, "involuntary colonial abstinence [...] relegated the 'colonial idea' to the powerful realm of desire and fiction" in the three hundred years preceding the German colonialism. As so-called non-participating observers of the colonial enterprise, German subjects of these narratives ascribed to themselves the role of impartial evaluators of various colonial practices. The authors and translators of these narratives, while showing great interest in South America, tended to shy away from episodes of failed colonial attempts by Germans in the past. Instead they either translated (linguistically) travel diaries or colonial narratives from other languages or described colonial scenarios led by other European nations ("Domesticating the Other" 269-284).

In "Domesticating the Other" (1995) Zantop draws out some of these colonial fantasies from colonial narratives that were popular in German-speaking countries between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The

'domestication' of the Others consisted of romanticizing colonialism as a marriage between European male colonizers and the colonized land, eclipsing in the process the native inhabitants of the desired territory and European women ("Colonial Legends" 274). From the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century this fantasy evolved from one with a happy ending to one of tragic irreconcilable differences, one in which European colonizers had the last word. What became of the fantasy of harmonious colonial matrimony? Zantop's research reports that by the late nineteenth century

[t]he matrimonial fantasy of reconciliation between Self and Other, meanwhile, in another curious transfer or reversal, has moved to South America, where it serves as foundational myth for the new nation states and their internal colonial projects. ("Colonial Legends" 279)

This last statement is relevant to my study which examines German representations of one such nation state and observes the clashing of German colonial fantasies with the realities of Portuguese colonialism in Brazil.

This clashing leads me to a question posed by Russell Berman in the introduction to his 1998 volume entitled, Enlightenment or Empire: "Does experience matter?" Berman takes to task contemporary critics who find the roots of colonial thinking in the Enlightenment. As he turns his focus to travel texts of the Enlightenment, he refutes the assumption that European travelers are locked in rigid preconceived notions that prevent them from learning from the others. Agreeing with Berman, I find this line of thought underestimates the human ability to be changed by new experiences:

... once that traveler reaches the foreign land, the colonial territory, or for that matter, any other territory, we have to at least wonder whether that encounter with new material, new people, new ideas, leaves any trace. Does experience matter? Or should we imagine every traveler to be always caught up fully in codes and models of metropolis? Are tourists just “programmed” by their presumptions or can they assimilate something new and different? (4)

I answer positively to both alternatives presented as mutually exclusive in the last question of this quote, positioning myself somewhere between Berman’s stance and that of sharp critics of the enlightenment. After all, as Peter Brenner says, “der Umgang mit dieser Welt ist gebunden an die Voraussetzungen der eigenen Kultur; aber er erschöpft sich nicht darin, sie auf die Voraussetzungen zu reduzieren” (Brenner 17). [Our interactions with this world are colored by our own cultural predispositions; however they are not limited to reducing them to these predispositions].

I believe that, although discourse tends to be a carrier of ideologies, travelers are able to choose their responses to their experiences, and process “something new” by selecting (consciously or unconsciously) the content of their narratives. Within the scope of this inquiry, I will look at the experience of ten German-speaking travelers and what these taught them about their German identity in nineteenth-century Brazil.

5. Double Standards

In an essay entitled, "Die Kultivierung des kolonialen Begehrens" (1997), Thomas Schwarz suggests that Germany's long-standing fascination with the exotic,

more specifically with all things French, might have delayed the development of a strong national identity (85). He points out that, only after 1871 when German territories were united into an empire, collective attention was directed outward. He quotes Friedrich Fabri who, in 1879, declared that, after allowing themselves to do all of the preliminary research for other European colonial enterprises it was time for Germany to pursue her own (56).

Schwarz addresses a contradictory perception of violence exercised in the process of imposing German dominion: after centuries of constructing themselves as morally superior colonizers, German colonialists found themselves in the contradictory position of brutally annihilating African resistance to their dominion while claiming to be benevolent colonizers. One response to this paradox is the 'discovery' of a mental disorder called *Tropenkoller* in 1895. Tropenkoller, also the title of a popular colonial novel by Frieda von Bülow (1896), was thought to be a mental illness resulting from the trauma of the colonial war and excessive heat in German African colonies. One main symptom was a tendency towards excessive violence against the colonized, a behavior considered unbecoming of a *Kultur Mensch*. This "Freude an der Grausamkeit" (Schwarz 89) [enjoyment of cruelty] was attributed to a combination of alcoholic beverages and the tropical climate. In other words, *Tropenkoller* was a means of reinforcing the stereotype of the benevolent German colonizer: attributing violent behaviour to an illness, that was nonetheless provoked (allegedly) by tropical conditions, devoided German colonizers of any responsibility or reproach for acts of violence against the local population. The fact that in the discourse violent behavior was related to illness shows a negative value judgement attached to violent behavior but also a refusal to

challenge violent colonial behavior or practice. This leads me to wonder about the definition of excessive violence in a colonial context since violence was an intricate part of the entire enterprise. Carl Peters, known as the colonizer of German East Africa, was relieved of his duties and prosecuted in Germany after having a young African man lynched for fraternizing with his African mistress (Schwarz 88). Based on the examples presented by Schwarz, violence was considered acceptable in the enforcement of German authority over the colonial territory. Was this standard applied to Portuguese colonizers of Brazil in this selection of travel narratives? In any case, the concept of *Tropenkoller* does not appear in the discourse on Portuguese colonization of Brazil. For this reason I am inclined to believe that this was not the case.

D. Hybridity, Triangular Perceptions, and Anticonquest

Two theoretical concepts will be instrumental in my analysis: Homi Bhabha's understanding of *hybridity* and Katrin Sieg's concept of *triangular thinking*. In the following I will attempt to define them, relate them dialectically to each other, and explain their relevance to this context.

1. Hybrid Agents

Homi Bhabha's introduction to the most quoted volume, Nation and Narration (1990), speaks of a "Janus-faced discourse of the nation": "This turns the familiar two-faced god into a figure of prodigious doubling that investigates the nation-space in the *process* of the articulation of elements: where meanings may be partial because they are *in medias res*; and history may be half-made because it is in the process of being made"

(Bhabha, Nation and Narration 3). This reference to the two-faced Roman deity of exits and entrances speaks to the position of German travelers to Brazil in at least two ways: nineteenth-century German travelers to Brazil were indeed part of the process of defining a German national identity. During the timespan of the journeys discussed here, 1815-1889, Germany exited an era of many principalities and kingdoms and entered one of national unity. Descriptions of Brazil by German travelers participated in the national discourse topic in Bhabha's sense without, of course, exhausting the subject.

According to Bhabha, 'mimicry' in (colonial) identities was an effort to destabilize rigid colonial categorizations of people. This was in response to European colonizers' efforts to "civilize" the Others while maintaining their 'Otherness' so that they might continue to be dominated. I propose that in the 'contact zone' of nineteenth century Brazil, German travelers became hybrid colonial subjects. In their encounters with the Portuguese in Brazil, they were between two colonial spaces: on the one hand, as Europeans, the natural tendency was to identify with the Portuguese colonizers, mimicking their colonizing behaviors; on the other, they were reminded of their 'Otherness' as Germans or as German-speaking subjects in a foreign territory. They were therefore marginalized colonizers. In their travel narratives, they "return(ed) the colonial gaze" and responded to it (Bhabha, Location 98). In my reading I found that such factors as the traveler's social class, gender and, of course, race can color their responses. In their encounters with other Brazilians they relate to them as outsiders, expressing towards them, and their colonizers in some cases, the same urge to colonize or to correct.

Lola Young reminds us of hybridity's roots in nineteenth-century European theories of race (156) as an aspect of the natural sciences. The fifth chapter of this dissertation will relate the popularization of natural and social sciences with anthropological explorations of Brazil. In post/colonial and multicultural studies, the term shatters essentialist illusions of homogenous national, cultural, class, and racial identities. Bhabha speaks of “ambivalence” (Nation 3; Location 86) pointing to a certain fluidity of these categories. This fluidity is closely related to the notion of 'triangular thinking' as enunciated by Katrin Sieg and reinterpreted by Susanne Zantop.

2. 'Anticonquest' in Colonial Triangles

Susanne Zantop's article, "Colonial Legends, Postcolonial Legacies" (1997) opposes "triangular thinking" (189-205) to the traditional binary opposition constructed between colonized people and their colonizers, when describing Germany's response to colonialism. Triangular thinking refers to a perspective that allows German authors to comment on colonial situations by distancing themselves from other Europeans and identifying with the colonized subjects. Zantop cites Katrin Sieg in using this designation; however, while Sieg sees its application in the twentieth century, Zantop traces such thinking to a time of about three hundred years earlier. Zantop unmasks two main characteristics of triangular thinking in letters by Johann Gottfried Herder (Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität, 1793-1797), and a film by Hans Steinhoff (Ohm Krüger, 1941): triangular thinking seems to reconstruct German subjects as "victims" and "outsiders" with the right to serve as "moral arbiters" over a colonial situation. Also, while rooted in and responding to a specific historic context, this perspective

seems to avoid self-criticism by creating "self-serving identifications" (Zantop, "Colonial Legends" 198). The travelers discussed in this project were indeed outsiders in Brazil even though they could hardly represent themselves as victims. Their narratives represent them more as heroic figures than victims when facing hardships. The travel narrative is a potential confessional space in which the travelers can process their responses to the others after returning from the 'contact zone'. In addition to the identifications mentioned above, I have found self-reflective moments in my reading, however few they were. The paradox between these two positions has some resemblance to the contradiction found in what Mary Louise Pratt describes as the anti-conquest discourse (Pratt 7).

According to Pratt, anti-conquest are the "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony" (Pratt 7). Although the subjects whose perspectives find expression in these travel narratives are not all bourgeois, it will be interesting to see how this paradox is manifested in their narratives. Michelle Mattson (1998) applied this concept in her reading of a contemporary novel: Franz Xaver Kroetz' Nicaragua Tagebuch (Hamburg: Konkret Literaturverlag, 1985). In her analysis Mattson brings out that German leftists in Nicaragua, while denouncing US imperialism in South America, project their disappointment about the political atmosphere in Germany onto Nicaragua (98-99).

The leading question in my investigation will be how triangular thinking finds expression in these six descriptions of nineteenth-century Brazil. This risks a falsely homogenized representation of Brazilian subjects encountered by German-speaking

travelers in this project. This error can however be avoided by defining the parties of the (mental) triangles, and also by acknowledging a flexible location of ‘triangular’ encounters discussed here.

E. Travel and National Identities

The question of nationhood was of special relevance in the nineteenth century in Germany as well as in Brazil. In 1822 Brazil became a nation by declaring independence from Portugal. Almost fifty years later, in 1871, Germany was united into one state and shortly thereafter joined the ranks of colonizing European nations. Nations are commonly defined as “imagined communit(ies)” states Helmut Smith (231). He to nationalism as “political doctrines” with (the following) set of core ideas:

- the world is divided into nations
- the loyalty to the nation ought to override other loyalties
- nations constitute the only legitimate basis of sovereign states

(236)

According to Smith (230 and 236), German ideas of nationhood predated the liberation wars of the early nineteenth century and Irmtraud Sahmland’s article, “Gibt es ein deutsches Nationaltemperament?” (2002), focuses on eighteenth-century attempts to find a place for Germany as a nation among other European nations through the study of temperaments (*Temperamentslehre*). In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther’s reformation and translation of the Bible into German planted early seeds of nationalism. His intention to make the Holy Scriptures accessible to all Germans presented him with the challenge of unifying a multitude of German dialects into one translation that would

speak to all Germans. In the eighteenth century Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803) and others sought to elevate German as a national language with the same prestige as French. Although national fantasies of a German nation did in fact precede this era by centuries, some of them were at least fanned into flame in response to the invasion of German states by France under Napoleon Bonaparte (Kontje 5; Williamson 75). In the nineteenth century, nationalists such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, and Ernst Moritz Arndt lead the continued search for a united German identity that was based on the re/construction of a united national mythology (Williamson 118). The roots of German nationalism in narrative works of the nineteenth century have been a point of consensus in the research on this topic (Kontje, Domestic Fiction 9). The invasion of central Europe by France under Napoleon Bonaparte is considered an important impetus to the advancement of nationalist sentiments throughout Germany.

Napoleon's expansionist ambitions influenced events in another region of Europe: in 1807 the Portuguese royal family, in response to Napoleon's threats of invasion, fled to their colony in Brazil for safety. In 1822 Brazil, under then Portuguese crown prince Dom Pedro, declared its independence from Portugal. As Emperor of Brazil and yet still Crown Prince of Portugal, Pedro I entered a combative relationship with his parliament in Portugal; two conceptions of nationhood clashed during his reign:

A conception of nation as polity based on traditional forms of inherited authority and directed by a ruler of heroic stature was increasingly challenged by a conception that equated the nation with the people and derived all authority from the popular will (Barman 131).

The emperor's refusal to have his authority questioned or limited in any way, coupled with growing resentment of Brazilians born in the colony against Portuguese born Brazilians, created a politically tense environment riddled with quenched uprisings. Scandals in the Emperor's personal life also drew hostile sentiments from European monarchs of the time. In addition, Pedro I's inheritance of the Portuguese throne was threatened by his brother Carlos' ambitions and by the metropole's misgivings about Brazil's independence. In 1831 the besieged emperor abdicated the Brazilian throne in favor of his son Pedro II and returned to Portugal in order to protect his interests.

Both Germany and Brazil found their way to nationhood in the nineteenth century: one through unification and the other through independence. The second chapter of this study will investigate in more detail the historical context of the travel narratives examined here. However, at this point, a discussion of German travel literature and nationhood as they relate to each other is necessary to this study. While it would be interesting to explore nineteenth century notions of nationhood in Brazil, I concentrate my efforts on the German experience since my project is housed in the field of German Cultural Studies.

1. National Identities

Benedict Anderson is one of the most quoted authors on the topic of nationhood or nationalism. His definition of nation as “an imagined political community [...] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6) has influenced many, if not all, of the scholars quoted in this study. Anderson sees as an impetus for nationalistic imaginations a resistance by the majority to social exclusion through the imposition of a

foreign lingua franca such as Latin, for instance. In Germany this was the case with French which had been the language of rulers and nobility. Bourgeois Germans promoted the use of a common German language in resistance to the rule of society by the noble class. In Brazil the linguistic situation was slightly different. While Adalbert von Preussen and Therese von Bayern spoke mostly French and a little German with the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II, the monarch communicated in Portuguese with his subjects— one could say that parliamentary nationalists in Brazil were resisting the discourse held by Portuguese-born nobility, including the royal family. This discourse became increasingly contrary to their understanding of themselves as a sovereign democratic and independent nation.

According to Otto Dann, nations are "Gesellschaften, die aufgrund gemeinsamer geschichtlicher Herkunft eine politische Interessengemeinschaft bilden" (12) [societies that form communities of common interest, based on a common historical origin]. From this perspective, they do not come organically or spontaneously into existence. Dann continues that nations result from cultural and historical developments, such as the creation of a collective national identity or consciousness (*Nationalbewußtsein*) or the development of a standard language (*Hochdeutsch*), and a growing reading population.

Dann also points out that the intellectual prerequisites to nationhood do not occur equally in all social classes: "Der organisierte Nationalismus ist eine von intellektuellen Minderheiten inszenierte politische Bewegung für die imperiale Machtentfaltung des Nationalstaats" (12-21). [Organized nationalism is a movement led by an intellectual minority for the imperial power of the nation-state.]

The travelers represented here belong to the middle-class and to the aristocracy; this is to be expected since traveling in the nineteenth century was only possible for the wealthy or individuals generously sponsored by monarchs or associations. Middle-class intellectuals (*das Bildungsbürgertum*) (Giesen 142) played a key role in spreading nationalism in the German states, while the aristocracy viewed nationalism with reluctance: "Germany's national narrative should have spoken to a single, unified public, but it mainly addressed and was sustained by the bourgeoisie" (Peterson, *History, Fiction, and Germany* 269). According to Bernhard Giesen, this resulted in a German identity that was "apolitical" and always at odds with reality. It is important to remember, though, that instead of one nationalistic discourse, nationalism in Germany was a mixture of various movements that differed in some ways from one territory to another. In Brazil, for example, it was the Portuguese Crown Prince Pedro who took a decidedly political step by declaring the colony's independence.

Bernhard Giesen finds states that nineteenth-century German national identity entailed an ambivalent position between the urge to proselytize outsiders to the German worldview and the desire to remain separate from the Other(s) (143). In my reading of the travel narratives examined in this project, I find that the second perspective – the desire to remain separate – prevails. These travelers saw their perceptions of German nationhood – as defined by Giesen and Peterson – challenged in Brazil through various encounters. The notion that all Germans belong to a common geographical region is questioned, for instance, in their encounters with German immigrants to Brazil. Here I focus on representations of the Other(s), however, by Germans in a foreign context. Giesen and Peterson point to the encounter with the Other(s) as a way of establishing

boundaries around national identity. Helmut Smith agrees with Saul Ascher that “hatred of foreigners was the first virtue of a German” (246), which is the prevailing perception in studies on German nationalism.

An article by Bryan Vick, “The Origins of the German Volk” (2003), on the other hand, traces a shift in German nationalism in the nineteenth century from a theory of assimilation and domination to one of exclusion. Vick’s text identifies two directions in German nationalism in the early nineteenth century:

one associated with romanticism and nurturing a more cosmopolitan vision of Germany’s place in the bosom of Europe, the other chauvinistic and harboring a profound dislike of any close associations with the foreign, above all suspect Romance peoples. (241)

According to Vick, German Romantic nationalists, such as Friedrich Schlegel and Jacob Grimm, despite their divergent views on the place of Christianity/Catholicism in German culture, seemed to agree about an ‘organic’ and diverse foreign influence on German culture and language while stressing “continuity and autonomy, not purity” (245) in defining German national identity. Williamson’s research seems to agree with this line of thought stating that:

According to [Joseph] Görres, German art achieved its most perfect expression during the High Middle Ages, when crusades led to an intermingling of the Christian poetic tradition with those of Asia, inspiring the Minnelieder and epics of German Romance. (80)

Vick’s research proposes a shift in the nationalistic discourse during the middle of the nineteenth century. The popularization of the sciences seems to have propagated the use

of terminology from “medical pathology” (249); foreigners were seen increasingly as social parasites, therefore in negative terms. Confrontational understandings of social Darwinism contributed to this shift towards negative responses to foreigners. After the 1890s scientific theories of race fed into this trend. German nationalistic hostilities were aimed increasingly toward the French and the Polish at the approach of the First World War (Vick 250). Smith dates the inclusion of Eastern Europe as an object of such hostilities as early as the 1840s (251).

Todd Kontje agrees with the idea of a shift in German nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century. In Women, the Novel, and the German Nation 1771-1871 (1998), he draws parallels between the rise of German nationalism and the growing prestige of the *Bildungsroman*:

Beginning around 1870, German scholars began to view the maturation of the hero in the *Bildungsroman* as a parable for the development of the German nation toward cultural independence and political unification.

(xii-xiii)

However, while Vick’s understanding proposes one strand of nationalism that changes at a certain point, Kontje’s text presents two separate strands of nationalism: one version emphasizing the “bonds of blood to the German soil” (13) and another ‘liberal’ branch “compatible with cosmopolitanism that is based on religious tolerance [and] includes women in its ranks” (14). German nationalism, as any other intellectual or social endeavor, was indeed subject to the historical events or trends of the time. In any case, the consensus still seems to indicate that, regardless of the various strands, motivations, or practical approaches to German nationalism during the nineteenth

century, a minority of intellectuals had succeeded in turning the idea of a united German nation into a widespread conviction for reasons that will be explored in the second chapter of this study. Kontje summarizes previous research on German nationalism as follows:

What was once portrayed as the spontaneous uprising of a unified people now seems the product of a complex cultural strategy based at least as much on the exclusion of the Other – the foreigner, the Jew, the homosexual – as the inclusion of the same (xii).

Kontje's 1998 volume is an attempt to correct a blind spot in traditional *Germanistik* by highlighting the contributions of women writers to the nationalistic discourse of nineteenth-century Germany. He shows that women were another category of "Others" and thus excluded from German nationalistic aspirations: "The German fatherland was just that: a nation of patriarchs, a land of fathers, where women – at least in theory – played a subordinate role" (Kontje 10). Later in this chapter I draw attention to this dichotomy with respect to German traveling women as they began to step out of this role to take the of on two roles of travelers and writers which had been traditionally ascribed to men. However, beforehand, I will summarize the development of German travel literature in the nineteenth century, emphasizing travel literature as one of various media for the propagation of nationalistic imaginations.

2. Travel Literature in the Nineteenth Century

Social changes between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in cultural shifts affecting the production of literature.

According to Todd Kontje this was the coming of age for increasingly confessional styles of writing: the ascent in status of sentimental letters and other confessional forms of writing like religious autobiographies and moral periodicals and the marked increase in literacy rates in central Europe created an atmosphere in which novels could thrive (Kontje, Domestic Fiction 2). Chapter II of this study elaborates on the cause and effect relationship between the boom in literacy in Germany during the nineteenth century and the propagation of nationalistic ideals through written text.

According to Thomas Nolden “nations are ‘inventions’ and therefore have to be studied as creations of the imagination” (125). In the nineteenth century various cultural expressions have helped ‘invent’ or construct a German nation. Kontje’s research looks at the contributions of novels written by women to German national imaginations; he summarizes the influence of novels from the *bourgeoisie* on the nationalistic discourse as follows: “‘Germany’ as a unified political entity would not exist for another hundred years [after the 1870s], but it was already taking shape as an ‘imagined community’ in the cultural productions of the rising middle class” (3). Although this “rising middle class” entailed men and women, their work did not encounter the same response from their contemporaries. Prose texts by men were applauded for their contributions to nationalism while women were minimized and, at times, ridiculed for engaging in the same literary activities as men (Herminghouse 153).

Apart from prose texts, there were other significant nationalistic ‘cultural productions’, to borrow Kontje’s expression, in the nineteenth century. Poetry, for instance, as a genre, did not lose its relevance in the rising popularity of literary works. On the contrary, according to Lorie Vanchena, the proliferation of newspapers in

nineteenth-century Germany and the publication of political poems in the new press contributed significantly to the public discourse on nationalism and the perception of a common past at its foundation: “Political poets often helped create this sense of community by writing in the third person plural, thus establishing rhetorical ties between themselves and their readers” (Vanchena 8). In addition, Vanchena also points to choral societies of the time as key proliferators of these same poems throughout society (23). Politically active university students organized themselves into fraternities, choral societies, and gymnastics associations. Behind their social facades these liberal-minded groups maintained a strong nationalistic agenda which found expression in the frequent festivals and gatherings they organized. During such events choral groups (usually male) sang nationalistic texts thereby propagating their ideals among their spectators and participants.

Karin Wurst’s research addresses another means of bourgeois nationalistic expression: fashion. “The bourgeoisie produced and was shaped by an increase in consumer products, of which fashion was one of the more important ones” (369). Sociologically speaking, fashion was a means by which the rising middle class could resist the feudal social order of the time by refusing to conform to the customary dress codes (369).

As shown above, a number of studies have focused on cultural expressions of nationalism. This project examines the impact of another type of popular narrative: travel journals. Travel narratives are a most straightforward depiction of encounters between German and ‘other’ subjects in ‘contact zones’. Their influence is illustrated by the fact that, according to Zantop, “by 1784, German readers had become the primary

consumers of travelogues in Europe” (Colonial Fantasies 32). Even more relevant to this study is the multiplication of translated travel narratives on South America by eight compared to a “fivefold multiplication” of travel texts in general in the German-speaking realm (33). Nolden posits that: “Whereas the British novelist provided the aesthetic counterpart to colonial politics, the German novelist had to resign himself to a depiction of the failure of German colonialism” (127). One would think, contrary to the position expressed in the quote above that novels, as fictional works, would afford authors the flexibility to narrate or reconstruct events in any light they might choose. The research of scholars like Zantop and Birgit Tautz gives examples of texts from the eighteenth century: translations of travel literature from other parts of Europe and travel narratives that deviate in content from original texts. According to Tautz

the textual role of the translator [...] helps erect the ideal of an autonomous, modern author who exudes an enormous influence over the community for which he writes. In this respect, the 18th-century translator of travel accounts makes a significant contribution to the German *Kulturnation* (171).

These texts were indeed depictions of contact zones often far away from central Europe and represented European encounters with others. There was, however, an added dimension for German “Armchair Conquistadors” (Zantop, Colonial Fantasies 17) of the time: the encounter with other European subjects which was a site for the construction of a German national identity. One could say that these textual or “armchair” encounters with other Europeans were the precursors to such actual encounters like the ones with Portuguese colonizers in Brazil narrated in my selection

of texts. Tautz deduces from her reading an early attempt on the part of German translators of travel narratives to favorably differentiate Germans from other Europeans (170), which contributed to the construction of a national German identity.

While Tautz' article draws attention to the encounter of eighteenth-century German readers with other European colonizers in translated travel narratives, Zantop's research (1997) also sees German readers confronted with what they might have perceived as personal failure: the failed attempt of the Welsers to colonize portions of Venezuela in the seventeenth century "gained special status as a kind of colonial "urnarrative", according to Zantop (Colonial Fantasies 21), one that would haunt German readers and writers of travel literature for several subsequent generations, creating a need to rehabilitate (29) or create a German colonizing identity as part of a national identity.

German travel narratives about nineteenth century Brazil accomplish what novels, as Thomas Nolden claims (125-138), were not able to do: rehabilitate German subjects as colonizers or at least as informed evaluators of other colonial enterprises. Zantop points out: "Even if Neu-Deutschland had not materialized the first time around, it seemed, there was ample space for a New Germany on paper" (Colonial Fantasies 30).

In an essay titled, "Wo die Einhörner wandern" (1998) [Where the Unicorns roam], Anne Simon contrasts two types of sixteenth-century travelogues: the pilgrimage and the discovery narratives. Simon proposes initially that, while pilgrims' observations of the Holy Land were influenced by their understandings of the Holy Scriptures and wide-spread European religious traditions, travelers to Brazil, due to a lack of

knowledge on the region, encountered the new land with less baggage (10). Simon's analysis shows that Hans Staden's response to Brazil, while not so much influenced by prior knowledge about the region, is still colored by the travelers' personal disposition which, in his case, was one of fear and trepidation: "Nicht der Reisezweck bestimmt die Wahrnehmung der Fremde, sondern die der eigenen Erfahrung entstammende Furcht. Das Bild der Fremde wird dem Leser unter dem Aspekt der Gefahr und der Gottesferne präsentiert" (20). [Perceptions of things foreign are not influenced by the reason for travelling but rather by the traveler's fears resulting from his own past experiences. The image of the foreign is presented to the reader from the perspective of danger and distance from God].

The travelers discussed in this project share commonalities with both perspectives analyzed by Simon: like seventeenth-century pilgrims to the Holy Land, German travelers to Brazil were intellectuals who had been exposed to a tradition of travelogues about South America, and most of them under the common influence of Alexander von Humboldt. Similarly to their predecessor, Hans Staden, their subjective and individual perspectives found expression in their narratives, reflecting the 'confessional' turn in narrative literature of the nineteenth century.

There is a plethora of general and specialized resources on travel literature. Peter Brenner's edited volume, Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur (The Travelogue: The development of a Genre in German Literature 1989), is one of the most quoted resources on the topic of German travel literature. The essays in Brenner's volume trace a history of travel narratives dating back from old Nordic narratives to travel texts of the twentieth century. The editor points to

multidisciplinary perspectives as a necessity in approaching the variety of texts understood as travel literature (8).

According to Brenner, the tension between attempts to measure and quantify observations and to translate observed objects into aesthetic versions was a characteristic of the eighteenth century and found expression in numerous tables and numbers included in travelogues of the time (34-35). He presents Alexander von Humboldt's Relation Historique as a bridge between the quantifying tendencies of the eighteenth century and the 'organologischen' approaches of the nineteenth century (37). Zantop's research also presents the eighteenth century as a transition point for German travel literature: during the first half of the 1700s, "myth-laden" (Colonial Fantasies 34) translations or newer versions of famous discovery narratives were the norm. However:

from about 1750 [...] travel accounts became more diverse, more geared toward contemporary political developments, and more 'scientific,' that is more focused on collecting information that could be integrated into global systems of knowledge. (Colonial Fantasies 35)

Stefanie Ohnesorg writes that in the eighteenth century,

die Verfasser von Reiseberichten versuchten, literarischen Ansprüchen zu genügen, indem sie das subjektive Moment stärker betonten und sich von rein faktographischen Berichterstattungen abkehrten. Innerhalb des 19. Jahrhunderts ist dann allerdings wieder teilweise eine gegenläufige Tendenz, hin zum wissenschaftlichen Reisebericht, zu beobachten. (40)

[Writers of travel narratives attempted to meet literary standards by emphasizing subjective experiences and by shying away from the strict

conveyance of data. During the nineteenth century, however, a partial reverse shift toward the scientific type of travel can be observed.]

Most of the texts selected for this project represent this scientific trend in nineteenth-century German travel literature.

Destinations and the types of narratives reflected their historical contexts, as Brenner argues (11) – from the pilgrimages of the Middle-Ages to mass tourism in the twentieth century. Wulf Wülfing’s essay, “Reiseberichte im Vormärz”, reminds the readership that travel narratives did not pertain only to far away ‘exotic’ places. Narratives of journeys within Europe and even within central Europe, such as texts by Heinrich Heine and Ida Hahn-Hahn masked political commentary (Brenner 333-363; Ohnesorg 192). These travelogues documented the political controversies of the time. Another example of the historicity of travel and narrative types is the correlation between nineteenth-century emigration waves and the demand for practical and informative types of travelogues: “Die Auswanderungswelle des 19. Jahrhunderts entwickelt Gattungsformen, die sich an neuen pragmatischen Bedürfnissen orientieren” (Brenner 11). [Nineteenth-century immigration waves developed text genres that addressed new practical needs (of the readership)].

Peter Mesenhöller’s article, “Auf, ihr Brüder, laßt uns fröhlich nach Amerika” (Brenner 363-382) draws attention to Germany’s two-fold fascination with North America: The lifestyle of native populations within the natural landscape and the influence of European immigrants on the ‘New World’ (363 and 365). As Germans increased in number among these immigrants, a particular type of travel literature gained prominence during this era: *Ratgeberliteratur* (literally speaking: ‘advice

literature’). This category entailed travelogues formatted more as travel guides or self-help books for potential immigrants to North America. Such texts existed in the Brazilian context as well. For instance, Dr. Blumenau, founder of the German settlement named after him in southern Brazil, published two such texts. Although a study of these travel guides would be appropriate and profitable in the context of Cultural Studies, my project focuses primarily on a different type of travel enterprise: expeditions, *Forschungsreisen* (Brenner 383) rather than emigration to Brazil.

Stefan Fisch’s chapter on nineteenth century exploration, “Forschungsreisen im 19. Jahrhundert” (Brenner 383-405), is particularly relevant to this project since all but one of the texts analyzed in this study – namely the one by Ina von Binzer – fit in this category. According to Fisch these travelers were motivated primarily by the search for adventure, the urge to collect, and the professional advancement through scientific presentation of their findings. Brenner speaks of “Abenteuerlust, Sammeleifer und das Streben nach – auch der Karriere förderlicher – wissenschaftlicher Durchdringung des Gesehenen und Erlebten” (383-384) [the desire for adventure, the urge to collect, and the striving – also to advance one’s career – for the scientific understanding of what’s seen and experienced]. Many explorers were medical doctors who during their studies had developed an interest in other scientific fields that promoted travel and exploration (botany, zoology, and anthropology for instance). A medical profession was also an important resource for these travels, allowing the travelers to at least partially finance their journeys by serving in their capacity as doctors (Brenner 384).

While the sciences seemed to draw explorers to tropical regions of Africa and South America, orientalists contributed to the Humanities by traveling and writing

about the Far-East. Chapter II will show that not all explorers came from a scientific, humanistic, or even an academic background for that matter. Social changes made it possible for individuals who under traditional circumstances would not have been able to travel in order to pursue their ambitions.

While indeed travel texts had a great influence on its readers in the nineteenth century, as Fisch claims, the readership increasingly reciprocated by pressuring writers and publishers with their expectations (394-395). Already in the preface to his Relation Historique, Alexander von Humboldt expressed resentment toward this pressure towards a more personal narration from the reading audience. Fisch writes: “Die Aufteilung in einen tagebuchartig, die Reisegeschichte erzählenden Teil, und in mehr oder weniger systematisch angeordnete historische, Natur-, und völkerkundliche Beobachtungen erwies sich von Anfang an” (394). [Right from the beginning a separation became apparent between narrating the journey in the form of a diary and historical, naturalistic, and ethnographical observations that were more or less systematically organized.]. In the nineteenth century, due to a popularization of the sciences and travel narratives, scientific travelers no longer wrote for an exclusive audience of peers. Increasingly they had to publish their works in a two-fold format: one, a report of scientific data strictly addressing an academic audience, and for a broader audience, another more narrative text of events and adventures experienced during the journeys.

Ania Loomba (57) and Mary Louise Pratt (5), among other literary critics, have underscored the central role of travel literature in the construction of European colonizing subjects. While travel literature in other European nations seemed to justify

the colonial enterprise, this genre had a different significance in the various German states for the reasons mentioned earlier. In reading my selection of primary texts, I found that nineteenth-century German travelers journeyed to South America in pursuit of knowledge and out of their passion for *Wissenschaft*. They came from different parts of Germany and were visiting lands that were already under colonial rule.

3. 'Reisen Frauen anders?' — Gender, Nation, and Travel

Ruth Klüger juxtaposes the differences in experiences of women and men with different approaches to various texts; she affirms that different genders can learn to read as the 'others' do (Frauen lesen anders (1997) [Women Read Differently]). As a matter of fact, she proposes that, although the contrary is usually not the case, women have, for the most part, learned to read like men. This prompts me to ask: do women travel otherwise? At least did they travel differently than men in the nineteenth century? Did they respond differently to Brazil— in other words, did they 'read' Brazil differently than men by virtue of being women? And, consequently, did they make a different contribution to the nationalistic discourse than men? The participation of women in the nineteenth-century nationalistic discourse through travel literature in Germany is related to their contributions through narrative works of the time in general.

In History, Fiction, and Germany (2005) Brent Peterson draws a connection between nineteenth-century historical novels and the construction of a collective German identity, at the center of which Prussian heroes identify with bourgeois values — values known to restrict women to the private domestic realms. In an essay entitled "The Fatherland's Kiss of Death — Gender and Germany in Nineteenth-Century

Historical Fiction" (1997), Peterson discusses the representation of women in nineteenth-century historical novels and sees women consistently narrated in the margins of the stories, playing a supportive and almost insignificant role that enables the male characters to become heroes (82). This assessment also applies to the presence of women authors in the German literary canon (Frederiksen, "Missing Contents" 101-111). One of the reasons for the gender imbalance in the German literary canon is the negative response of male critics to the works of women. According to Patricia Herminhouse, nineteenth-century literary critics, who were convinced that "women did not make history", had more influence in the German nationalistic discourse than literary works themselves (147). These same critics were apparently more preoccupied with older texts in their search for a national literary tradition than with contemporary (nineteenth-century) publications. In shifting their focus away from such texts, they ensured the exclusion of texts by women from their studies despite their growing readership (148). This preoccupation with the past was not persistent only among academics but also in the growing reading audience as well. This included women who, in response to their exclusion from formal education, read voraciously in private. "For most of the nineteenth century historical fiction was the most popular literary genre in Germany" (Peterson, "Gender and Germany" 83).

Todd Kontje's research on 'domestic fiction'¹⁹ explains this exclusion as follows: "The link between narratives of male development in the novel and the maturation of the fatherland began to explain why women writers were largely ignored in the building of a national literature" (Domestic Fiction xiii). Peterson also addresses

¹⁹ By 'domestic fiction' Kontje refers to fictional narratives by women that, according to him, conform to bourgeois expectations by focusing on "romance, marriage, and family" (1), and yet resist them by commenting on political matters through descriptions of the private life.

an apparent contradiction in misogynist nationalistic discourses of the time by pointing to Prussian Queen Louise as one of the national heroes. An aristocrat who led a simple life, she was elevated as a national icon and – like her male counterparts – embraced bourgeois values. While Queen Louise seemed to represent the ideal bourgeois woman, nineteenth-century German women traveling to Brazil crossed social boundaries, nevertheless, at times, agreeing with male perspectives in their discourse. Two of them – Therese von Bayern and Ida Pfeiffer – share much in common with Alexander von Humboldt in their reasons for traveling and also in their biographical data, as do Carl Friedrich Philip Martius, Johann von Spix, and Maximilian zu Wied. Ina von Binzer, as governess in a wealthy Brazilian family's home, stood out since her profession was one ascribed primarily to women in the nineteenth century.

Kontje also relates developments in literature to drastic social changes in German society in the second half of the eighteenth century: to the advent of the bourgeois civil servant and the resulting governmental shift from local lordships or *Herrschaft* to bureaucracies or *Verwaltung* (Domestic Fiction 2). This change created a new class of civil servants who were often recruited among middle-class men, relegating bourgeois women to the private realm within the newly emerging confines of the nuclear family. According to Peterson, a diverse German-speaking reading audience chose to believe in a common German past, as it was narrated in a number of novels at the time – a past in which women were either idealized or invisible. They were therefore “only to play a peripheral role in the formation of the German nation” (Kontje, Domestic Fiction 5.)

This belief in a common past is one of the pillars of German national identity in the nineteenth century. The other two are "a sense that they shared a single geography, culture, and language," and "the conviction that all Germans belonged together in one, and only one, continuous and contiguous nation-state" (Peterson, History, Fiction, and Germany 9). Helmut Smith addresses the gender constellation of German nationalism in the nineteenth century in the following terms:

In Germany, it proved to be of overriding importance that many of the most prominent German nationalists were Prussian, male, and Protestant [...]The new nationalism was an ideology of and for men [...] Nationalism widened the wedge, already pried open in the late eighteenth century, separating a male public sphere from a female private domain (242-243).

The fourth chapter of this study will discuss the impact of this separation of male and female realms on the popularization of science in nineteenth-century Germany. Patricia Herminhouse's research underscores that in the second half of the nineteenth century, "scientific and nationalistic discourses" in Germany increasingly excluded women.

Kontje's work shows that in spite of seeing their work either ignored or minimized by intellectual men, nineteenth-century women wrote (7) and had a considerable audience (8). Although much has been done to rectify this imbalance, the task of balancing the theoretical and literary canon is far from complete. Peterson presents Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué's Der Refugié (1824) in which the women appear to be uninvolved in political questions; this is in harmony with Giesen's understanding

of nineteenth century German national identity. While this might be the case in fictional narratives written by men of that period, other women will become more visible in the travel narratives by the women featured in this project. At first glance they seem to "assume a male perspective" in order to participate in the discourse, as Carla Monta does in E. R. Belani's 1829 novel, Die Demagogen (Peterson, "Gender and Germany" 85). It will be interesting to see how they find their voices in colonial discourse which has been dominated by a male perspective.

Although Sara Mills remarked that, at the time of her publication (1991), there were very few studies on nineteenth century travel literature by European women, I find that considerable efforts have been made to rectify this lack. However, the number of these studies still does not reflect the marked increase in travel activities by women of that period. In the German-speaking context, this area of investigation mirrors post/colonial studies in that publications from English-speaking critics seem to have had a head start over Germanists. One could explain this by the close ties between travel literature and colonialism. This could be a result of Germany's *Sonderweg* to colonialism. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, Germany's unique position in the European colonial enterprise was a reason for a slow development of an interest in post/colonialism in German academia, hence the still limited representation of nineteenth-century German women in the study of travel literature.

In my research, I have encountered more texts about British²⁰ than of German women travelers. Among the English texts one anthology is of special relevance here: June Hahner's Women through Women's Eyes (1998) is an anthology featuring excerpts from travel narratives (some translated) by various European women (Flora Tristán, Frederika Bremer and Helen Sanborn among others) who journeyed to South America in the nineteenth century. The volume includes a helpful bibliography on the topic of women in South America; the excerpts are framed and placed in context by a critical introduction and conclusion. A translated portion of Ina von Binzer's text is featured in the seventh chapter. I disagree with Hahner's description of Binzer's text as a "more perceptive and less patronizing account" (xxii) in her introduction. My study will argue that despite a more self-reflective tendency in Binzer's more confessional type of text (a collection of private letters), her narrative does betray a level of sarcasm and patronizing tendencies in response to Brazilian subjects.

In the German speaking realm, four names stand out in the study of women and travel: Annegret Pelz (1988), Tamara Felden (1993), Stefanie Ohnesorg (1996) and Elke Frederiksen (1999).²¹ While Frederiksen and Ohnesorg's work prepare the way for future studies by claiming space for women in the study of travel literature as a whole, Pelz and Felden concentrate on women travelers of the eighteenth and nineteenth

²⁰ For instance: Monica Anderson's Women and the politics of travel, 1870-1914 (Cranbury NJ: Associated University Presses, 2006); Alison Blunt's Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kinglsey and West Africa (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); Cheryl McEwan's Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2000); Lila Marz Harper's Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-century Women's Travel Narratives and Scientific Vocation. (Cranbury, London and Mississauga: Associated University Presses, 2001); June E. Hahner's edited volume, Women through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in nineteenth-century Travel Accounts. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1998); and Sara Mills' Discourses of Difference: Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism. (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

²¹ Elke Frederiksen, "Der Blick in die Ferne - Zur Reiseliteratur von Frauen". In: Frauen Literatur Geschichte, ed. Hiltrud Gnüg and Renate Möhrmann. Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 1999. 147-165; Annegret Pelz und Wolfgang Griep, Frauen reisen. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis deutschsprachiger Frauenreisen 1700-1810. Bremen: Temmen, 1995.

centuries. Felden's Frauen reisen ([Women travel] 1993) seeks to correct the silence around nineteenth-century traveling women in Germany and their contributions to travel literature. Felden focuses on descriptions of England, the "Orient" and the United States of America by four German women of the time. Ida Pfeiffer is discussed twice in this study. The scope of Pfeiffer's travel experience and her contributions to knowledge through her travel writings make it compulsory to include her in any study of nineteenth-century travel. While Felden discusses Ida Pfeiffer's descriptions of England and Palestine, my project will focus on another destination of hers. Felden's thesis is that

weibliche und männliche Autoren in ihrem speziellen historischen und bürgerlichen Kontext deshalb verschieden geartete Reiseliteraturen schufen, weil Frauen und Männer sowohl im täglichen Leben als auch in der Literatur und Literaturwissenschaft einen unterschiedlichen Status inne hatten. Andersgeartete Erfahrungsparadigmen resultieren in andersgearteten Texten (1)

[female and male authors wrote different types of travel literature due to their specific historical and middle-class context, because women and men had a different status in daily life as well as in literature and literary studies. Different experience paradigms result in different texts.]

I agree with Felden's thesis, however, with one caveat: the status of women and men in the nineteenth century had as much an impact on the *publication* of texts as on their *production* per say. For instance, women seem to dominate the realm of letters and other confessional types of texts, but this was not because men did not produce letters at

the time. Alexander von Humboldt's private correspondence during his journey in the Americas was not published during his lifetime, although they had been composed long before the official results of his expedition. Several studies on travel literature of the time underscore that the silence around women is not due to a lack of participation by women in travel and writing (Ohnesorg 26). Therefore I agree with Felden when she observes that: "Allerdings kann 'männliches' Verhalten bei Frauen und 'weibliches' Verhalten bei Männern auftreten, was dementsprechend einen Bruch gesellschaftlicher Normen darstellt." [After all, men can display 'female' behavior as well as women can display 'male' behavior, representing a crossing of social boundaries.]²² Indeed, this principle is extended to the realm of writing: writing patterns considered as 'female' can be found in travel texts by men and vice versa.

Felden also addressed the influence of censorship on the publications of women in the nineteenth century, indicating that women were subjected to an additional level of censorship resulting from their personal lives (the influence of husbands, fathers, etc) (10). In comparison to other women, the women in my study stand out because of their relative independence from such censorship. All were unmarried. Princess Therese von Bayern enjoyed particular freedom by virtue of her status as nobility and by the fact that her father encouraged her pursuit of knowledge from a young age. Ida Pfeiffer was keenly aware and unapologetic of the social transgression her travel activities represented. Ina von Binzer, to a certain extent and perhaps inadvertently, complied with social confines imposed on her by publishing in a narrative form that was

²² For instance, in the introduction to their three-volume travel narrative, Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich von Martius apologetically expressed heartfelt gratitude to their various German hosts in Brazil. This is reminiscent of the apologetic foreword often found at the beginning of most, if not all, travel narratives by women in the nineteenth century.

considered acceptable to women at the time. Her motives for traveling were also within the boundaries of society: it was not uncommon for women to travel abroad for employment as governesses in wealthy families. These women were considered to be exporters of German discipline.²³ Nevertheless, the fact that Ina von Binzer chose to publish under the pseudonym “Ulla von Eck” shows that she too was aware of transgressing social norms by publishing. Felden points to the fact that many other women of the time published while concealing their identities, including their genders (17.)

Returning to the initial question of this segment – Did Ida Pfeiffer, Ina von Binzer and Therese von Bayern travel to Brazil differently than their male counterparts? – I answer negatively. While the first two women traveled alone, Therese von Bayern was accompanied. This, however, had more to do with her social class than with her gender. Prince Adalbert von Preussen, for example, also was accompanied when traveling to Brazil. But to distinguish between travel and experience, these women seem to have traveled like the men did. I maintain, nevertheless, that they experienced Brazil differently and therefore made different contributions to German nationalistic discourse. I will take a closer look at these differences along with some of the similarities in this project.

²³ The presence of German governesses in nineteenth-century Brazil was a common occurrence that was not without social and cultural impact on the former Portuguese colony. Early twentieth-century texts, such as the novel *Amar, Verbo Intransitivo* (1927; translated into English as *Fräulein* by Margaret Richardson Hollingworth) by Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), reflect and interpret Brazilian responses to these foreign members of wealthy Brazilian households.

4. Germans in Brazil

When selecting texts I strove for a balance of gender and class. My choice was based on the relevance of the texts in current studies and the intention to relate lesser-known texts to others of greater reputation. Certainly, **Alexander von Humboldt** cannot be excluded from any discussion of German text about South America. Therefore a chapter will be reserved for his Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804 (1834, and in German in 1860) with a focus on his attempts to enter Brazil and on his influence on the other six travelers. I will discuss how his 'orientalistic' descriptions correspond with what Susanne Zantop calls German 'Occidentalisms.' Of the six texts three were authored by women and the other three by men.

Ida Pfeiffer was a famous traveler from Austria; she “transgressed” (McEwan 24) society's expectations of women by traveling around the world on her own in 1849. Her travel narratives were popular among her contemporaries and have become a staple in discussions of nineteenth century women travelers. Although **Ina von Binzer** did not share Pfeiffer’s fame, her personal 'translation' of life in Brazil, Leid und Freud einer Erzieherin in Brasilien (1887), offers a glimpse of the private lives of aristocratic families in Brazil from the perspective of this young German governess. It was first translated into Portuguese in 1956, and has become a popular text in Brazil and in the field of Brazilian Cultural Studies. I will be using the latest bilingual edition of this book (1994). To these two relatively well-known women authors, I add a third, who, although famous in her day for her academic work in zoology, is practically forgotten today. Princess **Therese von Bayern** traveled to Brazil in 1897, and returned with a

large collection of insects, fish, and reptiles. She also published a narrative of her experiences in Brazil.

Maximilian zu Wied was a Prussian officer and a man of means. He traveled to Brazil only eleven years after Humboldt's return. His two-volume travel diary has drawn enough interest in recent years to warrant a newer condensed edition in 1987. He was one of the first German travelers who intended to go where Humboldt had not been during his journey in South America: Brazil. He has in common with **Carl Martius** and **Johann von Spix** direct influence from Humboldt whom he had met before undertaking his journey. Their narratives are also of great interest to the field of Brazilian history (Bueno 8). **Karl von den Steinen** was a psychiatrist who received funding to participate in an expedition down the Xingù River. He was particularly interested in native populations. Although his travel narrative is practically forgotten, the results of his two expeditions can be seen today in the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. Two social classes are represented by these travelers: nobility and bourgeoisie.

I acknowledge here that referring to these authors as 'German' is problematic, since, until 1871, there was no united German nation and they came from different German states. Adalbert and Maximilian zu Wied, like Humboldt, were Prussians; Carl Martius and Johann von Spix were Bavarians, as was Therese. Commodore Wüllersdorf and Ida Pfeiffer were Austrians. Heinrich von Langsdorff was originally from Rhineland-Palatinate, Karl von den Steinen from Nord-Rhein Westphalen, and Ina von Binzer from Schleswig-Holstein. In using the term, I am pointing to the fact that they all, with the exception of Humboldt, wrote in a common language, German.

Furthermore, justifying the adjective 'German,' is the fact that they all narrated themselves as Germans and identified with other Germans they encountered in Brazil.

Chapter II: Historical Context – Two Roads to Nationhood

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany was a conglomerate of states. German society was one in which “to survive childhood was an achievement” (Blackbourn 2-7) and interaction between social classes was regulated by a strict set of rules. Travel occurred more frequently than before, however, for different reasons depending on the social class of the travelers (Blackbourn 8). Educated members of the social elite, like Alexander von Humboldt, as stated, traveled in pursuit of knowledge, while those at the bottom of society, trying to flee abject poverty, immigrated to places like North and South America. After 1850 improved health conditions, although unequally shared in society, resulted in a significant increase in population. Increased mobility encouraged entrepreneurship (Blackbourn 20-25); according to Sperber, these “movers and doers” were mostly social outcasts. It is against this social and historical backdrop that the travelers under discussion here journeyed to Brazil. This chapter will briefly reconstruct the historical context of the travel narratives in question: nineteenth-century Germany and Brazil. As there are already a number of publications on German and Brazilian history of the time, I would like to focus on the common points evident in the historical journeys of these two nations.

The one commonality which serves as an umbrella for all of the others is the fact that during the nineteenth century Germany and Brazil became sovereign nations: as mentioned earlier, in Germany, nationhood came through the unification of several small states into one empire while in Brazil nationhood was the result of a declaration of independence. I will begin by taking a look at the importance of imperialism as an ingredient of their national identities, considering Napoleon’s colonial designs in

Europe, Germany's growth into a colonial power, and Brazil's emancipation into an independent colony. I will then turn to the significance of nineteenth-century research and exploration for these two nations.

A. Imperialism and Nationalism in Germany and Brazil

1. Prelude to Nationhood in Germany

It is common knowledge that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Germany was a "collection of diverse lands" (Blackbourn 19). They formed a loose association of principalities, kingdoms, and electorates known as the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations, which was dominated – geographically and politically – by Prussia and Austria. The spread of literacy and the resulting "expansion of the reading public" (Blackbourn 26) accelerated a change of mentalities. David Blackbourn, borrowing the term from Rolf Engelsing, describes this phenomenon as "reading revolution" (30). A byproduct of this revolution was the development of a public sphere in Germany which would fuel political change, up until the unification in 1870. David Blackbourn agrees that "growing numbers of books, newspapers and clubs began to stitch together a reading public, even something that could be described as public opinion." (xv)

Another European revolution received mixed reactions and greatly influenced the political atmosphere in Germany: the French Revolution of 1789 was snubbed by monarchs such as Frederick William II of Prussia and the nobility. Although along the borders with France demonstrations broke out: "in 1790, most princes in the Empire, including the rulers of Austria and Prussia, were more concerned about the Habsburg-

Hohenzollern rivalry than they were about events in Paris” (Blackbourn 39). Revolts were of little effect from a lack of concerted efforts – as a consequence of *Kleinstaaterei* and because “even the most pungent German critics of the 1790s were more closely tied to the existing order than their French counterparts, through patronage or employment” (Blackbourn 42).

Cultural icons, Ludwig Tieck, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Ludwig van Beethoven, to name a few, celebrated the French Revolution enthusiastically, hoping to see their monarchies reformed embracing more egalitarian forms of government. Herder even drew parallels between this event and the Reformation (Blackbourn 38). This enthusiasm, however, was later on quenched by the advent of the terror regime that began with the executions of Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette (who was actually from Austria). German intellectuals were taken aback by the violent extremes following the revolution, and expressed a “heightened respect for German ‘moderation’” (Blackbourn 43).

In 1792 war broke out between France and a number of German states including Prussia and Austria. This war overshadowed life in the region until the surrender of Napoléon Bonaparte in 1815.

In 1799, the year Friedrich Schlegel’s unfinished novel Lucinde became an expression of early nineteenth-century German romanticism, Prussia began a process of reforming its society and government (Blackbourn 54). Although the King of Prussia showed contempt for the French Revolution of 1789, he recognized it as an alarm, signaling the urgent need for changes in government and society. The reform included preemptive steps “towards constitutionalism and representative institutions” (59).

Changes in France came through a popular revolution driven from below. On the other hand, Prussian reforms were imposed from the top, thereby entailing a number of limitations:

- Reformers were isolated since their ideas were not necessarily popular among the powerful.
- “The self-limiting aspect of reform from above” (64) was another obstacle to change. Such reform entailed a conflict of interest, since those implementing the changes stood to lose political and/or material advantages in the new order of things.
- New measures seemed either timid or “tailored to noble interests.” (64)

Although changes to the political and social order may have seemed hesitant at first, they were yet another indicator of France’s influence on Germany.

In 1799 Alexander von Humboldt traveled to South America with Aimé Bonpland. His travel plans to Alexandria (Egypt) were thwarted by political intrigues between Great Britain and France. As a Prussian nobleman with connections all over Europe, he shared an affinity with France which gave him access to privileged circles like the Spanish royal court where he obtained permission to explore South America. While Humboldt was denied access to Brazil, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1772-1852)²⁴, following a tradition of German individuals exploring far away lands under foreign mandates, entered the colony for the first time in 1803 during a tour of the world as an envoy from the tsar of Russia. He began his expedition having attended the

²⁴ Langsdorff was a German physician who practiced medicine in Portugal. His interest in traveling led to his enrollment at the Sailing Academy of Saint Petersburg.

newly founded (1802) Sailing Academy of St. Petersburg (Brenner 390). In 1804, a year before Napoléon's invasion of Germany, Humboldt returned to a Europe shaken by French conflicts with central European states. He spent twenty years in France, publishing his findings in French, before finally returning to Berlin in 1827 (Sperber 141). Although Humboldt's and Langsdorff's journeys were sanctioned by foreign monarchs, they were funded differently: Humboldt financed his own journey, while Langsdorff was on an assignment from the tsar of Russia who backed the venture. The following is a summary of the historical events in Brazil that led up to this same point in time.

2. Brazil: The Road to Nationhood

In 1500 the navigator Pedro Álvarez Cabral was the first Portuguese to land on the coast of what later became Brazil under King Manuel I. Thirty years later King João III of Portugal, eager to compete with other European nations in exploring and taking the New World, sent commander Martim Afonso de Sousa on an extensive expedition to South America in order to establish Portugal's presence in the region. Brazil began with the establishment of a coastal settlement called São Vicente (Meade 19) in 1532. In 1549 Salvador on the Bay of all Saints (Bahia de todos os Santos) became the capital of the colony (Meade 19). Early on, Portugal's entanglement with Great Britain became the basis for Brazil's survival in South America (Meade 40-41): from the thwarted Dutch invasion of Portuguese territories in northeastern Brazil (1624-1640) (Meade 24-25), to the abolition of slavery in 1888 (Levine 71). The significance of this information in this context will become clearer further along in this chapter. After years of territorial

conflicts with the French (1555-1615), the Dutch (1624-1661), and on and off with the Spaniards, Brazil under the Portuguese crown eventually evolved into a collection of captaincies (Meade 20). At the beginning of the nineteenth century,” the Crown did not see any benefit in developing a prosperous Brazil, for fear that prosperity would engender independence in Brazil” (44). The colony was expected simply to be a source of financial prosperity for Portugal. It fulfilled this mandate through the production of cane sugar in the northeast during its first three centuries of the Portuguese empire. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the price of cane sugar plummeted, the mining of gold and diamonds in the southern region of Minas Gerais became a source of significant wealth (41) for Portugal and more specifically for the royal family. This wealth was built on the economic foundation of agriculture, mining, and slavery. From 1532 until their emancipation in 1888, slaves from Africa constituted the largest portion of the Brazilian workforce. This was the general picture of Brazil in the nineteenth century; meanwhile, back in Europe, one important historical figure had a significant impact on the destinies of Brazil and Germany: Napoléon Bonaparte.

3. Napoléon’s Shadow in Germany and Portugal

France continued to “cast a shadow on Germany” (Blackbourn 37) from 1789 to 1815 and even until the proclamation of the Wilhelmine Empire in 1871. The fragmented state of central Europe facilitated France’s imperialistic ambitions under Napoléon Bonaparte. After defeating Prussia (1805) and subsequently Austria, Napoléon consolidated his dominion over central Europe by dissolving the Holy Roman Empire. He rearranged borders, reduced the number of states and favored certain

principalities over others (xvi, 47). In 1806 the Holy Roman Empire was dismantled and replaced with the Rhine Confederation. 1807, the year Goethe published the first part of his drama Faust, marked the advent of the Napoléon Code which, ironically, promoted a more egalitarian society. That same year Heinrich von Langsdorff returned to Russia from his first journey around the world. The following year, 1808, Napoléon invaded Portugal and forced the royal family into exile in order to escape captivity. British forces escorted the Braganza family and a large entourage (10,000 strong) to Salvador da Bahia. The Prince Regent João VI, who reigned on behalf of his mother due to her mental illness, subsequently moved the royal court to Rio de Janeiro bringing great prestige to the city as the new capital of the Portuguese empire (Meade 74). Although Great Britain showed a sense of obligation to protect its ally, who had incurred the wrath of Napoléon by refusing to join him in his war against the British empire, this service did not come without a price: a fee of a considerable amount was paid, and the Portuguese regent, who until then had been very 'protective' of his colony, agreed to open up Brazil as a market for British finished products. In 1820, after his mother's death, João became King of the Portuguese empire.

In Germany occupation under Napoléon received mixed reactions. Intellectuals such as Goethe and Hegel were for the most part admirers of the French Emperor (Blackbourn, 67). Intellectuals, who had striven for reforms, could resonate with the equalizing effects of the Napoléon Code. However, the noble class seemed to demonstrate mixed loyalties: being aristocrats (and for the most part French-speaking), a number of them governed on behalf of the new regime, profiting from the reconfigured borders.

On the other hand, French occupation seems to have stirred nationalistic passions that had until then remained tamed and limited to cultural contexts. The idea of a German *Volk* was disseminated into the public sphere by influential writers such as Herder (28), Goethe, Schiller, and the brothers Grimm. One could also see in Fichte's "Rede an die deutsche Nation" (1807) the first glimpses of overt German nationalism (Sperber) or its crossing over into the political realm. This took place mostly among the bourgeois as "it is sometimes said that the educated middle-class found a new source of identity in the nation at a time of crisis" (67). While the idea of nationhood evolved in the middle class in Germany, in Brazil the concept seemed to emerge from a division in the aristocracy: the arrival of the royal court in Brazil and the considerable privileges enjoyed by the members of the royal entourage created tensions between recently arriving Portuguese and the Brazilian elite, encouraging and validating the development of a Brazilian national identity.

Napoléon's defeat in 1815 marked the beginning of a period in Germany known as the Restoration (1815-1830) or *Vormärz*.²⁵ Although the nomenclature seemed to imply a return of the Holy Roman Empire, this was not the case. Rivalry between the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg endured; however, the Rhine federation was dissolved and replaced with the German Confederation (Deutscher Bund), which now represented thirty-eight "loosely associated" states (Blackbourn 70). Foreign occupation was an impetus for long overdue changes in Germany, and, although the Vienna conference of that year reaffirmed Austrian and Prussian domination of the region,

²⁵ In Germany the period between 1815 and 1848 is often described as the *Vormärz* period, referring to the political unrest across Germany beginning in March 1848. The term refers to the historical perception that events during that period led up to the failed revolutions of 1848-1849, which resulted from a clash between liberal, nationalistic, and reactionary political sentiments around the question of German nationhood.

social structures had been irrevocably altered: “Personal-monarchical rule did not disappear: it was merged into the authority of an impersonal, bureaucratic state. More than in the eighteenth century, bureaucrats truly became servants of states, not servants of princes; and princes themselves became organs of state” (Blackbourn 74). 1815 also marked the beginning of Prince Maximilian zu Wied’s exploration of Brazil.

Wied was a guest of Langsdorff who had returned to Brazil in 1813 as consul for Russia and established a plantation. At the end of that same year the Portuguese prince regent “declared Brazil on equal status with the homeland in a united kingdom” (Meade 74).

In Germany the rise of nationalistic sentiments was a direct result of a growing public sphere which in turn found its roots in the reading revolution mentioned above. Sperber defines the public sphere as the ways in which collective public opinion is influenced or formed. With a now thriving reading audience, Germans could be united by a host of nationalistic ideas. Ernst Moritz Arndt’s poems, “Was ist das deutsche Vaterland” (1814) [What is the German Fatherland] and “Vaterlandslied” [Song of the Fatherland] are examples of such texts that were widely circulated. Another means of spreading nationalistic discourse were numerous small associations and fraternities in existence at the time.

4. Repression and Revolutions in Germany and Brazil after Napoléon

After Napoléon’s defeat, a new politically oppressive order was established at the Vienna conference of June 1815. It was at the beginning of this restoration that

Bavarian zoologist Johann Baptist von Spix and botanist Karl Philip von Martius sailed to Brazil as members of Princess Leopoldine's entourage in 1817; the Austrian princess had been married off to Pedro, the crown prince of Portugal. Austria continued to compete with Prussia for diplomatic influence in central Europe until 1866 (Blackbourn xvi). However, its position as a German power was weakened by the loss of territories in southern Germany, and concerns about the Italian border and other non-German-speaking territories. Prussia, on the other hand, doubled in size. Austrian Prime Minister, Clemens Metternich, frowned on gatherings in general and on nationalistic associations. He promoted a repressive environment that defended the old order of things. The 'Metternich System' was known for a very strict code of censorship since the Prime Minister attempted to control which ideas were propagated through the confederation and, more specifically, in Austria. In 1819 the Wartburg festival, which began as a celebration of the reformation by fraternities (*Burschenschaften*), turned into a parade of nationalistic sentiment which culminated in the burning of books and the assassination of a dramatist by a fraternity member. This became Metternich's impetus to impose more repressive measures (the Carlsbad decrees of 1819) against fraternities and *Burschenschaften*, associations of any kind or any proponents of nationalism.

France's retreat from Portugal and the absence of the royal family from Portugal created a vacuum. In 1821, King João VI returned to his throne in Portugal, leaving behind his son Prince Regent Pedro to oversee the colony. The majority of the entourage that had accompanied him and his family in exile remained there, increasing the ranks of the Portuguese elite in Brazil. This was another step toward independence from Portugal.

By 1822 it became evident that the Portuguese government did not approve of Brazil's equal status with Portugal in the Empire and sought to rectify the situation by recalling Dom Pedro to Europe in order to restore Brazil's subordinate position to Portugal. Meanwhile, Brazil had developed "a smoldering discontent among native-born Brazilian merchants, planters, and lower-level bureaucrats against the privileged and arrogant Portuguese who had elbowed their way to the top of the former colony's economic and political life" (Meade 75). With the support of well-to-do and middle-class Brazilians, the Portuguese Prince Regent became Emperor Pedro I of Brazil on September 7, 1822, declaring the colony's independence from Portugal. This bold step came at a price that increased Brazil's dependence on Great Britain. The British Empire supported Dom Pedro's move for obvious economic reasons and negotiated with Portugal for the recognition of Brazil as a sovereign nation: the former colony had indeed become to Great Britain what Napoléon had hoped to find earlier in Germany and other parts of Europe – a ready source of natural resources and a market for its goods. When Brazil agreed in 1825 to compensate Portugal financially for seceding from the empire a loan from a British bank enabled the new young nation to honor that commitment.

Aware of its significance to Brazil, Great Britain began to lobby for the abolition of slavery in the former colony and succeeded in the abolition of "external slave trade" in Brazil in 1830. Slavery had become such a part of Brazilian society and economics that a complete moratorium on the ownership of slaves would have been a radical step for which Dom Pedro was not willing to risk his crown. Therefore, although it became illegal to import Africans for slavery, slave owners were allowed to keep or sell the

ones they already had. However timid this step might have seemed, it was enough to cause sufficient financial consequences to plantation owners and negatively impacted Dom Pedro's popularity in his kingdom. The 1830s were punctuated with wars and uprisings throughout Brazil. They were all brutally quenched by military means. In 1831 Pedro I returned to Portugal with ambitions of succeeding his deceased father on the throne. A regency governed Brazil on behalf of his five-year-old son, the new Emperor Pedro II, until his fourteenth birthday. Pedro I's departure did little to quiet the reigning discontent in the land. In the period between 1831 and 1840, until the time when Pedro II was old enough to take the throne, several uprisings were ruthlessly quelled.

Similarly to central Europe, nineteenth century Brazil saw the development of a middle class. There, "a national bourgeoisie that identified solely with Brazil began to emerge" (Meade 78). One could draw parallels between the two types of bourgeoisie in question. Both (Brazilian and German) middle classes were comprised not only of industrialists and traders, but also included intellectuals and professionals such as judges, professors, and public servants who came to prominence to some extent through the labor of others. While in Germany industrialists benefited from keeping wages prohibitively low, the Brazilian middle class prospered from goods and services produced by slaves.

The 1830s were also a period of unrest in Germany, leading up to a multitude of political demonstrations across the region that began in March 1848. Although at least at first there were no official political parties, there were identifiable movements against the status quo, one of which was liberalism. German liberals were represented by a

number of free individuals who expressed themselves against the authorities of the time. Their common goals included the drafting of a constitution that would protect the rights of the people (*Volk*), the elimination of privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy and, most importantly, a united Germany with a parliamentary government. Under the umbrella of liberalism were moderates who wished to attain these objectives by negotiating with authorities and radicals who saw revolution as the only means of changing society. Although liberalism entailed the two positions just mentioned, it also included various shades of them in between. It was a movement led primarily by the educated and wealthy middle-class (educators, traders, public servants, etc). The most common denominator was their striving for national unity (Gall 44-52).

Long before it became acceptable to speak openly of a united Germany, the public sphere was filled with ideas of a German culture based on a common language, literature, and a perceived common history. Since the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, nationhood could not be discussed in political arenas without drawing severe repercussions. Nationalists therefore saw popular celebrations and fairs as an opportunity to sport their colors (black, red, and gold). Because of the politically repressive atmosphere of the time, it wasn't until 1847 that isolated nationalistic movements across German states began to cross borders in order to collaborate. It was in 1846, in this politically charged atmosphere that Ida Pfeiffer, the only Vormärz traveler discussed in this dissertation, departed in 1846 from Austria for her first world tour which included Brazil. In 1847 the Brazilian emperor also installed a parliament in response to the demands of his constituents. Brazil's economy, although now

increasingly dependent on the exportation of a new commodity – coffee – remained exceedingly dependent on Great Britain.

Tensions between Prussia and Austria intensified, manifesting themselves in the diplomatic and economic realm. One could see in the founding of the German Customs Union (*Zollverein*, 1834) a first step toward Prussia's victory over Austria in 1866. The *Zollverein* was an economic alliance that encompassed half of the confederation by 1842 (Blackbourn 72). Moderate liberals hoped to see it expand into a governing body for a united Germany (Gall 60).

There were other significant economic and social developments during the 1840s that prepared the atmosphere for revolutions. For instance, industrialization and the use of currency as an exchange tool contributed to the rise of a wealthy and educated bourgeoisie that questioned the privileges of the aristocracy while profiting from the inexpensive labor of a growing proletariat. Prominence in society no longer rested exclusively on the social standing of certain names, but on the amount of money one possessed, a fact that placed middle-class entrepreneurs at an advantage. Although there were significant changes in German society at the time, some aspects of society persisted. For instance, despite the decline of the nobility and the rise of bourgeoisie, it was still considered desirable to become titled, and those who had the financial means to change their status in society often chose to enjoy the benefits of nobility. A number of wealthy industrialists did not consider their success complete until they had joined the noble class. Furthermore the abolition of the feudal system in Germany²⁶ was not evident immediately because many liberated serfs did not dispose of the economic

²⁶ The abolition of serfdom in Germany in the early nineteenth century was a direct result of the Napoleonic system imposed on Germany during the French occupation; nevertheless, the medieval social structure of servitude had been questioned by the ideals of the Enlightenment philosophies.

means to take hold of their emancipation. Abject poverty was still a social problem fueling a significant wave of migration to the USA and Brazil (Blackbourn 84).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, one offshoot of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) was the development of liberalism in the political sphere. The *Aufklärung* had glorified ideas of individual freedom which were in stark contrast with the medieval absolutist social systems of the time. In France these ideals resulted in the Revolution. In Germany they found expression through a growing public sphere in various liberal political movements. These movements were rooted in the bourgeoisie and their efforts resulted in the fragile and short-lived Frankfurt parliament of 1848. Liberal parties became permeated with nationalistic ideas and promoted the ideals of a united German nation; however, there were deep disagreements about how to unite the many small states into a nation. These divisions within German liberalism, such as the conflict between the radical minority and the moderate majority, challenged the effectiveness of the 1848 parliament until its ultimate demise. Other challenges such as “popular resentment of a new bureaucracy” (Blackbourn 78) that had promised much in 1847 but seemed to produce very little change, contributed to the revolutions of 1848-1849.

A multitude of liberal efforts towards freedom of the press, the drafting of a national constitution and the creation of a German national parliament, resulted in the election of a national assembly seated in the *Paulskirche* in Frankfurt am Main in July of 1848 (Gall 62-65). When, due to internal and external pressures, this assembly failed to fulfill its mandate of establishing a national constitution and uniting Germany under a credible governing body, it collapsed and resulted in a series of uprisings. The quenching of numerous revolts by Prussian and Austrian authorities led Germany into a

reactionary period. By 1851 many liberals had resigned from the Frankfurt-based parliament, and legislative changes put forth since 1848 were canceled. Disillusioned and disappointed with idealism, Germany was now in the era of *Realpolitik* – pragmatic politics based on the realities of the terrain – as practiced by Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898). Bourgeois intellectuals, having lost faith in the possibility to change society, turned their attention to the private realm of their homes but continued to gather in special interest associations, many of them scientific in nature. These associations became a site for the growing public sphere and the popularization of specialized fields of knowledge. I will return to this topic in the second part of this chapter.

5. After the Storms, Nationhood

With the crowning of a new Prussian King in 1858, Friederich Wilhelm IV, and the appointment of Otto von Bismarck as chancellor (1862-1890), Germany was, ironically, closer to unification than ever before. The 1848-1849 revolutions had been located within the tension between Prussia and Austrian efforts to exclusively dominate central Europe - hence King Frederic William refused in 1849 to be ‘elected’ Emperor of a ‘greater’ Germany that would include Austria. His response resulted not only in the ensuing collapse of the parliament, but also of Austrian chancellor Schwarzenberg’s attempt to maintain a strong Austrian presence in Germany.

Bismarck ruled pragmatically, answering solely to the King²⁷ and disregarding the Prussian parliament and constitution. He was not the only one to practice *Realpolitik*. After three victorious wars against Silesia, Austria, and France, many

²⁷ In 1861, King Friedrich Wilhelm died and was succeeded by his brother Wilhelm I, who became Emperor Wilhelm I in 1871 and was able to unify Germany

moderate Prussian liberals stood in agreement with Bismarck on the question of unification, even to the exclusion of Austria. This alignment with the monarchy divided the liberal movement even further, separating the bourgeois liberals who previously had included poverty as one their central questions from the working class. In the 1850s Germany experienced an industrial revolution that had already begun in France and Great Britain. Prussia benefited the most in central Europe from this phenomenon. With its position of economic and military advantage, Prussia was now poised to dominate the region. After France was defeated in 1871, the German Empire under Emperor William I was declared in the Hall of Mirrors of Versailles.

With regard to Brazil, 1871 also turned out to be a pivotal year: under the unrelenting pressure from Great Britain to move toward the complete abolition of slavery, the Brazilian parliament passed what was known as the *Ventre Livre* (Free Womb) law, granting freedom to all children born to enslaved women. Three of my travelers visited Brazil after the proclamation of the Second German Empire (1871) under William I (Kaiser Wilhelm I): **Ina von Binzer** (1881-1883), **Therese von Bayern** (1888) and **Karl von den Steinen** (1884).

Therese von Bayern was a remarkable woman. As a descendent of Austria's Marie Therese and first cousin of Bavarian King Ludwig II, she was a member of two royal families. Ludwig II was one of the monarchs who only reluctantly accepted Prussian King William as the first Emperor of the Second German Empire, but was later found mentally incapable to reign (Sagarra 184). An avid reader, Therese became well versed in ethnology and zoology. Under her father Luitpold's reign as Prince Regent of Bavaria (1886-1912), Bavarian universities became accessible to women in 1903. By

then Therese had already traveled to North Africa and to Brazil. Her extensive collection of fish samples from Brazil can be found today in the Bavarian Zoological Museum of Munich (Huber 38).

Karl von den Steinen was the son of a medical doctor, who himself became a psychiatrist. In 1878 he traveled to the United States, Cuba, and to Mexico, visiting hospitals in order to further his own education. It was during this journey that he developed an interest in ethnology. In a hotel in Hawaii, he became acquainted with **Adolf Bastian**, the well-known German ‘father of ethnology’, who communicated his enthusiasm for exploration to the young doctor. This encounter resulted in von den Steinen’s first expedition to Brazil in 1884 (Herrmanstädter). Four years later, the emancipation of all slaves in Brazil was signed by Princess Regent Isabel on behalf of her father Dom Pedro II. In 1889 Dom Pedro was forced to abdicate his throne and Brazil became a republic.

B. Travel and *Wissenschaft* in the Nineteenth Century

The travel narratives I selected were written within the context of a specific nineteenth-century trend in Germany: the rise of *Wissenschaft*. According to Andreas Daum, *Wissenschaft* refers to “scholarship and research” in the “sciences, social sciences and humanities” (Sperber 137). This topic as it relates to travel is particularly relevant in this context and will be explored in more detail in the fifth chapter of this project. At this time, however, I would like to introduce the subject by, first, pointing to important changes in the production of knowledge in the nineteenth century, second, by introducing Adolf Bastian as a central figure in these developments, and, third by

relating this information to nineteenth-century exploration. Anthropology, or more precisely, ethnology and German theories of race will become central in discussing representations of Africans and of native populations for the following reason: with the popularization of *Wissenschaft* in general, ideas from the field of anthropology entered the nineteenth-century discourse on German identity in the public sphere. This was so much the case that every travel narrative I have encountered from this period includes ethnological comments regardless of each traveler's particular interest.

1. The Popularization of *Wissenschaft*.

Significant reforms of universities driven by states contributed to this area of intellectual activity between 1800 and 1870 and place German institutes of higher learning on the European map.

At the beginning of the century, as Humboldt returned from his journey to the Americas and Wied and Langsdorff traveled in the opposite direction, the productions of knowledge and the practice of research began to break free from the confines of academia. As a matter of fact, German universities, with the exception of the University of Göttingen, were considered 'backward' (Sperber 139), especially in comparison with their French counterparts. Prussian educational reformers like Wilhelm von Humboldt, Alexander von Humboldt's older brother, began to promote the idea of the solitary scholar who would be free to conduct research of his choice. Scholarship was located in a tension between the call for a "non-utilitarian character" and the need to "respond to economic developments" and social needs (138).

Based on my research, I would venture to say that in the first half of the nineteenth century, journeys for the purpose of exploration were for the most part commissioned and financed by monarchs (Brenner) seeking to carve out a perception of their kingdoms as progressive and modern or, in other words, scientifically advanced. This seems to have been a matter of national pride. For instance, it was the Russian tsar who commissioned Heinrich von Langsdorff to undertake an exploratory tour of the world in 1803 on his behalf. Langsdorff had been trained at a navigation institute in St. Petersburg that was the only one of this kind in Europe at the time. Bavarian explorers Spix and Martius found it an honor to be sent by their King to explore Brazil as part of Princess Leopoldine's entourage in 1817. The King of Austria also commissioned an expedition around the world but not until later on in the century (1857-1859). The Prussian prince, Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, did not need this type of support and traveled to Brazil in the early 1800s at his own cost. In this context, universities continued to be the principal arena for *Wissenschaft*.

At the beginning of the century there was an emphasis on the unity of all knowledge, embodied most explicitly in the works of Alexander von Humboldt, and some of his followers (Sperber 141). The philosophical approach to research, Schleiermacher and Fichte's idealism as well as Wilhelm von Humboldt's neo-humanism (145), gave way to the "empirical and analytical" approach of the explorer (142); Stefan Fisch quotes Otto von Kotzebue's take on this approach as "alles Messbare zu messen" (measuring everything measurable) (Brenner 393). He adds that the empirical approach also includes the organization and interpretation of results.

Although later on scientists worked within the confines of universities and began to define narrow fields in which to contribute knowledge, the connection between such knowledge and the other fields remained important. Universities began to rely increasingly on state funding which in the *Vormärz* years proved to be a source of conflict within institutes of higher learning. Professors at the time seemed to represent increasingly liberal nationalistic views and were subjected to threats from the authorities: “In fact, during the *Vormärz* period, a new type of ‘political’, i.e. liberal, sometimes even more radical and nationally minded professor emerged” (Sperber 147). The case of the seven professors at the University of Göttingen (including the Grimm brothers) who were relieved of their duties in 1837 is well known in Germany. Since the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, due to the repressive environment of the Metternich system, private associations became a space in which – mostly middle-class and liberal minded – intellectuals could create knowledge without fearing for their careers. As a matter of fact, between 1847 and 1870 eleven national societies with a focus on specific fields of knowledge were founded (159).

At the same time, the realities of society began to influence the production of knowledge in the 1820s and the first *Realschulen* were established, addressing the need to prepare students for training in specific professions. In the 1820s, Brazil also experienced an intellectual rebirth, brought on mostly by the presence of the Portuguese royal family in the colony. “By the 1820s Rio de Janeiro sported a National Library, National Museum, and Academy of Fine Arts...” (Meade 83).

In the 1830s medical and scientific fields were based on “empirical analysis” (Sperber 151); economics, sociology, and ethnology were conducted increasingly with

scientific methods. By the end of the nineteenth century the ideal of the isolated teaching intellectual had persisted in some arenas, more specifically in universities; this ideal was challenged by the trend toward publishing articles independently and participating in special interest associations— a trend that accelerated as the socially and politically eventful century evolved. It is interesting to note that of the 812 representatives of the 1848 national assembly in Frankfurt that ultimately collapsed in 1849, 570 were academics (Hils-Brockhoff und Hock 28). Most of them were middle-class intellectuals who would later on transfer their political activities to the relative safety of private societies.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, regional *bourgeois* associations multiplied and specialized significantly, noticeably popularizing *Wissenschaft* by creating a significant arena for the creation of knowledge. For instance, “the period between 1860 and 1869 alone witnessed the founding of thirty-one societies devoted to natural history and natural sciences” (Sperber 156). These private associations were also a forum for hidden political discussions and enabled scientific and nationalistic discourses to become enmeshed in the public sphere through these associations.

By 1871, although there were fewer universities in the now united German Empire, many of them had attained international renown. Their reputation maintained the association of scholarship predominantly with institutions of higher learning with public universities setting the standards for credible research. For instance, the study of religion was replaced by the pursuit of more humanist or secular philosophical questions, and the occult, spiritual questions, and the supernatural were no longer considered credible areas of investigation. Theology, which, until the end of the

eighteenth century, had been a dominant field in universities – both philosophically and based on the number of students – gave way to the natural and social sciences (Sperber 156).

Associations promoted the creation of museums and zoos, which would expose the general public to their fields of study but also require the collecting of samples to exhibit and further investigate– hence the encouragement and funding of travel or, more precisely, expeditions by such organizations. Whether expeditions were financed by private organizations or not, museums, in addition to private collections, became the final destination of many artifacts and samples collected during journeys to far-away places. While wealthy travelers such as **Therese von Bayern** and **Adalbert von Preussen** were able to finance their own ventures, **Karl von den Steinen**, a medical doctor who later on turned to ethnology, benefited from such funding. A central figure in the field of German ethnology was instrumental in recruiting and raising fund for Steinen’s two journeys to Brazil: **Adolf Bastian**.

2. Adolph Bastian, Father of German Ethnology

As an admirer of Alexander von Humboldt, a member of several scientific associations, explorer in his own right and promoter of explorations for the purpose of collecting, Adolph Bastian warrants a brief introduction at this point. He will be mentioned again in the fifth chapter, when I emphasize the popularization of anthropology as a branch of nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft*.

Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) is considered by some today as the father of German cultural anthropology. He was the first director of the *Königliches Museum der*

Ethnologie (Royal Museum of Ethnology) founded in 1873 in Berlin (today the *Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, Dahlem*), and, with physical anthropologist, Rudolf Virchow, the founder of the *Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory). He also served as the director of the Berlin chapter of the German Geographical Society. Bastian was a prolific writer, collector, and traveler, spending over twenty years of his life exploring Asia, Africa, and some parts of South America.

He was born in Bremen into the family of a wealthy bourgeois merchant. After studying biology and law in Heidelberg, Jena, and Würzburg, he received his doctorate in medicine in Prague in 1850. During his studies, he became interested in ethnology and, following the completion of his studies, he began to travel while working as a ship doctor. He returned from his first journey in 1859, the year of Alexander von Humboldt's death. Although I do not know if Bastian had had a chance to meet the great explorer, my research shows that he was a great admirer of his and lived a similar life: Bastian never married and consecrated his life to travel and the pursuit of knowledge. He died in 1905 during one of his journeys. He admired Humboldt's universal approach to knowledge and adopted it in his understanding of anthropology.

Bastian is considered to be one explorer and researcher who defined the boundaries of his field. He differentiated ethnology as cultural anthropology from the field of physical anthropology because it is concerned with the physical attributes of human beings, including questions of race. Bastian sought after a greater understanding of human nature and felt that this could only be attained by comparing as many cultures as possible. He felt a particular urgency regarding so called primitive cultures and

peoples, who he felt were being corrupted through contact with westerners. Following Herder's influence, Bastian and Rudolf Virchow criticized the eurocentric tendencies of the time that disregarded native peoples as devoid of civilization, culture, and history. He was critical of the colonial enterprise and saw the collection of as many cultural artifacts as possible as a principal objective of his field. He pursued this idea and encouraged others to do the same. Bastian believed that, at the foundation of all cultures, there is a set of what he termed 'elementary thoughts' (*Elementargedanken*). He sought to identify them by comparing as many cultural expressions or 'texts' as possible. His understanding of culture greatly influenced the psychiatrist Karl Jung and, later on, the structuralist school of thought. Franz Boas is said to have trained under Adolf Bastian, which means that Bastian's influence also reached the United States. According to H. Glenn Penny, however, his vehement resistance to Darwinism caused him to lose relevance and to sink into oblivion after his death when a new generation of ethnologists led the field in different direction. Klaus-Peter Koepping and Penny also point to Bastian's unapproachable writing style—reminiscent of that of Humboldt—and loose conveyance of references in his texts. Similarly to Humboldt, Bastian did not leave behind much evidence of his personal life, as he despised such revelations. I find it ironic that despite his elitist approach to publishing, he was part of a movement that brought knowledge to the common people.

In any case, Bastian was very influential during his lifetime calling many to travel or to fund explorations. Part of his influence came from the fact that, unlike most of his colleagues, he was wealthy, fully employed as a professor of ethnology, and was thereby able to freely define the goals and set parameters for this new field. It was he

who influenced another physician, Karl von den Steinen, to join him in ethnological investigations. Today, the results of the efforts of these two men can be viewed in the *Ethnologisches Museum* of Berlin and read in their publications. Unlike Bastian, Steinen wrote in a rather conversational style, quoting from various documents in an almost collage-like manner. The accessible style of his texts seems to reflect the general trend toward popularizing *Wissenschaft*.

3. *Wissenschaft* and Travel Writing

In this context, writing is an outcome of traveling (Brenner 7); one reason for this is the expectation of some sort of an account following an expedition, regardless of whether the venture was funded by an organization or not. The nature of travel in nineteenth century Germany turned travelogues into contributions to the pursuit of knowledge.

Stefan Fisch's article entitled "Forschungsreisende im 19. Jahrhundert" (383) points to the high percentage of medically trained intellectuals among nineteenth-century travelers. Half of the travelers represented here were trained for a medical career but also developed interests in other scientific fields such as botany or zoology. With medical skills one could often afford to participate in expeditions; otherwise, one had to be wealthy by inheritance (Humboldt, Wied, and Therese von Bayern) or be commissioned and funded by a monarch or an organization (Steinen, Langsdorff, Spix and Martius). Finally, as mentioned before, Ina von Binzen traveled for professional reasons.

As contributions to the *Wissenschaften* and in response to a popular trend of reading travel narratives (Brenner 394-395), these texts entailed the challenge of seeking acknowledgement from fellow intellectuals while remaining profitable by appealing to a wider audience. This was a concern for Langsdorff, Wied, and Steinen. Humboldt seemed to despise the pressures of a wider reading audience for his narrative work. Even his attempt to narrate portions of his voyage is riddled with long scientific tangents. Ida Pfeiffer and Therese von Bayern seem to balance these demands in their attempts to justify their presence in a field dominated by men.²⁸ Ina von Binzer's collection of letters is the most approachable text, since it does not entail any claims to scientific knowledge.

As this chapter has shown, imperialism played a central role in building both Germany as well as Brazil:

1. Napoleon's imperialistic ambitions in Europe served as a catalyst to nationalistic tendencies in Germany and caused Brazil's rise to almost equal status as Portugal in the Portuguese empire.
2. Brazil itself was the result of Portuguese imperialism, while Germany became an imperial nation after unifying as a nation in 1871.

"Napoleonic economic imperialism was supposed to serve France as a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods" (Blackbourn 52). While Brazil served this purpose for Portugal until it obtained independence in 1822, history has shown that Germany escaped this fate for various reasons. David Blackbourn proposes the following reason: agriculture dominated the economy of certain German regions, while

²⁸ Tamara Felden discusses apologetic forewords in nineteenth-century travel narratives by women, seeing them as a discursive strategy to affording them access to their audience (*Frauen reisen* 1993).

other states joined the industrial revolution (53). Germany experienced an industrial revolution of its own, while Brazil remained a slavery-driven source of inexpensive resources primarily for Portugal and Great Britain for the greater part of the nineteenth century.

This chapter also places the texts in question in the context of the popularization of *Wissenschaft* in Germany. The creation of special interest associations and resulting museums encouraged travel in the form of world exploration. The results of such ventures were usually published in two forms: specialized academic texts for a selected intellectual audience and the more popular travel narratives conveying the events of the journeys for a broader audience. In this arena, a door was opened to individuals who might not have had an opportunity to participate independently in the creation of knowledge: women. The fact that all three of the women featured in this project traveled and wrote in the second half of the nineteenth century seems to reflect the timing of the changing tides in German *Wissenschaft*.

Chapter III Alexander von Humboldt– Great Predecessor of Nineteenth Century German Travelers to South America

There are two intellectuals who stand out since they cast a long shadow on the work of subsequent generations: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) influenced literary production in Germany after his death and Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), one of Goethe's close friends and admirers, who had a comparable effect on scientists, geographers, and other intellectuals. Goethe, as the great writer of the Classic Age in Germany (Mews xi), influenced generations of German literary writers, and, similarly, the impact of Humboldt's work reaches past his lifetime to the present day influencing other German-speaking travelers to South America. In 1799 Humboldt sailed to South America with French botanist Aimé Bonpland on an expedition that would span the following five years. This chapter will examine the influence the explorer and writer Alexander von Humboldt had on the travelers to Brazil. It will begin with a biographical summary focusing on events leading up to his expedition. The second portion of the chapter will turn to his itinerary in the Americas focusing on his trip up the Orinoco River. Finally, this chapter will end with a discussion of his influence on other expeditions emphasizing the ones who interacted with him during his lifetime (Wied, Martius and Spix, Pfeiffer, Wüllersdorf-Urbair).

A. Prelude to a Monumental Expedition

Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt was born in Berlin into an aristocratic Prussian family. After losing his father at the young age of ten, Alexander and his older brother Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt were raised by their mother, Maria Elizabeth Colomb von Humboldt, in a stern atmosphere. They were educated by tutors and studied at the universities of Frankfurt an der Oder (1787-1788) and Göttingen (1789); both became famous for their intellectual accomplishments in nineteenth-century Germany, one in the area of education,²⁹ and the other in the field of scientific travel. During his studies, Alexander von Humboldt traveled along the Rhine River and became acquainted with Georg Forster (1754-1794), a well-known German explorer and writer who accompanied Captain James Cook on his second journey from 1772 to 1775 (Wilson xii). Humboldt went with Forster to the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, and France and was greatly influenced by him. Wilhelm von Humboldt, on the other hand, made significant contributions in the area of politics, education, philosophy, and philology. Alexander von Humboldt continued his studies from 1790 to 1792 in Hamburg (commerce and foreign languages) and in Freiberg (mining). Subsequently he became a public servant in order to please his mother, accepting a position as a mining inspector near Bayreuth (Hardin 194). In 1794 he became acquainted with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe while visiting his brother Wilhelm and his family in Jena. Their common affinity for the sciences became the basis for their long-standing friendship (Wilson xxxvii). Humboldt was taught or influenced by a number of German intellectuals of his time, such as Göttingen professor of physiology and anthropologist

²⁹ Alexander von Humboldt's older brother, Wilhelm, was a linguist, an educator, and a philosopher. He was the founder of the Humboldt University in Berlin (1810).

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. Likewise, Goethe, Forster, and his brother Wilhelm (Wilhelmy, "Gestalt eines Grossen" 2) had an enormous impact on his life. Alexander and his brother frequented the circles of nineteenth-century intellectual elite in Berlin, in particular the salons of Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771-1833), Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859), and Fanny Lewald (1811-1889) hosted famous salons. He became a "Renaissance man" (Hardin 194) because of his interest in a variety of fields. His belief in the connection between all fields of knowledge influenced later scientists such as Adolf Bastian.³⁰

Humboldt began to travel under the same circumstances that freed women of his time to do the same (Pratt 115): inherited wealth. In 1796 his mother passed away, leaving her two sons a considerable fortune. Orphaned, unmarried, childless, and now even wealthier than before, Alexander von Humboldt was free to pursue his interest in the sciences and his ambitions of exploration. In 1798 he traveled to Paris with the intention of going to India via Egypt. His brother Wilhelm had moved his family to Paris a year before (Fröhling and Reuss 70). There he met a young medical doctor named Aimé Bonpland who shared his ambitions. The French invasion of Egypt³¹ (1798-1799) under Napoleon Bonaparte interfered repeatedly with their original plan to visit what was described at the time as the "orient" (Kellner 23-28). Humboldt and

³⁰ Anita Hermannstädter, "Symbole kollektiven Denkens- Adolf Bastians Theorie der Dinge," Deutsche am Amazonas- Forscher oder Abenteurer? Expeditionen in Brasilien 1800 bis 1914, (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz- Ethnologisches Museum, 2002) 45.

³¹ Egypt at the time belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Because of this war, tensions increased between France and Great Britain. Furthermore, France had already been at war with several German states since 1792. Due to these factors, Egypt had become too dangerous a destination for foreign explorers. Humboldt then proceeded to Spain hoping to have easier access to the North African coast. As the conflict intensified, it became impossible for the explorer to follow through with his plans. His disappointment is documented in a letter addressed to his friend Karl Ludwig Willdenow (Humboldt, Lettres Américaines XIII 12-13). An audience with the King of Spain, resulting in liberal permission to explore the Spanish colonies in the Americas, seems to have compensated him for his detour (Lettres XXII).

Bonpland therefore went to Spain, considering an alternate project. According to Ottmar Ette, Humboldt had already shown an interest in discovery journeys and the colonization of South America (407). They obtained permission from Carlos IV, King of Spain, to explore the Spanish colonies of South America and consequently sailed off from Coroña (Spain) on June 5, 1799, in a ship named the *Pizarro*, which happens to be the name of four *Conquistador* brothers (Francisco, Hernando, Gonzalo, and Juan), who contributed greatly to Spain's conquest of South America in the sixteenth century (Kellner 29). On August 1, 1804, Humboldt and Bonpland returned to Europe, landing in Bordeaux. Humboldt published the results of his research in French in thirty volumes, Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland 1805-1834, taking an equal number of years to complete them. Of the thirty volumes, only three narrate his journey under the title, Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales du Nouveau continent fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804. The rest of the volumes comprise catalogues of Humboldt and Bonpland's scientific findings in the area of botany, geology, meteorology, zoology, and astronomy as well as Humboldt's political essays on Cuba and Mexico (McNeil 27). What McNeil describes as an "incomplete narrative" account of the journey (27), I prefer to call a "partial account" of Humboldt's journey in America. One might expect to find the now customary moment-by-moment narrative of the journey – beginning with the preparations for departure and ending with his comments on Cuba – especially in a text of this magnitude; however, Humboldt chose to focus on the first half of his stay in the Americas, frequently digressing into long geographical and scientific descriptions (Beck IX) and refusing to elaborate on personal details. Reinhard Heinritz also points to this discrepancy between the narrative and the

factual journey, interpreting it as an aristocratic choice not to dwell on the personal details rather than calling it an omission on the part of Humboldt (193).

Forster and Humboldt exemplified a long-standing pattern in German explorers and travel writers: they traveled as private citizens under the umbrella of expeditions launched by other European colonizing nations. Among the travelers discussed in this study, Langsdorff, Martius and Spix were commissioned and financed by foreign kings – Langsdorff by the Russian tsar and the two Bavarian researchers were part of an Austrian entourage. Wied and Pfeiffer traveled at their own costs, similar to Humboldt; and Wüllersdorf was on assignment from the king of Austria when the *Novara* frigate sailed away from Trieste on a world tour. In most cases they traveled individually primarily for the purpose of research. Humboldt influenced Maximilian zu Wied to visit and write about Brazil in the same manner that Forster stirred up Humboldt's desire to sail overseas. Wied, Ida Pfeiffer, and Therese von Bayern journeyed at their own costs, as did Humboldt. According to Hanno Beck: "Es hatte aber bis [Humboldt] keinen wahrhaft selbständigen deutschen Reisenden gegeben" (V) [There had been until Humboldt no truly independent German travelers.] Karl von den Steinen had to raise funds for his expeditions although they took place on behalf of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. Drs. Martius and Spix (from Bavaria) were sent by the Austrian monarchy as members of Princess Leopoldine's entourage, when she joined her future husband in Brazil. They all have certain biographical characteristics in common with Humboldt and were all directly or indirectly influenced by him.

B. The “German Columbus”³²

In his introduction to the Relation Historique, Alexander von Humboldt states his primary objective for traveling to South America:

Je m'étais proposé un double but dans le voyage dont je publie aujourd'hui la relation historique. Je désirais faire connoître les pays que j'ai visités, et recueillir des faits propres à répandre du jour sur une science qui est à peine ébauchée, et que l'on désigne assez vaguement par les noms de Physique du monde, de Théorie de la terre, ou de Géographie physique, de ces deux objets le dernier me parut le plus important. (Humboldt, Relation Historique I:3)

[I had set two goals for myself on the trip of which I am giving an historical account today. I wanted to make known the countries that I visited and to gather facts in order to shed some light on a field that has barely been defined and is vaguely called world physique, world theory, or geography; of these two objectives, the last one seemed most important to me].

Although his primary focus was on geography, Humboldt departed, trained and equipped to conduct research in a variety of fields – zoology, botany, and geography; he planned to make contributions to as many of them as possible, returning with new information for various European academics. He believed that all fields of knowledge were connected and intended to prove it through his research in South America

³² In Colonial Fantasies, Zantop refers to Humboldt as the German Columbus. (166-172)

(Fröhling and Reuss 68). Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland gathered so many samples during their journey that, at some point, they felt the need to divide their findings into three parcels, sending two of them ahead to different European locations (Spain, France, Great Britain) and to the United States in order to prevent loss (Humboldt, Relation Historique I:8).

As mentioned earlier, Humboldt and Bonpland departed from La Coruña, Spain, on June 5, 1799 on a boat named the *Pizarro*. Although they were initially headed for Cuba, a dangerous fever epidemic forced them to land in Cumaná, Venezuela, on July 16, 1799. After reporting to the colonial Governor in Caracas (November 18, 1799), Humboldt and Bonpland planned and undertook a journey up the Orinoco and Rio Negro rivers in search of a connection between the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers. This four-month leg of Humboldt's journey is of interest here, as it led Humboldt very close to the border of Brazil.

Although their journey down the Orinoco and Rio Negro rivers is particularly relevant to this study, a brief overview of Humboldt and Bonpland's itinerary will lend some perspective to my discussion. Robert McNeil's summary of their journey divides their stay in the Americas in three phases (26-27): The first part of their trip was spent in Venezuela from their arrival to November 1800. During this year, they spent four months sailing down the Orinoco River and the Rio Negro searching for a connection to the Amazon River. They found it in the Casiquiare Canal, answering a long unresolved geographical question. The second leg of the journey lasted the following three years, during which Humboldt continued on to Cuba and then New Granada. The highlight of this phase was Humboldt's climb up the Chimborazo Mountain (Ecuador) in June of

1802. Although this event made Humboldt famous even prior to his return to Europe, the Relation Historique only narrates Humboldt's journey until April 1801. The third leg of Humboldt's journey began in February 1803 and lasted until April 1804. During this phase of the journey, Humboldt visited the United States of America where he met President Thomas Jefferson before returning to Europe. Studies on Humboldt's Relation Historique (translated from French into German by Hermann Hauff under the title Reise in die Aequinoctial Gegenden des neuen Kontinents, 1860) that I have encountered have focused on aspects of the entire work and on Humboldt's contributions to various fields through his publications in a larger sense.

An article by Oliver Lubrich and Rex Clark (2002) affirms that “seldom is Humboldt read on a textual basis” (632) and calls for a “literary reading of Alexander von Humboldt's travel writings” as a “promising project” (634). Lubrich heads his own call with the two following articles: “In the Realm of Ambivalence” (2003) and “‘Überall Ägypter.’ Alexander von Humboldts 'orientalistischer' Blick auf Amerika” (2004), the first of which examines Humboldt's description of Cuba. According to Lubrich “Cuba is a place where contradictions in Humboldt's American travelogue crystallize. Aesthetically, rhetorically, thematically, and in terms of symbolic topography, Cuba is Alexander von Humboldt's Realm of Ambivalence” (73). Lubrich reads in Humboldt's descriptions of Cuba a place where the traveler's eurocentric aesthetic expectations of South America are contradicted by the realities of a tropical society thriving on slavery. Lubrich's other article “‘Überall Ägypter’” (2004) approaches the discourse in Humboldt's narrative from a post/colonial perspective and it reminds us that Humboldt's original intention, when he traveled to Paris in 1798, had

been an expedition to Egypt. Lubrich points out that just like Christopher Columbus ran into America in pursuit of the "Orient", Humboldt's plans were rerouted toward America, as he dreamed of reaching a land that had now become part of the European construct of "the orient", namely Egypt. In other words, the Americas were a detour in Humboldt's attempt to explore the orient.

Paul Michael Lützeler's discussion of Peter Schneider's "Die Botschaft des Pferdekopfs", entitled "Cortés, Humboldt und die Folgen", wrestles with Schneider's interpretation of Humboldt's intentions as a European observer in colonized South America. Peter Schneider's essay – "Die Botschaft des Pferdekopfs"³³ – sees a certain continuity between the horses of the first *conquistadors* and a talking horse that appears on Brazilian television, interrupting rather important programs in order to advertise for Volkswagen in Brazil. For Schneider this horse represents a new hegemony of the west through multinational companies over South American countries, including Brazil. He counts Humboldt among a long line of colonizers, suspecting him of the same intentions. I tend to agree with Lützeler, who finds Schneider's reading of Humboldt's intentions oversimplified. Robert McNeil's text elaborates on Humboldt's influence on other northern European explorers, which is still a general approach to Humboldt's Personal Narrative.

Mary Louise Pratt speaks of Humboldt's "reinvention of America" in his narrative which reflects some of his contributions to geography as found in Herbert Wilhelmy's article on this subject. While Pratt focuses on the correction of popular European perceptions of South America in Humboldt's time (Lützeler touches on this

³³ Peter Schneider, "Die Botschaft des Pferdekopfs," Der postkoloniale Blick. Deutsche Schriftsteller berichten aus der dritten Welt, ed. Paul Michael Lützeler, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997) 107-148

subject as well), Wilhelmy underscores Humboldt's ability to correct certain geographical paradigms because of his training in several fields of study and the instruments in his possession. Ottmar Ette highlights the development of Humboldt's image into a follower of Columbus, a theme revisited by Suzanne Zantop in her Colonial Fantasies (166-172). Ette asks how much Humboldt positions himself as such in his travel narrative and sees Humboldt as a European traveler and geographer resisting the privileged position of colonizer among Europeans in the tropics.

According to Ette

Zur Fortbewegung auf der Reise benutzte er die ortsüblichen Verkehrsmittel, mit einer Ausnahme: er lehnte es ab, sich in einem auf den Rücken eines Sklaven geschnallten Stuhl über den Quindíupass der kolumbianischen Zentralkordillere tragen zu lassen (9-10).

[In order to advance through his journey he used the locally customary transportation means, with one exception: he refused to be carried across the Quindíu passage of the Colombian Central Cordillera in a chair strapped to the back of a slave].

This instance demonstrates Humboldt's aversion for slavery expressed in the more political portions of his Voyage. An anticolonial stance could be deduced from this episode. Pratt however presents a more colonial attitude of Humboldt's: her commentary of the Relation Historique (Personal Narrative) explains that "the subject matter remains rapturous nature; the Americans, both masters and slaves, come alive, but only in the immediate service of the Europeans" (130). The complex position of German travelers to colonial South America was evident in Humboldt's narrative and is

manifested in the texts analyzed in this project as well. The studies mentioned above tend to take a global approach to Humboldt's monumental narrative. Since Brazil is the focus of my inquiry, I will now comment on Humboldt's account of his attempt to enter the Portuguese colony.

Lützeler makes a point that I believe to be relevant to my discussion of Humboldt's influence on German-speaking travelers to Brazil: Peter Schneider's essay seems not to express enough of a differentiation between the various South American nations referred to. At some points in the essay, it is clear that the narrator is in Brazil: “Fünftausend Flugkilometer von Rio de Janeiro entfernt nahm ich an einem Sonntag den Bus von Manaus in den Urwald. Es war genauso heiß, so feucht, wie Humboldt das Klima ein paar Breiten weiter nördlich am Orinoko fand,, (Schneider 116). [On a Sunday, I took a bus from Manaus into the rainforest, five thousand flight kilometers from Rio de Janeiro. It was exactly as hot and humid as Humboldt found the climate a few latitudes further north on the Orinoco].

By quoting Humboldt in this context, Peter Schneider challenges a widespread understanding that Humboldt never made it into Brazil during his journey. In my research – including in Humboldt's writing – I stumbled across what could be interpreted as conflicting statements on this question. Charlotte Kellner's account (31, 47) points to this obstacle in Humboldt's journey. Stefan Fröhling and Andreas Reuss agree with Eduardo Bueno that the two scientists did not cross the border into Brazil (79). The question of Humboldt and Bonpland's entry into Brazil can be clarified by consulting both Humboldt's narrative and some of his letters. In the twenty-third chapter

of volume II (II: 473-490), Relation Historique conveys their approach to the Brazilian border with Venezuela by sailing down the Rio Negro:

Il y a dans le Rio Negro, à cause de la garde des frontières, un plus grand nombre de militaires que sur les rives de l'Orénoque, et partout où il y a des soldats et des moines qui se disputent le pouvoir sur les Indiens, ceux-ci sont plus attachés aux moines (II: 472).

[For the protection of the borders, there is a greater military presence on the Rio Negro than on the banks of the Orinoco, and wherever soldiers and monks compete for power over the Indians the Indians tend to lean towards the monks].

Humboldt's narrative, rather than explicitly describing the scene, infers what is seen with a general statement about the political situation. He also gives information about both Portuguese and Spanish military posts and even about commerce on the Portuguese banks of the Rio Negro:

L'appareil militaire de cette frontière consistait de 17 soldats, dont 10 étaient détachés pour la sûreté des missionnaires voisins. L'humidité était telle, qu'il n'y a pas quatre fusils en état de faire feu. Les Portugais ont 25 ou 30 hommes mieux habillés et mieux armés au fortin de San José de Maravitanos (II:474).

[Military presence at this border consisted of 17 soldiers of whom 10 were dispatched to protect neighboring missionaries. Humidity was such that fewer than four firearms were functional. The Portuguese have 25 to

30 men who were better dressed and better armed in the fortress of San Jose de Maravitanos].

Les meilleures provisions viennent des établissements Portugais du Rio Negro où règnent plus d'industrie et plus d'aissance parmi les Indiens. Cependant le commerce avec les Portugais est à peine un objet d'importation annuelle de 200 piastres. (II:475)

[The best provisions came from Portuguese establishments off the Rio Negro, where the Indians were more industrious and prosperous. However, trade with the Portuguese barely represents 200 piasters annually].

The comparisons between Portuguese and Spanish territories could infer that Humboldt had indeed crossed the border into Brazil and was able to make these observations first-hand. However, the following excerpt shows that Bonpland and Humboldt were denied access to the fortress protecting the San Carlos mission:

Le fortin, ou, comme on aime à dire ici, le Castillo de San Felipe, est situé vis-à-vis de San Carlos, sur la rive occidentale du Rio Negro. Le commandant se faisait scrupule de montrer la fortaleza à M. Bonpland et à moi; nos passe-ports exprimoient bien la faculté de mesurer des montagnes et de faire des operations trigonométriques sur le terrain, partout où je le jugerai convenable, mais non de voir les lieux fortifiés. (II: 474)

[The fortress, or Castillo de San Felipe, as it is preferably called here, is located across the Rio Negro from San Carlos on the western bank. The commander was reluctant to show the fortress to Mr. Bonpland and myself; our passports authorized us to measure mountains and to conduct trigonometric calculations at my convenience, but not to see fortified sites].

It is clear then that Humboldt experienced some limitations from Spanish authorities in Venezuela, even prior to attempting an entry into Brazil. Although he did not explicitly say so in his narrative, Humboldt seemed to have been denied access to Brazil by low-ranking officers at the border. Upon returning to Europe, he was informed of a plot to have him arrested by local colonial authorities and sent to Lisbon for trial. Apparently authorities from Portugal had responded by sending orders to allow Humboldt to conduct research unhindered in Brazil. Humboldt was informed of this favor only after he had returned to Europe (II: 476). According to Ángela Pérez-Mejía, Humboldt's text "was in part an analysis by hindsight" (47) as it was published years after his return. This gave him enough time to research any questions he still might have had before summarizing his experience. His narrative informs the readers that his information about Brazil is obtained second-hand:

Parmis les Portugais que nous trouvâmes à San Carlos, il y avoit plusieurs militaires qui avoient été de Barcellos au Grand-Parà. Je vais réunir ici tout ce que j'ai pu apprendre sur le cours du Rio Negro. (476)

[Among the Portuguese we encountered in San Carlos, there were several soldiers who had sailed from Barcellos to Grand-Parà. I shall

summarize here everything I was able to learn about the course of the Rio Negro].

The fact that Humboldt and Bonpland were able to discuss Brazil with Portuguese officers at San Carlos would cause one to wonder how well defined the borders were at the time. Such a conversation would seem unlikely at a Spanish post. On May 10, 1800, after a three-night stay in San Carlos, they began their journey back up the Rio Negro and the Orinoco to the coast.

Readers interested in Humboldt and Bonpland's day to day life during their journey in South America will find Humboldt's letters a richer source of such information than the Relation Historique and a more accessible read because of their conversational nature. In a December 23, 1800, letter to D. Marcel Guevara Vasconcellos, Governor of Caracas and Venezuela, Humboldt gave an account of his four-month journey up the Orinoco River (Humboldt, Lettres Americaines 97-107). Because this document was not meant to be published, Humboldt's letter includes the type of information that he refused to include in his Relation Historique, explaining:

La défiance du gouvernement portugais, qui ne permet pas aux Espagnols de San Carlos de descendre à terre, m'a mis dans l'impossibilité de pénétrer plus loin avec mes instruments pour baser quelques avis sur la véritable situation de la ligne équinoxiale.

(Humboldt, Lettres Americaines 101)

[Defiance on the part of the Portuguese government that does not allow Spaniards to disembark has made it impossible for me to enter farther

with my instruments in order to investigate the true position of the equinoctial line].

Humboldt's letter also informed the governor of how porous the borders were between Spanish and Portuguese territories (Lettres 101) alluding to the fluidity of boundaries as a similar problem in the field of geography. One of Humboldt's greatest contributions to the field of geography is the numerous corrections he includes in his narrative. One of them concerns the location of the San Carlos fortress and alludes to the political motivation behind geographical misinformation:

On croit dans le pays que le fortin est placé sous l'équateur même; mais, d'après les observations que j'ai faites au rocher de Culimacari, il est par 1o 54' 11". Chaque nation a une tendance à agrandir l'espace qu'occupent ses possessions sur les cartes [...] Les Portugais, en partant de l'Amazon, placent San Carlos et San Jose de Maravitanos trop au nord, tandis que les Espagnols, en s'appuyant sur les côtes de Caracas, leur assignent une position trop méridionale. (Humboldt, Relation Historique II: 473)

[It is believed in the country that the fortress is located right under the equator; however, according to my observations from the Culimacari rock, it is located around 1o 54' 11". Every nation has a tendency of expanding its territories on maps... the Portuguese, starting from the Amazon, locate San Carlos and San Jose de Maravitanos too far north, while the Spaniards, referring to the coast of Caracas situate them further south].

The still imprecise nature of maps at the time might explain the ambiguity about Humboldt's entry into Brazil. He might have unofficially entered Brazil prior to being turned away, but for all intents and purposes, he was not able to fulfill his objectives in that corner of South America.

Before discussing Humboldt's influence on the authors in this study, I will address briefly two features of his Relation Historique: Humboldt's reluctance to speak in the first person in the context of his narrative and what appears to be a discursive resistance on Humboldt's part to narrating his journey in general. Although I am not conducting an in depth investigation of the text, I will take up Lubrich's call for literary discussions of Alexander von Humboldt's work.

Peter Schneider commented on Alexander von Humboldt's first person narrative as follows:

Bei Humboldt trat das 'Ich' nicht aus dem Satz, wurde sich selbst nicht Objekt, kein 'mir war, erschien, ich träumte, spürte, erinnerte mich plötzlich'. Das 'Ich' wurde als Instrument behandelt wie ein Barometer oder Mikroskop, es diente als Relais zwischen Stoff und Geist, Welt und Erkenntnis. (Schneider 111)

[Humboldt's 'I' never stood out from the sentence, did not become an object, [there was] no "to me it was or appeared", [or] "I dreamed, felt, suddenly remembered". The 'I' was used as an instrument like a barometer or a microscope, it served as a relay between material and spirit, world and perception].

Die Schwierigkeit 'Ich' zu sagen [The difficulty in saying 'I'] (1987) is the title of a volume by Rudolf Käser (1987) and also of an essay by Bernhard Greiner (1981) examining the use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' in texts by three contemporaries of Alexander von Humboldt: Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Jakob M. R. Lenz (Käser) and also in the works of twentieth-century East German writer Christa Wolf. In Alexander von Humboldt's case, I would go as far as calling it a *refusal* to say 'I'. In his introduction to the Relation Historique, Humboldt affirmed:

J'avois quitté l'Europe dans la ferme résolution de ne pas écrire ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler la relation historique d'un voyage, mais de publier le fruit de mes recherches dans des ouvrages purement descriptifs. (I:28)

[I had left Europe with the firm resolution not to write what one would call a historical account of a journey, but to publish the fruit of my research in purely descriptive works].

and

Il me sembloit que mon voyage, tout en fournissant quelques données utiles aux sciences, offroient cependant bien peu de ces incidens dont le récit fait le charme principal d'un itinéraire. (I:29)

[My journey, while providing some data useful to the sciences, seemed to me to offer very few of those incidents of which the narratives contribute to the principal charm of an itinerary].

Although Humboldt affirmed subsequently having overcome his “repugnance” toward writing a travel narrative in an effort to classify all of the information gathered during his travels, his text discursively resists the confessional style of travel narratives by avoiding the use of self-references and by including long tangents of information that tend to distract from the sequence of events. I disagree with Humboldt’s description of these digressions as “simple” (I: 31):

Pour que mon ouvrage fût plus varié dans les formes, j’ai interrompu souvent la partie historique par de simples descriptions. (Relation Historique I:31).

[In order to lend more variety to my work, I often interrupted the historical part with simple descriptions].

Humboldt admitted however:

Malgré les efforts que j’ai faits pour éviter dans cette relation de mon voyage les écueils que j’avois á redouter, je sens vivement que je n’ai pas toujours réussi á séparer les observations de détails de ces résultats généraux qui intéressent tous les hommes éclairés (Relation Historique I:14).

[Despite my efforts to avoid the pitfalls that I feared in this account of my journey, I sense strongly that I have not always succeeded in separating detailed observations from general results that are of interest to enlightened men].

Indeed, despite Humboldt's efforts, his narrative comes across as a collection of valuable data from a variety of scientific fields. Numerous lengthy tangents of scientific explanations seem to overshadow the narrative itself. His statement also shows that he was addressing a specific audience, enlightened men, and not necessarily the general public— which would include women. Humboldt proceeded to define his understanding of 'general information' as follows:

Ces résultats embrassent à la fois le climat et son influence sur les êtres organisés, l'aspect du paysage, varié selon la nature du sol et de son enveloppe végétale, la direction des montagnes et des rivières qui sépare les races d'hommes comme les tribus végétaux. (Relation Historique I:14)

[These results include at the same time the climate and its influence on living organisms, landscape descriptions, addressing the type of soil and vegetation, directions of mountains and of rivers that separate human races, and tribes like types or categories of vegetation].

This is clearly information that contributed to the fields of biology, geography, meteorology, *and* botany.

Another way in which Humboldt's Relation Historique avoids the use of 'I' is by resorting to collective and indefinite references (the use of 'we' and/or 'one') in conveying episodes of the journey instead. For instance Humboldt reports: "Nous étions arrivés au mouillage, vis-à-vis de l'embouchure du Rio Manzanares le 16 Juillet à la pointe du jour; mais nous ne pûmes débarquer que très tard dans la matinée" (I:37). [We had arrived at the moorage across from the estuary of the Manzanares River on July 16

at dawn, but we were only able to disembark late in the day]. Humboldt explains: “Nous fimes débarquer nos instruments vers le soir, et nous eûmes la satisfaction de trouver qu’aucun n’avoit été endommagé” (I:292). [We had our instruments disembarked in the evening, and were satisfied to find none had been damaged]. “La première plante que nous cueillîmes sur le continent de l’Amérique étoit l’Avicennia tomentosa” (I:290). [The first plant that we picked on the American continent was the avicennia tomentosa].

While the first two quotes refer to events pertaining to both travelers, it is unclear in the last one who exactly picked the plant. Although Aimé Bonpland was a medical doctor and botanist, Humboldt also had an interest in botany among many other fields and is very likely to have noticed the plants. In this instance, as in many throughout the text, he frequently hid himself in the narrative by ascribing his experiences to an generic ‘we’.

Peter Schneider claims that self-references in Humboldt’s text served a strictly utilitarian purpose of presenting his findings. To me, this is more specifically manifested in the evaluation or confirmation of information. For instance, in response to a native’s assessment of a large tree’s measurements, Humboldt commented: “Je pense cependant qu’il y a eu quelque exagération dans le rapport de l’Indien sur l’âge du Fromager” (Relation Historique I:290). [Nevertheless, I think that there was some exaggeration in the Indian’s report on the age of the silk cotton tree]. Here Humboldt, the botanist, offered his evaluation of information received from what he deemed an unreliable source: a native South American.

Later in his account Humboldt observed: “On m’a souvent demandé, depuis mon retour de l’Orénoque, [...] M’étant imposé de ne décrire que des faits, [...] je dois

éviter tout ce qui est purement hypothétique” (Relation Historique II:525). [I have often been asked, since my return from the Orinoco, [...] Having imposed on myself [the standard of] only describing facts, [...] I must avoid anything purely hypothetical]. In this case Humboldt positioned himself outside of the narrative as an objective geographer, by rejecting hypothetical speculations, thereby establishing himself as a reliable source of information on the tropics. He furthermore underscores the credibility of his account by stressing the first-hand nature of certain episodes of his narrative as follows:

J’ai vu des enfans indiens, de la tribu des Chaymans, retirer de la terre, et manger, des millepiés [...] Partout où l’on remue le sol, on est frappé de la masse de substances organiques qui, tour à tour, se développent, se transforment ou se décomposent. (Relation Historique I:301)

[I saw Indian children, of the Chayman tribe pull from the earth and eat centipedes [...] Everywhere one stirs the earth, one is amazed at the amount of organic substance that develops one after the other, transforming and decomposing].

In this example, anthropologist and zoologist Humboldt reported an observation to his audience, apparently establishing the reliability of the information on the fact that it was a first-hand account. This last quote also shows another way in which Humboldt sought to veil his presence within the narrative: the use of the indefinite pronoun ‘one’.

Lorsqu’en quittant les côtes de Venezuela, [...] on se porte vers le sud, on sent que chaque jour, avec une rapidité croissante, on s’éloigne de tout ce qui tient à la mère-patrie. (Relation Historique II: 444)

[Every day and with increasing rapidity, when one moves towards the south, away from the coast of Venezuela, one feels oneself moving farther from all that pertains to the mother land].

From this general statement the readership is to understand that, at this point of the narrative, Humboldt and Bonpland had begun their journey up the Orinoco River and that these were his thoughts and impressions. Indeed, Humboldt's Relation Historique resists the format of travel narratives and seems to foretell Peter Schneider's statement: "Nein, dies wird kein Reisebericht" (Schneider 108) [No, this will not be a travelogue]. Schneider might have inadvertently followed in the footsteps of at least one travel writer in his efforts to resist the discourse of travel narratives in general. So much for Humboldt's influence on Schneider; my discussion will now turn to his influence on the travel texts selected for this study.

C. The "Humboldt Current":

The Humboldt Current is a stream that "carries cold water from the Antarctic along the Pacific coast of South America to the Ecuadorian border, where it turns west into the ocean" (McNeil 24). In McNeil's article, the *Humboldt Current* refers metaphorically to the great explorer's influence on other European travelers who emulated him by going to South America:

The result of an attraction exerted for more than half a century by one man, carrying naturalists from the cold climate of northern Europe to the tropical and subtropical regions of Central and South America (24).

Humboldt exerted this influence through his writings and in his relationship with various travelers; according to Zantop, although he became a 'predecessor' both to German colonialists and nineteenth-century scientific explorers, writers such as Hermann Klencke "align Humboldt more with the community of bold discoverers than with scientific explorers" (Colonial Fantasies 168-171). He was known in some circles as the second 'discoverer' of the region after Christopher Columbus (Ette 401). In the same vein, Zantop calls him the "German Columbus" (Colonial Fantasies 166). His publications were well read and made him the "intellectual godfather" (Wilson xxxvii) of innumerable European explorers of South America after him.

Six of my texts were written about journeys that took place during Humboldt's lifetime (Langsdorff, Wied, Martius and Spix, Adalbert von Preussen, Pfeiffer, and Wüllersdorf-Urbair), while the other three describe experiences of Brazil after his death (Therese von Bayern, Steinen and von Binzer). Similar to Alexander von Humboldt, Ina von Binzer wrote and sent correspondence without intention to publish her letters. My research to date has not encountered explicit evidence of her exposure to Humboldt's narrative. However, Humboldt's work was so popular that it would be hard to imagine an educated person not being exposed to his Relation Historique. Binzer was familiar with the type of travelers who emulated Humboldt; she even makes fun of one in one of her letters (See chapter V). Princess Therese von Bayern, who was very well read from early on, did read Humboldt's travel diary; she later on became a skilled zoologist. Karl von den Steinen turned from psychiatry to ethnology under the influence of Adolf Bastian. As mentioned earlier, Bastian was greatly impressed by Humboldt; this

indicates at least some indirect influence on Steinen. My impression is that Humboldt's influence effected more the type and breadth of research and the content of subsequent travel narratives than the narrative styles and discursive strategies of subsequent travel writers.

Maximilian zu Wied met Alexander von Humboldt in 1814 and maintained a close friendship and mentorship with the explorer. Humboldt encouraged him to explore Brazil and Wied did so between 1815 and 1818. The resulting two-volume narrative was originally published in 1821. A shorter abridged edition of this text was published in 2001. Ida Pfeiffer and Humboldt corresponded with each other and the latter, who had great respect for Pfeiffer, even voiced some opposition to some of her travel destinations; however, he did write letters of recommendation for Pfeiffer to aid in her fundraising efforts. Pfeiffer first traveled to what was described in Europe as the "orient" and subsequently took two journeys around the world. Brazil was the first stop on her first trip. The Bavarian zoologist Johann Baptist von Spix and botanist Carl Friedrich Phillip von Martius were personally acquainted with Humboldt when they were commissioned by Bavarian King Maximilian I to conduct research in Brazil (McNeil 28-29). Commodore Wüllersdorf received a letter and some geographical information from the explorer as he prepared to take the *Novara* frigate on the ship's first great expedition. The first and limited edition of Prince Adalbert von Preussen's travel account, *Aus meinem Tagebuch 1842-1843* [From my diary 1842-1843], entails a foreword by Humboldt.

While in Humboldt's narrative the occurrences appear secondary to the abundance of scientific information, scientific observations and copious footnotes seem

to support the narratives examined in this study. Consequently they invite the reader to pursue certain topics further or to refer to other more scientific reports by the same authors, illustrating the generation gap between Humboldt and his successors.

Humboldt lived his formative years during the eighteenth century, which was not the case for many of the travelers. It was not until the nineteenth century that travel narratives, especially anthropological travel texts, gained significant popularity. *Sturm und Drang* texts such as Goethe's Leiden des jungen Werthers (1774) had begun to expose a growing reading audience to more confessional styles and forms of literature (travel literature, letters, novels.) By the first half of the nineteenth century it seems to have become less problematic to say 'I' in a narration. Mary Louise Pratt locates Humboldt's narrated self between two traditions: "though deeply rooted in eighteenth-century constructions of Nature and Man, Humboldt's seeing-man is also a self-conscious double of the first European inventors of America, Columbus, Vespucci, Raleigh and others" (Pratt 126), with America as a European invention, comparable to the orient.

As mentioned earlier, Humboldt's gaze on South America seems to have been colored by 'orientalism' (Lubrich). Although I agree with Lubrich's assessment, I find that the orient was not the only point of reference in Humboldt's attempts to represent South America through conventional comparisons. He referred to familiar European and African rivers or geographical concepts. For example: the Danube to describe the Rio Negro and the Jupura (Relation Historique II:443) the Niger, White Nile, the Gambaro, the Jolliba, the Zaïre (II:456), Congo River (II:464), Hungary, and the Baltic and Black Seas (II:519-520). I would like to suggest that Humboldt's use of orientalisms

in his descriptions is one way in which he evoked familiar images of the Other in order to effectively communicate his impressions of South America to his readers through the use of a common language. Orientalisms and references to the orient appear also in narratives by later travelers:

Statt der früherhin vergitterten Thüren und Glasfenster, die düsteren, nach orientalischer Sitte verschlossenen Erker vor den Fenstern haben, auf königlichen Befehl, offenen Balcons Platz gemacht (Martius and Spix I/92).

[By royal order, instead of the earlier grilled doors and glass windows and the gloomy closed bays, as is an oriental custom, have been replaced by open balconies].

Prince Adalbert referred to Turkey in order to express his response to the tropical city: “Selbst Constantinopel riß mich nicht hin, wie der erste Eindruck von Rio de Janeiro” (Kletke 218)! [Even Constantinople did not enrapture me as my first impression of Rio de Janeiro].

Both Prince Adalbert and Ida Pfeiffer had strong reactions to the tropical metropolis and the Turkish city. Adalbert’s enthusiasm stands in contrast to Pfeiffer’s sarcastic comments: “Hierher möchte ich jeden Reisenden zaubern, der vor dem Betreten der Gassen Konstantinopels zurückschreckt, der von dieser Stadt behauptet, der Anblick des Inneren zerstöre den Eindruck des Äußeren., (33) [I would like to conjure here every traveler, who cringed at the streets of Constantinople, saying of this city that the sight of its inner parts destroyed the outward impression].

The question arises whether Humboldt influenced the authors when referring to the orient; Ida Pfeiffer and Prince Adalbert, for instance, had been to Turkey prior to sailing to Brazil. Comparisons with the “orient” would therefore not have been farfetched in their case. Furthermore, the “orient” had been a fascination in Germany since the beginning of the eighteenth century (Kontje, German Orientalisms 61), therefore others, such as Martius and Spix did not necessarily have to depend on Humboldt’s influence in order to include references to the “orient”.

According to Herbert Wilhelmy, Humboldt was "the first great geographer" ("Gestalt eines Grossen" 15). Indeed, in the introduction to his Relation Historique, Humboldt stated explicitly his intention to contribute to this field. One can safely say that his monumental work, with its numerous geographical measurements and corrections, has achieved its goal. It would be impossible to comprehensively summarize Humboldt's contributions to the field of geography; Wilhelmy calls it "ein kühnes Unterfangen" [a bold project] ("Humboldts Südamerikareise" 190), and a discussion of Humboldt's influence on subsequent travelers would truly be incomplete without at least pointing to a few of them. In "Humboldts südamerikanische Reise und ihre Bedeutung für die Geographie" (1986) [Humboldt’s South American Voyage and its Significance to Geography], Wilhelmy underscores some Humboldt's most meaningful changes to geography.

Firstly, the amount of measuring equipment Humboldt took with him – forty instruments in all ("Humboldts südamerikanische Reise" 183), an unusual number for his time – was a clear indication that his journey would be fruitful for the sciences. The most obvious contributions are the copious geographical corrections. In 1799 his gift to

the King of Spain was a set of eight maps (Perez-Mejia 39), a foretaste of things to come, should the monarch grant him access to his colonies.

Apart from the general effect his work has had on the field of geography and travel literature, Humboldt has contributed to other areas such as geology, botany, zoology, politics, and history. The *Humboldt Current*, as defined by McNeil, goes beyond the authors cited in his article; it includes the ones discussed in this study and many others. The next two chapters will address more closely the colonial discourse in my texts, addressing them in light of the following themes: German travelers as marginal colonizers and anthropology as a forum for nationalistic discourse.

Chapter IV: Politics and Nationhood– Colonial Gaze from the Margins

Nos regards étaient fixés sur des groupes de cocotiers qui bord(a)ient la rivière, et dont les troncs excédant soixante pieds de hauteur domin(a)ient le paysage (Humboldt, Relation Historique 289).

[Our gazes were fixed on a group of coconut trees along the river whose trunks, exceeding sixty feet, dominated the landscape].

A. Gazing in Colonial Triangles

This chapter looks at three facets of nationhood from the marginal perspectives of German-speaking travelers in their portrayals of Portuguese colonization in Brazil. The concept of the ‘gaze’ is borrowed here from the context of ‘spectatorship’ in contemporary fields as used in art history, psychoanalysis, and feminist film studies; it will serve as a central theme for this chapter. The discussion will begin by examining the German travelers’ gaze on nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro as a colonial metropolis. It will continue with a focus on responses to German immigrants and to women in Brazil.

Margaret Olin simply defines ‘gaze’ as “a rather literary term for ‘looking’ or ‘watching’” (Nelson and Schiff 209). According to Tamara L. Hunt, it is the “lens through which the ‘Other’ is interpreted and subsequently depicted” (Hunt 3). The importance of the gaze here lies in the fact that travel narratives seek to reproduce or represent images captured by the traveler’s gaze and the knowledge gathered or deduced from the same (the emphases in all of the following quotes are mine):

Der Blick auf die vor uns liegende Landschaft, die mit dem Gewande des schönsten Grüns und vielfarbigen Blumen bedeckt war, versprach

uns schon in weiter Entfernung den angenehmsten Aufenthalt und reiche Erfrischung. (Langsdorff 28)

[The **view** of the landscape before us, that was veiled in the most beautiful green and covered with flowers of many colors, promised us already from a distance the most pleasant stay and the richest refreshment].

Alles **starrte** die sonderbaren Formen der bergigen Küste an, die in ungeheurer Ausdehnung, von West nach Ost ausgebreitet dalag. (Kletke 211)

[Everyone **stared** at the peculiar shapes of the mountainous coast, which stretched out from west to east in an awesome expansion].

Morgens waren wir endlich so glücklich, die vor Rio de Janeiro gelegenen Gebirge zu **erblicken** [...] Selten ist man so glücklich, sich gleich bei der Einfahrt eines so schönen ausgedehnten **Anblickes** zu erfreuen, wie er mir zu Theil wurde. (Pfeiffer 25, 27)

[In the morning we were finally so fortunate **to gaze** upon the mountains that lay before Rio de Janeiro [...] Rarely is one as fortunate as I was, to enjoy such a vast beautiful **view** right upon arriving].

Nach und nach entrollte sich die ganze malerische Küstengebirgskette vor unseren staunenden **Blicken**. (Therese 241)

[Bit by bit, the entire picturesque coastal mountain chain unfolded before our marveling **gaze**].

While Langsdorff's text enthusiastically represents the Brazilian coastline as an omen or a promise of a positive experience, Therese von Bayern and Adalbert von Preussen responded with awe to the landscape. Ida Pfeiffer's gaze or first response to Rio de Janeiro is a source of great joy. Tamara L. Hunt describes travel texts as "subtle agents of imperialism" (2). In other words, a gaze is not a passive recording of experiences, but a reconstruction of events, people, and landscapes from the perspective of the travelers' intentions and prejudices. Feminist film studies point to a dichotomy and unequal power relation between an active male gaze and a passive female object of said gaze, deconstructing a tendency of popular films to identify with the gaze of an assumed heterosexual white male (Mulvey 135-137 and Miller 480-481). Olin speaks of the "gaze of a man in the audience and the gaze of the man active within the narrative" (212). In travel narratives both the narrators and the readers are aware of an active gaze through which impressions are filtered and communicated to the audience.

David Arnold's text, The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856 (2006), describes nineteenth-century travel to India as an "interrelated process of observation and appropriation" in an attempt to create "colonial knowledge in India" (3-4). Arnold suggests that part of this process was the creation of the 'tropics' as a construct in the same vein as Edward Saïd's concept of the 'orient' (5). While the 'orient' was based more on the imagination of the European writers than on empirical experience of the regions they claimed to represent under the term, Arnold's 'tropics' seems to be a 'bourgeois' projection of "warm, fecund, luxuriant, paradisaical

and pestilent” landscapes previously experienced and narrated. These same tropics are reconstructed in descriptions of Brazil:

Jedem der nach Rio de Janeiro kommt, empfehle ich, selbst wenn er nur wenige Tage verweilen kann, diese Partie, da er hier mit einem Blicke all’ die Schätze übersieht, mit welchen die Natur die Umgebung dieser Stadt wahrhaft verschwenderisch ausgestattet hat. Er findet hier Urwälder, die [...] sich doch immerhin durch Üppigkeit der Vegetation auszeichnen. (Pfeiffer 64-65)

[I recommend this outing to anyone who comes to Rio de Janeiro because one captures here at one glance all the treasures that nature has truly lavished on the surroundings of this city. One finds jungles [...] that at least stand out with the opulence of their vegetation].

Ida Pfeiffer goes on to list a forest full of “bunte Vögel, die größten Schmetterlinge, glänzendsten Insekten, die von Blüthe zu Blüthe, von Ast zu Ast schwärmen und fliegen” (65) [colorful birds, the largest butterflies, the shiniest insects that fly and swarm from blossom to blossom from branch to branch]. The abundant use of superlatives and picturesque vocabulary to convey what her gaze has captured, expresses the enthusiasm of the traveler faced with such luxuriant nature. This pattern is found in other travelogues:

Vor dem Schlafengehen trat der Prinz nochmals auf die Terrasse hinaus und durchstreifte die Mango-Allee, um die fliegenden Leuchtkäferchen zu sehen, die auf den Wiesen an beiden Seiten des Weges in solcher

Menge flogen, dass die Wiese das Aussehen einer phosphoreszierenden See hatte. (Kletke 236-237)

[Before going to sleep, the prince stepped out to the terrace and glanced over the Mango path to see the flying fireflies that were so numerous on both sides of the way that the lawn looked like a phosphorescent sea].

Bald wölbten sich die Bambusen über uns zu einem Dach zusammen [...] bald ging es zu unserer Rechten tief hinunter in ein Chaos von Grün [...] Unser schmaler Saumpfad, der uns nur gestattete, Einer hinter dem Andern zu reiten, war manchmal unbeschreiblich schlecht. (Therese 314-315)

[Soon the bamboos arched and formed a roof above us, then to our right the forest sank deeply into a green chaos [...] our small path on the edge that was so narrow that we could only ride one after the other was at times indescribably bad].

Der Europäer, welcher sich zum erstenmal in diese tropischen Regionen verpflanzt sieht, wird von allen Seiten durch die Schönheit der Natur und besonders durch die Üppigkeit und Fülle der Vegetation angezogen. In allen Gärten wachsen die herrlichsten Bäume. (Wied, [1820] I/28)

[The European who finds himself for the first time in this tropical region, will be drawn on every side to the beauty of nature and specially to the

opulence and fullness of the vegetation. Beautiful trees grow in every garden].

Die Blumenpracht in dieser Vorstadt, wo nur vornehme, reiche Leute wohnen, ist bezaubernd! Die üppigsten Ranken von saftigem Grün überwuchern die Mauern, darinnen grosse, strahlende, dunkelrote, lila, gelbe oder weisse Blumen. (Binzer 57)

[The splendor of the flowers is captivating in the suburbs, where only distinguished, wealthy people live! The most opulent juicy green tendrils cover the walls, among them large glowing dark red, purple, yellow or white flowers]

Brazilian nature, whether in an urban or rural context, is described enthusiastically and with the use of superlatives, underscoring how exotic the sight of such opulent greenery and teeming life was to European travelers. As in Humboldt's quote at the beginning of this chapter, their eyes were "fixed on" the landscape and remained so for most of their journeys. A correlation between the gaze and power, knowledge, and pleasure has been established under the influence of the field of psychoanalysis; Sigmund Freud coined the term 'scopophilia' describing the "pleasure in looking" (Miller 47), although mostly in sexual terms. In an essay entitled "Seeing and Knowing", Michel Foucault correlates the gaze with questions of knowledge and power in a medical context. The connections between gaze and knowledge (*Wissenschaft*) will be considered in the fifth chapter in the discussion of links between scientific research and colonialism in Brazil. Here I will focus on the gaze – power constellation.

Hunt's research speaks of the colonial gaze as "eyes that were blurred by misinformation, misconceptions, and stereotypes" (1). German travelers to Brazil came with preconceptions and expectations. Questions of "complicity, resistance and adaptation" that were applied to subalterns in a different context (Hunt 1), apply to German travelers to nineteenth-century Brazil because of their position of colonizers, yet outsiders, in this Portuguese colony.

Veronica Bernard addresses these questions in her study, "Die Fremde Stadt" (1998). Two common tendencies of the colonial gaze in the contact zone are defined as follows:

Entweder übte man über eine positive Wertung des Exotischen verbrämte – oder offene – Gesellschaftskritik an der Heimat und schuf so einen politisch relevanten Text; oder man integrierte eine entsprechend negative Wertung dem Lob europäisch-fortschrittlichen Lebens-Stils und betrieb damit Kultur-Kritik am abzulehnenden Exempel. (86-87)

[Either one exercised veiled – or explicit – social critique of the home country through positive value judgements of the exotic, thereby creating a politically relevant text, or one included a corresponding negative judgement in the praise of a European progressive lifestyle and thereby practiced cultural criticism by means of a rejected example].

Although I disagree with the premise that the political relevance of a text is commensurate with how critical it is of one's own context, both of these tendencies are found in German descriptions of Brazil. In a time of much political upheaval, the

Portuguese colony served as a favorable canvas upon which to project national fantasies, either by criticizing what was observed or by complimenting and contrasting it with the familiar. The third tendency Bernard mentions is one toward self-reflection in the encounter with the Others.

Gender is also one influencing factor of the “colonial gaze” of the traveler (Hunt 2-3); it is only one of many. Women travelers do not have a monopoly on subjects pertaining to their Brazilian counterparts. In agreement with Hunt’s position, I find that it would not be possible to glean from these narratives a uniform female colonial discourse or approach to describing Brazil. Their responses were colored by a combination of factors including class and social standing. Ida Pfeiffer, Ina von Binzer, and Therese von Bayern were all single, white, German-speaking, and educated women. The first two were from the middle class while the third was an aristocrat. Another difference is that they came from different German-speaking regions. They also came at different times during this historically eventful century.

Sigrid Weigel’s essay, “Der schielende Blick”, describes the ambivalent position of many women writers as follows: “die Frau in der männlichen Ordnung ist zugleich beteiligt und ausgegrenzt [...] ihre Augen sehen durch die Brille des Mannes” (85). [In the male order of things the woman is at the same time a participant and marginalized (...) her eyes see through masculine glasses]. The women in this project were trained in a patriarchal setting and encountered Brazil with tools developed by men, thus “gazing through male lenses,” to borrow Weigel’s terms. As women, they contended with social restrictions and practical challenges that did not apply to their male counterparts. Here, I would like to point to the fact that these restrictions might have been attenuated by

certain factors such as class and profession. For instance, Ina von Binzer was operating well within the social boundaries of the time when she traveled to Brazil to work as a governess, and her chosen format – the letter – was one associated with private or domestic realms, which was the acceptable arena for *bürgerliche* women in nineteenth-century Germany. Therese von Bayern, as a princess, was afforded a position of privilege in Brazil despite her attempts to enter the country anonymously. These factors inevitably influenced the content of their narratives. They, as well as their male counterparts, approached Brazil from what Allison Sharrock calls a “fragmented multiple viewpoint” (272) in “Looking at Looking” (2002). The travelers’ responses to Brazil were colored by their various positions in society– gender, race, class, and nationality.

A separate, more detailed, analysis of texts by women in one or two chapters, in an attempt to include the voices of women in this mosaic of descriptions of nineteenth-century Brazil, would not serve my purpose. This, I believe, would simply mirror and even further marginalize women by confining their voices to a small portion of my project. In my effort to propose a gender-balanced analysis, I prefer to present these texts in dialogue with each other and with the other texts.

In an article entitled, “Die fremde Stadt– Exotik als Katalysator projizierender Reflexion” (1998), Veronika Bernard discusses the significance of the foreign city as a literary trope in Austrian literature. Her comments focus on nineteenth-century descriptions of cities in the ‘orient’ and in Germany by subjects marginalized for political or religious reasons. According to her research the ‘otherness’ of a city is carried by its citizens, cultural institutions, and authorities (90-91). The travelers

featured in this project certainly comment on these aspects of Rio de Janeiro. I agree with Veronica Bernard that the literary trope of the city – or metropolis – can be an effective site for the construction of “personal and national identities” (95). The next section analyzes responses to the colonial capital city of Rio de Janeiro.

B. Rio de Janeiro: *Flâneurs* in a Colonial Metropolis

The 1808 arrival of the Portuguese royal house of Bragança in Rio de Janeiro significantly shifted the balance of the Portuguese empire by transposing its capital from Lisbon to a colonial territory, and by raising Rio to the status of metropolis. The term ‘metropolis’ warrants an explanation, as it will clarify some of the expectations informing nineteenth-century German travelers’ responses to this city. According to Webster’s New World Dictionary, a metropolis is the “main or capital city of a state, any large city or center of populations and culture, the mother city or state of a colony” (855). Such a definition carries with it a set of expectations that, according to the German narrators in this project, were often not met in Rio.

1. First Impressions

In 1888 Therese von Bayern entered Rio anonymously³⁴ (Therese 255) with the following first impression: “Langsam entrollte sich nun vor uns die Stadt, der Lage und

³⁴ She first arrived in Rio on August 14, 1888 (241), and returned on the 21st and on September 22nd at which time she visited the royal family (281). She departed from the capital city for Europe on October 8th after three days of preparation.

grossartigen Umgebung nach eine echte Kaiserstadt" (242). [Slowly the city revealed itself to us as a true imperial city, based on its location and grand environment]. Her statement acknowledged that this was only a first impression and seemed to reserve judgment until after the traveler would have seen more of the city and measured it against certain expectations of a metropolis. It is always telling and instructive to note what first caught the travelers' attention. In this first section, I would like to explore the first impressions of Wied, Spix and Martius, Adalbert von Preussen, Therese von Bayern, and Ida Pfeiffer, since Rio de Janeiro was their port of entry into Brazil and their narratives include substantial information about the tropical metropolis.

Prince Maximilian von Wied landed briefly in Rio at the beginning of his journey in 1817. His description of Rio contains the following disclaimer: "Von einem Reisendem, der sich nur eine kurze Zeit in dieser Stadt aufgehalten hat, wird man keine vollendete Schilderung derselben und ihren Bewohner verlangen" (Wied, [1820] I/30). [One cannot expect a complete description of the city and its inhabitants from a traveler who only spent very little time there]. His description of the city, however, is still substantial and filled with references to works about Brazil that he had read in preparation for his travels (Wied, [1820] I/26, 30, 33, 36-38). Although Wied and other travelers were greatly influenced by Alexander von Humboldt, their narrative styles differ greatly from the rather convoluted and impersonal text by their famous predecessor. Wied-Neuwied first notices the diverse population. "Freylich befremdete es den neuen Ankömmling, unter den zahlreichen, in den Straßen sich drängenden Menschen den größeren Theil schwarz oder gelbbraun gefärbt zu sehen" (Wied, [1820]

I/26-26). [The newcomer was, of course, astonished to see among the numerous people bustling in the streets that most of them were of a black or yellowish-brown color].

Wied, however, did not dwell in his astonishment following his masked admission with an explanation of Brazil's population. I note here that Wied referred to himself in the third person (*der Ankömmling*), which was a convention of the Humboldt's era. His journey to Brazil came only eleven years after Humboldt's great journey. Wied, having been influenced directly by his predecessor, might have shared Humboldt's disdain for revealing personal responses to the readership. Or he might have simply continued in the writing traditions of his time.

In addition to the population, Wied also marveled at the vegetation: "Der Europäer, welcher sich zum ersten Mal in diese tropischen Regionen verpflanzt sieht, wird von allen Seiten durch die Schönheit der Natur und besonders durch die Üppigkeit und Fülle der Vegetation angezogen" (28). [The European who finds himself transposed for the first time in these tropical regions, will be drawn on every side to the beauty of nature, and specially to the opulence and abundance of the vegetation].

While Wied was impressed with the vegetation, Spix and Martius found that it had been driven back from the coast by the growing city: "Wer mit dem Gedanken an den neuen, [...] Welttheil jenen einer durchaus und überall noch rohen, gewaltthätigen und unbesiegtten Natur verbindet, möchte sich hier in der Hauptstadt Brasiliens, fast ausser demselben wännen" (Martius and Spix I/90). [Anyone who associates the new region with thoughts of a raw, violent and untamed nature, should imagine the country beyond the capital city while here].

However, this is not a contradiction; Wied and his Bavarian counterparts were only describing the same phenomenon in different words: “[...] die Einflüsse der Kultur und Civilisation des alten, gebildeten Europas [haben] den Character amerikanischer Wildnis von diesem Punkte der Colonie verdrängt, und demselben das Gepräge höherer Bildung ertheilt“ (Martius and Spix I/91). [The influence of culture and civilization of old cultivated Europe have suppressed the character of the American wilderness and gave it an imprint of higher culture]. Wied even explains this significant change in the following terms:

man findet aber jezt die Ansicht im Ganzen sehr verändert, da mit dem Könige beinahe 20000 Europäer aus Portugal einwanderten, welches die natürliche Folge hatte, daß nun brasilianische Gebräuche den europäischen weichen mussten. Verbesserungen aller Art wurden in der Hauptstadt vorgenommen. (Wied, [1820] I/26)

[one finds that as a whole everything looks different, since almost 20000 Europeans from Portugal emigrated with the King, which naturally caused Brazilian customs to succumb to European ones. All kinds of improvements were undertaken in the capital city].

In any case, their gazes were captured primarily by the landscape and the population upon arriving in Brazil.

Drs. Carl Friedrich Philip Martius and Johann. B. von Spix left Europe when Wied returned to its shores. As members of Princess Leopoldina (Habsburg) of Austria’s entourage, they landed in Rio de Janeiro and narrated a detailed account of

their impressions in the first volume of their travelogue. These two accounts speak fondly of Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff's hospitality:

Ich muss hier mit innigem Dankgeföhle des schwedischen General-Consuls Westin, des russischen Consuls von Langsdorff, des englischen Chargé d'Affaires Chamberlain und des russischen Swerts koff erwähnen. Diese Herren bestrebt en sich um die Wette, mir meinen Aufenthalt angenehm zu machen. (Wied, [1820] I/31)

[I must mention here with heartfelt gratitude the Swedish general consul Westin, the Russian consul von Langsdorff, the British chargé d'affaires Chamberlain and the Russian Swerts koff. These gentlemen competed with one another to make my stay pleasant].

Das gastfreie Haus des Hrn. V. Langsdorff war für viele in Rio de Janeiro anwesende Europäer am Abend ein sehr angenehmer Vereinigungspunkt. Es herrschte hier stets der Geist froher und belebter Unterhaltung, die durch das musikalische Talent der Hausfrau und die Mitwirkung Neukomms noch mehr erhöht wurde. (Martius und Spix I/107)

[In the evenings, the hospitable home of Mr. von Langsdorff was a pleasant assembling location for many Europeans living in Rio de Janeiro. There was always a spirit of joyful and lively conversation,

which was heightened even more by the hostess' musical talent and the accompaniment by Neukomm].³⁵

Nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro was then represented as a place where German intellectuals could find like-minded Europeans and experience the familiar in spite of the distance from home; it was a place of great intellectual and cultural exchange, similar to European intellectual centers, such as Berlin, London, or Paris.

The Commander of the Novara frigate quoted Martius, Spix and Wied among his sources on Brazil (123); however, his travelogue offers a different first impression of Rio de Janeiro: His emphasis is on the contrast between the beautiful landscape seen upon approaching the city and the dirty streets encountered upon arrival:

Die Naturschönheit der Bai von Rio de Janeiro übt allenthalben dieselbe ergreifende Wirkung auf den Ankommenden aus[...] Anders verhält es sich freilich, wenn der Fremde vom Schiffe hinweg seinen Fuß auf die neue Welt setzt und forteilt durch schmale, enge, schmutzige Straßen, zwischen der drängenden lärmenden Menge von Schwarzen und Weißen, von armen Negersklaven und reichen Planzern, ins Innere dieser vielbewegten Seestadt. (122)

[The natural beauty of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro still has the same moving effect on newly arriving travelers... Things become different when the foreigner sets foot in the New World and rushes forward

³⁵ Sigismund von Neukomm (1778-1858) was an Austrian organist and composer. He was a student of Joseph Haydn. In 1816, he traveled to Brazil with the Duke of Luxemburg. There he became the music instructor of Princess Leopoldine and her husband, Prince Pedro. He returned to Europe in 1821 and lived in Paris (Moessner xviii).

through small, narrow, dirty streets, amidst the pressing noisy mass of black and white people, from negro slaves to wealthy plantation owners, into the heart of this bustling seaside city].

This account conveys the illusion of a deceptively enchanting first impression that dissolves upon arriving in Rio. Again the focus here is on the landscape first and then on the people. In this quote, people of European descent are mentioned along with the people of African descent as part of the masses.

Adalbert von Preussen (nephew of King Friedrich Wilhelm II and founder of the German marine forces) likewise elaborates on the *Naturschönheiten* [natural wonders] mentioned in the previous quote. The prince's account is a second hand narrative based on his personal travel diaries of 1842. Citations of reference works are few. The narrative appears as a memorial to the prince; Kletke does refer explicitly to any other reference than the prince's diaries. The description of the city leading up to the prince's stately arrival stretches over eighteen pages (Kletke 209-217). Kletke quoted the prince as follows:

Selbst Constantinopel riß mich nicht so hin, wie der erste Eindruck von Rio de Janeiro! - Weder Neapel, nor Stambul, noch irgend ein Ort der mir bekannten Erde, selbst die Alhambra nicht, kann sich an magisch-phantastischem Zauber mit der Einfahrt und dem Golfe von Rio messen!
(Kletke 218)

[Even Constantinople did not impress me as much as my first impression of Rio de Janeiro!- Neither Naples, nor Istambul, nor any place known to

me on earth, not even the Alhambra, can compare in magically fantastic wonder with the entrance to and the Gulf of Rio].

His first impression of Rio de Janeiro was a slowly evolving one, from the first sighting of the “mountainous coasts” (211) to the arrival of Prince Adalbert on land not far from the royal palace (228). Of note is that Prince Adalbert immediately exoticizes the city by comparing it to other places considered so from a eurocentric standpoint, with Constantinople as the very measure of the ‘exotic’. Until the prince disembarked he seemed captivated by the landscape, the vegetation and various architectural structures seen from afar. It is important to remember here that Aus fernen Zonen is a third party account of Brazil based on Prince Adalbert’s travel diaries. Kletke’s conveyance of Prince Adalbert’s impressions of Rio warrant further exploration but at this point I would like to underscore one important element: the personification of the landscape (211; 215). The mountainous shoreline is described as a “sleeping watchman” (212), for instance: “Rechts zu den Füßen des schlafenden Wächters, hart an der steilen Wand des ‘Pão de Assucar’, liegt die schmale Einfahrt“ (Kletke 212). [The entryway was on the right, at the feet of the sleeping watchman, immediately next to the steep wall of the ‘Pão de Assucar’]

The stately welcome given to the prince (227-228) shielded him from the disillusionment common to the other travelers because the number of Africans or at least people of African descent did not go unnoticed:

Einige Neugierige hatten sich eingefunden, die Wagen standen bereit, und schnell rollte man davon. Unterwegs waren fast nichts als Neger und

Mulatten zu sehen, welche augenscheinlich die überwiegende Zahl der Einwohner bilden. Diese Masse von Schwarzen, in Gemeinschaft mit der zahllosen Menge der gemischten Menschenrassen, drücken dem Ganzen einen höchst eigenthümlichen Stempel auf. (Kletke 228)

[A few curious ones found their way there, the cars stood ready and one departed promptly from there. On the way, one could only see negroes and mulatos, who apparently form the majority of the inhabitants. This mass of blacks, in addition to the innumerable number of mixed races, create an odd impression].

The prince was then whisked away and shielded from altogether too mundane realities of the streets in Rio de Janeiro. This freed him to linger in the wonder of the exotic without the shock of a direct experience. In this case, the traveler's class seems to have obviously influenced his first impression of the tropical metropolis.

Another traveler in my selection arrived in Rio de Janeiro forty-six years later benefitting from the same privileges of class: Therese von Bayern. Due to the anonymous nature of her first entry into Rio de Janeiro, the Bavarian princess was more exposed to the city than her Prussian predecessor. She first described the city as a 'sea of houses' ("Häusermeer") (245), sprinkled with various architectural structures ("Frauenkloster", "Hospital da Misericordia", "Zollamt") that identify it as a true metropolis. She perceived Rio de Janeiro as a bustling city: "Reges Leben herrschte in der unteren Stadt" (245) [There was bustling life in the lower city]. Similar to other travelers, the racial diversity of the population caught her attention: "In den [...]"

Strassen [...], trieb sich eine bunte Menge herum“(245). [In the (...) streets, a colorful mass of people moved around]. However, in contrast to other travelers, her description does not give the impression that the presence of white Brazilians was eclipsed by the sheer number of blacks in the streets. On the one hand she painted a picture of a society that was, in her opinion, more racially egalitarian than the United States:

Bemerkenswerth ist, dass hier wie in ganz Brasilien Weisse und Schwarze unbeanstandet gemeinsam die Bonds benutzen, wie überhaupt die im südamerikanischen Kaiserreiche übliche, gleichmässiger Behandlung der zwei Rassen im wohlthuenden Gegensatze zu den diesbezüglichen nordamerikanischen Gepflogenheiten steht. (246)

[Noticeably, here, as in all of Brazil, whites and blacks share the trams without objection, as evidence of the usually more equal treatment of the two races in the South American empire, which stands in pleasant contrast with North American habits in this regard].

On the other hand, the princess subtly displayed an awareness of stark social inequalities between the races:

Elegante nach der neuesten Mode gekleidete Herren und Damen weisser Rasse spazierten da neben lasttragenden Neger, dunkelhäutige Soldaten schlenderten nachlässig vorbei, und ein berittener Mulatte in der grünen Livrée des Kaiserhofes sprengte eilig einher. (245)

[Elegant white gentlemen and ladies dressed in the latest fashion strolled next to negroes carrying their burdens, dark-skinned soldiers walked by casually, and a mounted mulatto dressed in the green livery of the imperial court hurried by].

In this one sentence, Therese von Bayern gave a social picture of nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro, one in which the native population seems to have been erased or made invisible in favor of a certain hierarchy. Therese von Bayern's account of her 1898 expedition to Brazil displays both the accessibility of a private form of narration and the copious quoting of scientific references. As a member of the aristocracy, she might have had less to prove than other women such as Ina von Binzer or Ida Pfeiffer. She might also have benefited from a reading audience already accustomed to reading travel narratives by women.

In contrast to the previous traveler, Ida Pfeiffer's first impressions of Rio de Janeiro come across as a series of harsh complaints (30). Fearful of being bullied by Brazilian custom authorities, Pfeiffer disembarked accompanied by the captain of the ship on which she traveled to Rio de Janeiro. Her very first impressions and remarks were these:

Wir landeten an der Praya dos Mineiros, einem schmutzigen, ekelhaften Platze, bevölkert mit einigen Dutzend eben so schmutziger, ekelhafter Schwarzen, die auf dem Boden kauerten, und Früchte und Näschiereien zum Verkaufe laut schreiend und preisend anboten (30)

[We landed at Praya dos Mineiros, a dirty disgusting place, occupied by several dozen equally dirty, disgusting blacks, squatting on the ground and offering fruit and treats for sale shouting and boasting loudly].

On the other hand, the capital city was Ida Pfeiffer's entry point into Brazil during her 1847 world tour; therefore her narrative offers a detailed description of the city. In her efforts to gain credibility as a knowledgeable traveler, she cites a few reference works consulted in preparation for the journey alongside her personal (mostly negative) value judgments about aspects of the city. Ida Pfeiffer arrived in Brazil under very different circumstances than Therese von Bayern and the other travelers discussed in this project. Since she was a criticized bourgeois woman traveling alone, it is very possible that her journey and arrival in Brazil might have occurred under much less glamorous circumstances than those of a Bavarian princess, a Prussian prince, an employed governess, or explorers sponsored by royalty. For instance, Spix, Martius, Wied, or even Therese von Bayern, had less reason to fear being searched by the authorities than Pfeiffer did; she might have been more positively disposed had she not feared being mistreated by Brazilian customs officers.

Furthermore, it is possible that the port most likely was unsanitary when Pfeiffer arrived. However, the negative and highly prejudicial attitudes displayed in her first remarks on Rio de Janeiro, are consistent throughout her narrative, which leads me to read her remarks as her general or customary response to her encounters with 'otherness' in Brazil.

Although a stay in Rio de Janeiro was required of almost all nineteenth-century travelers to Brazil, not all of the ones featured in this project chose to include a description of the city in their narratives; nor did all of them enter Brazil in Rio de Janeiro. This is the case of Karl von den Steinen. Langsdorff's narrative of his first journey around the world under the Russian flag (1803) includes an account of his sojourn in Brazil but does not describe Rio de Janeiro. The city had not yet attained the significance that the arrival of the royal family would later find. He returned to Brazil ten years later (1813) as Russian consul. During his tenure he hosted many European travelers to Brazil. His text will be more relevant to later sections of this chapter, as he had much to say about German immigration, native populations, and slavery. Ina von Binzer resigned from her position as governess in a wealthy São Francisco family to seek employment in the capital city for health reasons (Binzer 50-59). From December 1881 to February 1882, she reluctantly taught in a girls' boarding school before accepting a position in a family she describes as 'republican' in São Paulo (Binzer 73). Her narrative is a collection of personal letters sent to her best friend. Claims of learnedness are usually unnecessary in such private contexts; therefore the text is filled with personal reflections and experiences that will also be explored in the next sections of this chapter.

2. Tropical Metropolis

In the nineteenth century, Berlin emerged as the capital of the newly united German empire. It was also the site of Theodor Fontane's (1819-1898) novels about women (Zimmermann, 70-87). A metropolis is expected to be an environment in which traditional notions are questioned. According to Fontane as Zimmermann quotes,

“Berlin as a metropolis, “promoted a relativized perspective – the ability to deal liberally, if skeptically, with multiple points of view, and the possibility of free intellectual discourse” (74). These are the same reasons for which the city was seen as a disorienting and dehumanizing environment in the nineteenth century. However, it was in this environment that changes became attainable for women, including possibilities of emancipation through education (84). The women travelers in this dissertation embody such changes. Two broke social barriers (Ida Pfeiffer and Therese von Bayern), while one was able to remain within the social parameters of the day (Ina von Binzer).

In the selected texts Rio de Janeiro comes across as what I carefully would call a ‘pseudo-metropolis’. The qualifying prefix refers to my reading of the travelers’ eurocentric and, at times, belittling response to the temporary capital of the Portuguese empire. In the midst of the expected ‘tropics’, they were surprised by a busy city with almost all of the features of a European metropolis. Along with an assumption of the ‘exotic’, the travelers arrived in Rio de Janeiro with assumptions about big cities; this led to mixed reactions to a perceived European familiarity. For example, for Wied the city and its way of life had nothing unusual to offer, at least not initially:

Da mit dem Könige beinahe 20000 Europäer aus Portugal einwanderten, welches natürlich die Folge hatte, dass nun brasilianische Gebräuche den europäischen weichen mussten, Verbesserungen aller Art wurden in der Hauptstadt vorgenommen: sie verlor viel von ihrer Originalität, und ward hierdurch europäischen Städten ähnlicher. (26)

[Since almost 20000 Europeans emigrated from Portugal with the King, which, of course, resulted in Brazilian customs giving way to European customs, all kinds of renovations were undertaken in the capital city: it lost much of its originality, and became more like European cities].

I find it interesting that in Wied's comment, the term European is used as a blanket description identifying all European cities in one category and choosing not to specify any regional differences. Martius and Spix describe their first impression of Rio as follows: "Sprache, Sitte, Bauart und Zusammenfluss der Industrieprodukte aus allen Welttheilen geben dem Platze von Rio de Janeiro eine europäische Aussenseite" (Martius und Spix I/91). [Language, lifestyle, architecture, and confluence of industrial products from around the world give Rio de Janeiro an outwardly European appearance]. This, of course, ascribes to European cities the status of a standard for cities everywhere. Bernard's article points to the use of exoticism in the textual reconstruction of European cities by other Europeans in the nineteenth century. Her analysis pertains to European travelers who, while visiting cities that were somewhat familiar, encounter the exotic. In my investigation, the travelers seem to have expected a certain level of exoticism and were disappointed by the familiar. In this respect, Ina von Binzer found the architecture in the city rather boring:

Die Kirchen sind eine wie die andere, und keine ist durch besondere Kunstschatze interessant; das Museum (von dessen Existenz viele hier gar nichts wissen und das die wenigsten ansehen) ist, abgesehen von einer prächtigen Sammlung ausgestopfter, z. T. sehr seltener Vögel recht mässig. (Binzer 57)

[The churches all look alike, and none of them stands out with any special treasures of art; the museum (of which many don't know that it exists and which very few visit) is truly average, apart from an outstanding collection of stuffed and in part very rare birds].

Binzer's aesthetic evaluation of the architecture is a subjective eurocentric one intended for an audience that was expected to share her standards. Accustomed to grandiose architecture of European cathedrals, German travelers to Brazil lived in a time when museums had become a matter of national pride. As seen in the previous quote, cultural institutions were among the familiar features the travelers encountered in the streets of Rio de Janeiro.

As a matter of fact, this tropical capital of the Portuguese empire had many of the expected features of a metropolis, and, according to Wied, Rio had become a city that would not deprive foreign Europeans of their accustomed standard of living (29). In addition to some historical background, travelers commented on main topics: the royal palace, cultural, and religious institutions, the architecture of houses and public buildings, fashion, and boutiques and also the presence of other Europeans in Rio de Janeiro.

The royal palace did not satisfy the expectations of the travelers, who, for the most part, described it as ordinary or common (Wied, [1820] I/28; Bayern 245; Pfeiffer 30, 42-44, and 48). European royal palaces were customarily grandiose architectural structures with an affinity to ancient Greek and Roman temples. They were a nationalistic expression of power and wealth. German travelers to Brazil, comparing the

Brazilian royal structure to their own eurocentric expectations, were disappointed by what they saw:

Der große, kaiserliche Palast in São Cristovão, einer Vorstadt von Rio, ist ein mächtiges, ödes Gebäude, das zwar einige prachtvoll eingerichtete Zimmer enthalten soll, jedenfalls aber eine sehr hässliche Lage hat. Wenn ich der Kaiser von Brasilien wäre, baute ich mir eine graziöse, luftige Villa in Botafogo. (Binzer 56)

[The great imperial palace in São Cristovão, a suburb of Rio, is an imposing, dull building that, supposedly, does have a few splendidly decorated rooms, but is, in any case, a very ugly location. If I were the Emperor of Brazil, I would build myself an elegant, airy villa in Botafogo].

Although the building had not changed aesthetically since 1817 when Wied, Martius and Spix had seen it, the nearby slaughterhouse and the resulting swarm of crows (Binzer 56) may have been a recent addition to the landscape that Wied had complimented in his account. Martius and Spix offered an explanation why: “Dieses Gebäude ist keineswegs in dem grossen Style **europäischer** Residenzen erbaut, und erscheint im Aeussern nicht würdig des Monarchen eines so hoffnungsvoll aufblühenden Reiches” (Martius und Spix I/92, emphasis mine). [This building is in no way built in the great style of **European** palaces, and outwardly does not appear to be worthy of the monarchy of such a promising blossoming Empire]. It was apparently not originally built for the purpose of housing a royal family. The former residence of a

viceroy had been combined with the edifice of a Carmelite convent to accommodate the Portuguese King and his family upon their arrival in the colony (Martius und Spix I/92). It was one of the first disappointments to German travelers in Rio de Janeiro: by their standards, the metropolis did not afford its ruler a worthy residence.

Their eurocentric impressions of Rio de Janeiro also show in their judgment of various cultural and religious institutions and monuments (Binzer 56-58; Pfeiffer 31, 38, 40-41; Kletke 225; Bayern 246; Martius und Spix 100-105, 130). Within his shorter description of the city Wied noted the existence of an opera house, an Italian opera, and a French ballet (28). Ida Pfeiffer had mixed responses to the opera house and museum:

Das Opernhaus verspricht von Außen nicht viel des Schönen und Überraschenden, und man ist daher sehr erstaunt, im Innern feierliche, große Räume, ein breite und tiefe Bühne zu erblicken [...] So wie ich beim Besuch des Theaters angenehm enttäuscht wurde, so erfolgte beim Besuche des Museums gerade das Gegentheil. (40)

[Outwardly, the opera house does not promise much beauty or surprise, therefore, one is surprised to see inside festive large rooms, a wide and deep stage ... As I was pleasantly disappointed during my visit to the theatre, the opposite occurred during my visit to the museum].

Ina von Binzer had the same complaint about the museum, in which she only found a bird collection to her liking. During her visit to the colony of Novo Friburgo, Pfeiffer encountered a certain Herr Best and his wife, who privately owned an animal collection, in her estimation, more impressive than the museum's (Pfeiffer 81). Again

the travelers were pleasantly surprised by the cultural amenities available in Rio de Janeiro on the one hand, but found them not up to their German or European standards on the other. Martius and Spix gave political explanations for the existence or lack of certain cultural institutions: it was in the interest of Portugal to resist the creation of a university in Rio de Janeiro in order to maintain Brazil's subordinate status (Martius and Spix I/104); however, the colony did have an art academy and a bank to facilitate monies brought in by the royal family (130).

Other architecture and public buildings also met mixed reactions from the travelers (Therese 246, 246; Wied 28; Spix und Martius 91-92; Pfeiffer 30-32, 37; Binzer 58; Kletke 224-225, 230, 238). Therese von Bayern describes it this way:

Neben stillosen und bunt, [...], angestrichenen Gebäuden, wie die Post, erheben sich ganz geschmackvolle, wie der grossartige, caryatidengeschmückte Palacio do Commercio und das Gabinete Portuguez de Leitura. Es ist letzteres in einem spätgotischen, indisch beeinflussten Stil von Belem und Batalha in Portugal gehaltener Bau, welcher dem Auge eine Erholung bietet nach den vielen Architekturmässlichkeiten, die Rio und überhaupt ganz Brasilien aufzuweisen hat. (Therese 46)

[The very tasteful, grand Palacio do Commercio decorated with caryatids and the Gabinete Portuguez de Leitura stand next to brightly painted buildings without style such as the post office. After all the architectural ugliness, that Rio and all of Brazil has to offer for that matter, the eye

finally finds rest in a late-gothic construction style from Belem and Batalha in Portugal which is influenced by India].

Without commenting aesthetically on their architecture, Ida Pfeiffer found the public buildings clean: “Auf [Largo do Rocio], der auch stets ziemlich reinlich gehalten wird, stehen das Opernhaus, das Regierungsgebäude, die Polizei u.s.f.“ (31) [The Opera, the government building, the police station etc. are located on Largo do Rocio, which is always kept rather clean]. In Adalbert von Preussen’s descriptions, on the other hand, the opulence of the vegetation seemed to eclipse any negative impressions of the architecture or people: “Über die Gartenmauern am Wege ragen die ungeheuren Kronen der Cocos-Palmen und die Riesenblätter der Bananen herüber, während man durch die Gitter und Gartenthüren den reizenden Blumenflor erblickt” (Kletke 228). [The awesome crowns of coconut trees and gigantic banana leavespeered over the garden walls on the way, while one peeked through the bars and garden gates at the charming flora]. Houses are described with simple adjectives referring to their size, age, or their color (224-225, 230, 238).

One architectural structure that unanimously drew positive reactions from the travelers was the water distribution system. Wied was impressed by the aqueducts which, according to Therese von Bayern, had been in operation since 1750. By Martius and Spix’s account, the water distribution system consisted of a series of fountains and wells and was very much a work in progress during their visit. Roman aqueducts had been a common part of European landscape since the Roman Empire but in this century of industrialization and urbanization of Europe, sanitation and water distribution were a

current concern for European cities. In this respect, German travelers to Brazil were impressed to find similar irrigation efforts in a tropical city:

Noch ist man immer beschäftigt, neue Fontainen in der Stadt anzulegen, und während unseres Aufenthaltes wurden Anstalten getroffen, den grossen Platz von S. Anna mit einem Brunnen zu versehen und eine neue Wasserleitung in den südwestlichsten Theil der Stadt zu führen. (Martius und Spix I/93)

[One is still busy building new fountains in the city and during our stay arrangements were made to provide the great St. Anna Plaza with a well and to add a new water distribution structure to the southwestern part of the city].

Ida Pfeiffer comments on the location of this well and also speaks highly of the water system in Rio:

Unter den Plätzen ist der Largo do Rocio der schönste, der Largo de St. Anna der größte [...] der letztere ist unter allen Plätzen der schmutzigste [...] Der einzig wahrhaft schöne und großartige Bau ist die Wasserleitung, die an manchen Stellen wirklich einem echt römischen Werke gleicht. (32)

[Among the plazas, Largo do Rocio is the prettiest, [and] Largo de St. Anna the largest [...] the latter is the dirtiest of all plazas [...] The only truly

beautiful and grand building is the aqueduct, that in some places faithfully resembles an authentic Roman structure].

Pfeiffer's harsh judgment of the location is explained as she reveals the aesthetic standard by which she seems to evaluate everything: Roman aesthetics. In applying aesthetics from another time and empire, Pfeiffer held to an anachronistic standard by which Rio could only be measured unfavorably. Ancient Roman aqueducts are a well-known part of the landscape throughout Europe; in nineteenth-century Vienna (Austria), however, more were built in response to the growing population and to the resulting increase in water demand. Aqueducts may have been more a point of reference for Pfeiffer than for the other travelers in this respect.

Fashion and boutiques were another unexpected familiarity the travelers encountered in Rio de Janeiro (Therese 240-241, 246; Binzer 56; Wied 29; Pfeiffer 31). Wied noticed and commented on fashion that it was the same as in Europe: "Trachten und Moden sind **völlig die unserer europäischen** Hauptstädte" (29, emphasis mine). [Clothing and fashion are all completely like in our European cities]. Binzer and Therese von Bayern identified the fashion trends as being French. Pfeiffer found the boutiques as lacking as the museum: (D)och darf man weder die schönen Auslagen **europäischer** Städte erwarten, noch findet man besonders viel Schönes oder Kostbares (31, emphasis mine). [Nevertheless, one should expect neither the beautiful displays of **European** cities, nor does one find a special abundance of beautiful and valuable things]. In this context, again, Europe was the point of reference and was elevated discursively as the standard by which to evaluate Rio de Janeiro, and, of course, the Brazilian capital city fell short of the traveler's expectations.

Nevertheless, Rio de Janeiro drew many Europeans in the nineteenth century. German travelogues about Brazil testified to their presence (Therese 238, 242, 245, 250; Binzer 47, 49, 54, 60; Martius und Spix I/96-97; Pfeiffer 28; Wied 270). According to Therese, Portuguese Europeans constituted thirty-eight percent of the population in Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century. Wied writes: “Sehr zahlreich sind die Engländer, Spanier und Italiener; Franzosen wandern jetzt aus ihrem Vaterlande in Menge dorthin aus” (27). [The English, Spaniards and Italians are very numerous; the French are now emigrating there from their fatherland in droves]. While other travelers (Wied and Martius, for example) spoke very highly of their interactions with other Europeans in Rio, Ina von Binzer’s account describes a cool and inhospitable response on the part of a German family by the name of Klein; she was consoled, however, by a very close relationship with a certain Carson family from Great Britain. The presence of Europeans in Rio de Janeiro seems to have met with their expectations of the metropolis, although they did not always agree with their behavior.

In a way, their efforts to describe Rio de Janeiro precede Walter Benjamin’s reading of “city as text” (Gesammelte Schriften V. I./ 580) in order to reconstruct – or narrate – the city in the form of a text (Gilloch 5 and 51). Although they might share with him an ambivalent relationship with this literary trope, I did not find a tendency toward “redemptive reading” (5), which was Benjamin’s approach to cities:

The city is heaven, the city is hell. Benjamin loved and loathed it. It is in this tension that Benjamin reveals himself as a walking contradiction, an elusive, paradoxical figure propelled by the intoxication of the modern while condemning its miseries. (Gilloch 184)

The “intoxication” that moved the travelers discussed in this dissertation was desire of the exotic and hunger for knowledge. Ida Pfeiffer attempted to correct any trivialization of her efforts as tourism by stating an “angeborene Reiselust” (inborn desire to travel) and “Wissbegierde” (hunger for knowledge) (1). Katherine Arens coins the term *Stadt wollen* defined as: “the human drive to create a city as a structure of meaning in a particular historical context” (44). This idea can be transposed in this context describing the travelers’ drive to reconstruct Rio de Janeiro as a text.

3. Rio de Janeiro: An ‘Other’ City

Along with the surprisingly familiar aspects of Rio de Janeiro, the travelers also encountered aspects of the city that were unfamiliar or shocking to them: most of all the variety in skin tones of the population and the large number of black slaves (Therese 245-246; Binzer 54-55; Wied 26-27; Martius und Spix 89-91, 97, 118-119; Kletke 228; Pfeiffer 30, 36-38).

Was jedoch den Reisenden alsbald erinnert, dass er sich in einem fremden Welttheile befinde, ist vor allem das bunte Gewühl von schwarzen und farbigen Menschen, die ihm als die arbeitende Classe, überall sogleich begegnen, wenn er Fuss ans Land setzt. (Martius und Spix I/91)

[Nevertheless, what soon reminds the traveler that he is in a foreign part of the world is mainly the colorful crowd of black and colored people,

the working class, who immediately meet him everywhere as soon as he sets foot on land].

As a significant presence of Africans would not occur in European metropolitan cities, this is another way in which the Brazilian metropolis differs from its European counterparts. There were certainly not accustomed to seeing such a “bunte Menge” [colorful mass] (245) on the streets of Munich. I will not explore this topic further at this time, but will include a discussion of the travelers’ response to slavery and people of African descent in my next chapter.

Most of the travelers responded negatively to their perception of the noise level (Binzer 48-49; Martius und Spix 89, Wied 26, 28); Pfeiffer 30-31) and lack of hygiene (Binzer 55-56; Pfeiffer 30-31). Apart from Wied, they all seem to have found the city highly pestilent and unsanitary:

Eine weitere Unannehmlichkeit sind die Moskitos, Ameisen, Baraten, Sandflöhe u.s.w. Viele Nächte verbrachte ich sitzend, gepeinigt und gequält von den Stichen der Insekten. Kaum ist man im Stande die Lebensmittel vor den Angriffen der Baraten und Ameisen zu sichern.
(50-51)

[Mosquitoes, ants, bugs, sandfleas etc. were another unpleasantness. I spent many nights sitting up, tormented and tortured by insect bites. One is hardly able to protect food from the attack of bugs and ants].

Und drinnen in der Stadt erscheint's auf den ersten Blick wie draußen:
phantastisch, südlich, fremdartig und wunderbar reizvoll, nur eines gesellt
sich hier noch ausser dem betäubenden Lärm hinzu, was man draussen gern
vermisst: der Schmutz und die Unordnung! (Binzer 55)

[And the first impression of the inner city is like the outskirts; fantastic,
southern, strange, and wonderfully charming, but there is one more
impression apart from the deafening noise, one that is not missed outside of
the city: the filth and disorderliness!]

However, noise and dirt have not been strangers to big cities, despite the traditional claim of cleanliness as a German quality. An article by Tadeusz Namowicz, “Wirkliche und literarische Räume”, comments on the representation of cities in French, German, and Polish literatures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. European eighteenth-century cities were portrayed for the most part negatively, with plots being narrated within various enclosed spaces such as castles, rooms within houses (326) in Germany. While Paris rose to the forefront in French literature of the eighteenth century and maintained its position through the following century, the city as a literary trope remained a rather marginal item to the benefit of the village which became a symbol of a wholesome *Heimat* (329) [home or homeland]. According to Namowicz, it was in the interest of the ruling elite to draw attention away from the city, which was becoming a central site for such causes as nationalism and social democracy (330). After initially describing Rio as a true imperial city, Therese von Bayern compares the streets of Rio to those of a little town in the Alps:

Wenn man die Strassen hinunter-oder hinaufblickt, erscheint als Abschluss der Perspektive entweder das blaue Meer mit einem jenseitigen fernen Höhenzug, oder der nah emporsteigende Berghang, welcher zwischen die Häuserreihen hereinschaut wie das Gebirge in einer Dorfstrasse unserer heimischen Alpen. (Therese 248)

[Looking up or down the street, one's view ended either at an elevation behind the blue ocean or the nearby rising mountain slope which peer between rows of houses as the mountains in a town street in our Alps back home].

Could this be a subconscious refusal to accept Rio de Janeiro as a metropolis? Or is it simply a comparison with the familiar, a way of 'domesticating' the unfamiliar, or simply a translation of the city in terms understood by her Bavarian audience? Small towns ("Dörfer") were held to a higher standard of cleanliness than big cities— standards that the colonial city was not meeting in the gaze of these travelers. While others focused on a perceived lack of sanitation, Wied and Therese allocated more of their descriptions to the natural beauty of the landscape and vegetation.

4. *Flâneurs* in the Tropics

I would like to end here by relating some of these travelers' experiences of Rio de Janeiro to a concept that is a twentieth-century interpretation of nineteenth-century Europe: the *flâneur*. I maintain that German speaking travelers to Brazil wandered

through Rio de Janeiro as *flâneurs*. The term *flâneur* is a French word which signifies in its first sense today an individual who roams aimlessly through city streets enjoying the sights. The idea seems to have emerged in nineteenth century Paris, as a representation of the newly wealthy bourgeois male response to the transformation of Paris into a modern city through the industrial revolution (Gluck 1). Mary Gluck's article, "The *Flâneur* and the Aesthetic Appropriation of Urban Culture in Mid-19th-century Paris" (2003), differentiates two understandings of the *flâneur* in the nineteenth century: one popularized through cartoons in periodicals in the first half of the century. The nineteenth-century French poet Charles Baudelaire lent the term some prominence by associating it with the solitary artist or writer of his day.

In the twentieth century, Walter Benjamin's commentary on Baudelaire's work continued this line of thought Paris (V.I./525). To him the *flâneur* represented: "eine Abbeviatur für die politische Haltung der mittleren Klassen unter dem zweiten Kaiserreich" (V.I./ 529). [An abbreviated summary of the political position of the middle classes during the Second (French) Empire]. He continued to identify it with a bourgeois male subject— one who roams through the streets of the city gazing at its façades and observing the crowd (Steiner 156). One section of his Passagen-Werk (Arcades Project 1927-1940)³⁶ is entitled "Der Flâneur" and situates the *flâneur* as an

³⁶ Benjamin's ideas about the flâneur are found mostly in his *Passagen-Werk* (Arcades Project) and *Charles Baudelaire: Ein Lyriker im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus* (1939). Both were fragments or unfinished texts that were posthumously published by friends of Walter Benjamin's. Benjamin committed suicide in 1940 while attempting to flee the national socialist invasion of France. The Arcades Project is a philosophical text about nineteenth-century Paris for which Walter Benjamin gathered notes from 1927 to 1940. It is called the Arcades Project because his comments were based on descriptions of a series of Parisian arcades. What is left today of his work are a summary of his efforts in German and in French for the purpose of obtaining funding, and a series of notes organized according to thirty-one topics. These notes are divided into lettered sections and numbered individually within each lettered section. Section

outsider hiding in the crowd (V.I./54 and 538; I.II./627), applying his values to all he observes (V.I./529 and 537-538). Martina Lauster's article, "Walter Benjamin's Myth of the Flâneur" (2007) describes Benjamin's understanding of the *flâneur* as a "modernist myth" that "is not only of limited value for an understanding of the nineteenth-century urban experience, but can be seen positively to hamper it" (139).

Mary Gluck on the other hand identifies Benjamin's approach as an "interpretation" (54). I find that, if understood as one interpretation or understanding among many possibilities, Benjamin's version of the flâneur can be a help rather than a hindrance to reading aspects of nineteenth-century Europe.

It might seem strange today to associate bourgeoisie with the margins of society; however, if one remembers that in Germany, this middle-class society only came to prominence in the nineteenth century after profiting from the industrial revolution, the association becomes more logical. Another parallel in this context is that German travelers, regardless of their social standing, were outsiders in Brazil, although one could say – borrowing the famous words of George Orwell – that some were perhaps "more [marginal] than others". In this idea of the *flâneur*, gazing is perceived as a reciprocal activity: the *flâneur*, as one who roamed the arcades of Paris gazed upon the wares and the masses, and perceived himself as being gazed upon by the crowd with suspicion (I.II./539-540, and Lauster 139).

How does this apply to this context? In their descriptions of Rio de Janeiro travelers attempted to guide the imagined gazes of their readership. For example,

M is entitled "Der Flâneur". The focus of the longest section (J) is the French writer Charles Baudelaire. (Gesammelte Schriften I.II. and V.I.)

Therese von Bayern walked around the city, perhaps not so aimlessly, but still reconstructing textually the city according to her gaze:

Beim Hinabwandern hatten wir nach Süden einen herrlichen **Blick** auf die Hänge des Corcovado und die tief unten blauende Botafogobucht, auf dem Platz vor der Kirche aber Übersicht über die ganze Bai, das gewaltige Einfahrtstor und einen Theil der berühmten Cariócawasserleitung, welche seit 1750 in Betrieb ist. (Therese 250, emphasis mine)

[To the south of us, as we walked down, there was a marvelous **view** of Corcovado slopes, and deep below of the Botafogo bay turning blue, in the plaza in front of the church, however, a view over the entire bay, the overwhelming entrance gate, and part of the famous Carioca water system, which has been in operation since 1750].

In this segment she seems to lead the readers' attention past the street facades to the landscape surrounding the city. While aware of her surroundings and of her location within the city, her gaze is drawn past the urban setting toward the landscape surrounding Rio de Janeiro (the slopes and the bay, in this context). One thing that has certainly changed between Martius and Spix' visit to Rio in 1817 and Therese von Bayern's arrival, is that the little Italian inn (Martius und Spix I/89), where the two scientists spent their time in the city, was no longer the only inn in Rio de Janeiro. The princess opted for a hotel (*Vista Alegre*) on one of the heights of the capital city instead (Therese 248).

Johanna Fisher and Dorothy Smith's article, "The Responses of the Human Imagination to the Concept of City: The City as Literary Trope" (2003), finds that in literature the use of the city as a trope always seems to pose the "question of whether man realizes his highest potential in the city or in nature" (341). The use of the male-centric generic term 'man' agrees with the masculine origin of the word *flâneur*. In this context the travelers seem to opt for nature as the most productive context in more ways than one. Most of them came with scientific intentions that could only be fulfilled outside of the cities. Wied comments:

So angenehm mir ein längerer Aufenthalt in der Hauptstadt hätte sein müssen, so lag es dennoch nicht in meinem Plane, hier lange zu verweilen, da der Reichthum der Natur nicht in Städten, sondern in Feld und Wald zu finden ist. (38)

[As pleasant a longer stay in the capital city should have been for me, I did not plan to linger there, since nature's wealth is not to be found in cities but in fields and forests].

According to Graeme Gilloch, for "Benjamin, the urban complex is the quintessential site of modernity. The social totality is crystallized in miniature in the metropolis" (5). Veronika Bernard describes the foreign city as a "Materialisierung des 'Anderen'" [materializing of the 'Other'] (85). In this context I could say therefore that Rio de Janeiro was a cross-section or a miniature representation of the Portuguese empire and that the travelers' responses to this city were at least an approximate summary of their reactions to this Portuguese colony. To summarize these responses, I

will say that nineteenth-century German travelers to Brazil perceived Rio de Janeiro as a surprising shadow of a European metropolis, or a pseudo-metropolis. Their expectations were challenged by the location of a nearly European city in the tropics. Their overwhelming enthusiasm for the natural beauty of the city and its environment could be read as a refusal on their part to accept Rio as a metropolis; or their apparent efforts to draw attention away from the city into the forest might just be a result of the Amazon's overbearing shadow over Rio de Janeiro.

Based on their responses, I gather that for them the tropics are no place for a metropolis, hence the attempts to discount or discredit the features of the city that indicate the contrary. Now I will turn to another surprising aspect of Brazil to German travelers: the presence of German immigrants in this area.

C. The Uncanny Otherness of German Immigrants

Germans and other Europeans had begun to migrate individually to Brazil since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1820, under Portuguese King João VI, the colony of Novo Friburgo was founded with the arrival of 2000 French Swiss families (Therese 286; Kletke 322). However, it was in 1824 – two years after Pedro I declared himself emperor of an independent Brazil – that significant numbers of German-speaking immigrants from Germany and Switzerland arrived primarily in southern Brazil searching for a more prosperous life. Since the former Portuguese colony was faced with the threat of losing its southernmost regions to Spain, Empress Leopoldina suggested the aggressive recruitment of German farmers to occupy Southern Brazil in

order to thwart the Spanish threat. Meanwhile, due to the industrial revolution and other dramatic social changes taking place in Germany, farmers and other agricultural laborers were living in abject poverty; they were therefore easily tempted by the offer of land and financial support from the Brazilian government. In 1824, 126 families accepted the offer and sailed to Brazil. By 1829 the number of German-speaking immigrant families to southern Brazil had increased to 1,689 (Ziegler 30). Many came from southwestern Germany and specifically from a Rhine area called *Hunsrück*. Princess Therese von Bayern visited a colony called Rhenania which seemed to indicate that the immigrants arrived for the most part from the *Rheintal* (Therese 427). Others migrated from Switzerland, Austria, Pommerania, Hesse and Westphalia (Ziegler 16, 32).

Due to the chronology of these events, it is to be expected that significant accounts of encounters with German Brazilians would only appear in late nineteenth-century travelogues (Adalbert von Preussen, Ida Pfeiffer, Therese von Bayern, and Ina von Binzer).

1. Questioned Nostalgias

During an excursion in Rio Grande do Sul, Adalbert von Preussen and his team were hosted by a German, Wilhelm Eller, and his wife. Eller had migrated to Brazil in 1824 in that first large wave of German immigrants. He was originally from Darmstadt and his wife, whose name is never mentioned, from Bingen. They seemed to enjoy a romantic *Waldeinsamkeit* (also see Therese 334) in the tropics. Prince Adalbert painted a picture of very hospitable Germans who were still attached to their culture, language,

and memories of their homeland (Kletke 217, 316-317, 320-323, 327-328, 343, 348).

During one visit, the guests eagerly read through the family registry of their hosts:

“Nachdem man noch lange in dem interessanten Stammbuche des gastfreundlichen Wirthes gelesen hatte, zogen sich alle in ihre Schlafzimmer zurück” (Kletke 348).

[After reading the host’s long and interesting registry, they all retired to their bedrooms]. One of their hosts, Dr. Dennewiz, even affirmed holding pleasant memories of wars:

Der Nachbar ihres freundlichen Wirthes, Dr. Dennewiz, aus Wernigerode, der Nimrod der Gegend und Pastor Sauerbrunns Schwiegersohn von Neu-Friburgo, trat gleich in das Zimmer und setzte sich voller Freude zu ihnen. Tausend alte Erinnerungen aus der geliebten Heimat und aus den Kriegen tauchten in ihm auf. (Kletke 344)

[The neighbor of their friendly host, Dr. Dennewitz from Wernigerode, a great hunter of the region and also Pastor Sauerbrunn’s son-in-law from Novo Frieburgo, entered the room at once and joyfully sat among them. A thousand old memories of the beloved homeland and of the wars rose up in him].

This immigrant’s nostalgia had attained such intensity that he even put aside the negative aspects of war. German immigrants to Brazil in the nineteenth century seem to have had a very difficult experience in their new homeland, some to the point of hoping to return. However, Kletke’s text acknowledges that this is not always the case and that some had attained a comfortable life for themselves.

Prince Adalbert carefully identified the city or region of origin of his German hosts: “Darmstädter Dialekt” (316) [Dramstadt dialect]; “Heinrich Vogler aus Braunschweig” (317) [Heinrich Vogler from Braunschweig]; “die aus Bingen gebürtige Wirthin” (317) [the hostess who was born in Bingen]; “sein Vater, ein geborener Berliner” (321) [his father, from Berlin by birth]; “Der protestantische Priester, mit Namen Sauerbrunn, ist ein geborener Homburger” (323) [The protestant pastor, by the name of Sauerbrunn, was born in Homburg]. Apart from informing his readership of the geographical origins of his hosts, the prince was verbally affirming their connection with their original homelands. The fact that he did not simply identify them as Germans is a reflection of the historical context of his journey. Germany had not yet been united into the second empire.

In one scenario he was barely able to identify a youth’s German origin. The young guide only reluctantly spoke German when he accompanied the prince on a hunt for Brazilian birds. Prince Adalbert deduced from his accent that he was from the Rhine region, and deplored the parents’ failure to communicate their origins to the next generation. All the young man could tell the Prince about his parents’ homeland was that it was in Europe (321-322). In a reversal of fortune, he found the prince’s interest in local birds rather strange, expressing a preference for doves and blackbirds– in other words, European birds: “Amseln und Tauben seien ja viel schöner und seltener” (322)! [Blackbirds and doves were much nicer and rarer]. In the Novo Friburgo colony, he noticed that the use of German outside of the homes decreased considerably from one generation to another: “Es wird eben so viel deutsch als französich gesprochen; die Jugend bedient sich dagegen meist der portugiesischen Sprache, wenigstens ausser dem

Hause” (Kletke 323). [German is spoken as much as French; the youth speaks mostly Portuguese, at least outside of the home].

When Princess Therese von Bayern visited the same area about forty years later, she expressed the same concern, remarking, however, that despite this trend, Germans still held on to their language more than other immigrant groups (Therese 322) who spoke Latin-based languages such as French or Italian: “So rasch gehen bei diesen Leuten die Familienüberlieferungen verloren, so wenig sorgen die Eingewanderten dafür, dass unter ihren Nachkommen sich auch nur das dürftigste Wissen über ihr Abstammungsland erhalte” (Therese 419). [These people lose their family traditions so quickly, the immigrants make very little effort to transmit even an inkling of knowledge about their land of origin to their offspring].

The irony of this scene lies in the fact that Prince Adalbert and his entourage were being treated as ignorant foreigners by a much younger, therefore less experienced and less knowledgeable, individual who actually shared a common heritage with them. The young man seemed to have identified with Brazil in his initial reluctance to speak the language of his parents. This appeared to be a mirror moment for the travelers in this case. This alienation from Germany in the second generation seems to contradict the first generations enthusiastic yet superficial expressions of attachment to their *Vaterland* [fatherland]. Kletke inserts a commentary and even described them as “unsophisticated” (*bieder*) in one scenario:

Aus dem, was die Leute forderten, zeigte sich, dass sie auch hierin ebenso einfach und bieder geblieben waren, als wenn man in

Deutschland bei ihnen eingekehrt wäre. – Wie doch die Leute an Kleinigkeiten hängen; so fragten sie den Prinzen gleich: “ob das ein deutscher Stock sei,” und es that ihnen leid, dass er es nicht war, denn sie hatten ihn mit Freude in die Hand genommen. (Kletke 317)

[By their inquiries the people showed that they had remained as simple and unsophisticated as if one had visited them in Germany – How people attach such importance to petty things; they asked the prince right away whether “this was a German cane” and regretted that it was not because they had held in their hands it with such joy].

The hosts might have been in awe of the presence of royalty in their home, as this might not have occurred had they been in Germany. However, the German immigrants Prince Adalbert encountered in Brazil were not all uneducated farmers, as Ina von Binzer thought: “Die übrigen, hier ansässigen Deutschen sind fast alle ganz ungebildete Bauern” (Binzer 53). [The remaining Germans who have settled here are almost all uneducated farmers].

The German consul who accompanied the prince on his excursions in the interior of Brazil, Herr Theremin (Kletke 217), a skilled taxonomist husband and wife team, and at least two protestant ministers testify to the fact that intellectuals also counted among German immigrants to Brazil in the nineteenth century.

In two instances hosts tried to impress the prince with heroic tales of surviving the wilderness of the Amazons. A Swiss settler tells a story about a woman who heroically fended off a tiger³⁷ in the absence of her spouse:

Die interessanteste Begebenheit aber, die sie berichteten, betraf einen Act weiblichen Heldenmuths, welchen sie mit den lebhaftesten Farben schilderten. Vor nicht langer Zeit nämlich sollte eine Frau hier in der Nähe, während der Abwesenheit ihres Mannes, ihr Haus gegen einen Tiger vertheidigt haben. (Kletke 327-328)

[The most interesting account they gave, however, was about an act of female heroism which they described most vividly and colorfully.

Namely, it is said, that not so long ago and nearby, a woman was to have defended her house against a tiger in the absence of her husband].

Here it is difficult to discern if the commentary is by the prince or by the narrator (Kletke); however in describing their narration as ‘colorful’, the commentator seems to almost question the veracity of the occurrence. Perhaps the listeners perceived a measure of embellishment and exaggeration in the conveyance of the events. Maybe a nineteenth-century male reader would find it difficult to believe that a woman would be able to fend off a tiger. Or the story would have conveyed more importance and

³⁷ Since tigers do not belong to Brazilian fauna, the mention of one could be understood in two ways: The German-speaking narrator might have had a jaguar in mind, an animal native to Brazil (Comment by R. Igel). Both the tiger and jaguar are wild cats living in two distinct tropical areas. Calling a jaguar a tiger could be an ‘orientalism’ transposed upon Brazil. Another possibility is that the story might be rumor with no factual basis, with the originator including an animal that is not native to Brazil. Travel narrators had a reputation of including exaggerated adventurous episodes in their narratives in order to captivate the readership.

credibility had it been a jaguar that she had driven off rather than a tiger, which was usually associated with the ‘orient’.

Another instance involved a Swiss settler who told of having found a snake in his bed as if it were “an ordinary occurrence” (Kletke 344). These types of adventurous events often peppered up earlier European travelogues. Nineteenth-century German readership expected to find unfamiliar experiences in travelogues about the ‘tropics’. Ida Pfeiffer’s text even refers to this tendency:

Überhaupt pflegen viele Reisende in ihren Erzählungen sehr zu übertreiben; einerseits beschreiben sie oft Sachen, die sie oft selbst gar nicht gesehen haben und nur vom Hören-sagen kennen, andererseits statten sie die Erscheinungen, die ihnen wirklich vorkommen, mit etwas gar zu viel Phantasie aus. (123-124)

[Generally, many travelers tend to exaggerate in their travel narratives; on the one hand they often describe things, which they have not seen themselves, and only know through hear-say; on the other hand they embellish the things that really happened to them with far too much fantastic imagination].

While Pfeiffer also included an adventurous episode of an attempt on her life by a runaway slave, Binzer ironically expressed the hope of encountering some danger in order to entertain her reader with the narrative later on, since none of her initial impressions of Brazil confirmed her expectations: “Nun, hoffen wir, daß das Geschick ein Einsehen hat und mich noch in eine recht gefährliche Situation geraten läßt [...]

aber so, daß ich sie Dir nachher noch beschreiben kann" (Binzer 7). [Now let's hope that my destiny has the presence of mind to lead me into a quite dangerous situation [...] but in such a way that I would be able to describe it to you afterwards]. The 'colorfully' conveyed story of the heroine recounted above seems to entail both of these tendencies: it is a story that was experienced through hear-say; or the 'colorful' details could have resulted from the narrators' embellishments. Both the prince and Kletke might have had little faith in a nineteenth-century German woman's ability to withstand such danger.

These shorter narratives encompassed by a larger one add a third level of narration that mirrors the interaction between the readership and Kletke's text: Europeans or Germans in particular narrating Brazil to other Europeans or Germans. Ida Pfeiffer's narrative includes one such instance, when her life was threatened by an angry black slave on an isolated road. Kletke created a contrast between the desire to impress on the part of the settlers encountered by emphasizing 'exotic' danger and Prince Adalbert's credibility through his apparent distance from the subject matter. In summary, Prince Adalbert's narrative represents German immigrants in the variety of their German origins. Although some regret their decision to migrate, others seem to have adapted well to their new environment while maintaining a strong attachment to their homelands. This fondness for Germany was not evident in the second generation, however.

2. Immigration and the Second Empire

Ida Pfeiffer traveled to Brazil in 1847, five years after the Prussian prince did, and she had a very different impression of German immigration to Brazil. One of her first impressions upon arriving in Rio de Janeiro was the sad experience of a German laundry maid who spent her savings on the journey to join her husband in their new homeland, only to find out that, after squandering their fortune and incurring much debt, the tailor had disappeared with his mistress who happened to be of African descent (Pfeiffer 28). Pfeiffer witnessed the experience of Germans who immigrated independently of the Brazilian government. Along with government envoys, private companies began to recruit immigrants in Germany for Brazil. Many responded to these invitations not knowing that they would not enjoy the same government support upon their arrival for having migrated privately to the new country (Pfeiffer 55-56). Pfeiffer perceived them to be hardly better off than slaves in Brazil (55): “Es gibt in Europa Leute, die um kein Haar besser sind als die afrikanischen Sclavenhändler, Leute, die den Armen allerlei vorspielen von dem Überflusse an Naturprodukten daselbst, und von dem Mangel an Arbeitern” (55). [There are people in Europe, who are no better than African slavetraders, people who betray the poor with all kinds of untruths about an overabundance of natural products and a lack of laborers].

Such immigrants came upon hardships in Brazil; firstly, because they did not have access to support from the government; secondly, because the job market was flooded with freed slaves by the time they arrived in the former Portuguese colony (56). Although she briefly acknowledged the different circumstances of those recruited by the government:

Anders geht es jenen, die von der brasilianischen Regierung zum Anbaue des Landes, zu Kolonisierungen berufen werden; diese bekommen ein Stück Wald, Lebensmittel und auch sonstige Unterstützungen; kommen sie aber ganz ohne Geld, so ist auch deren Los nicht beneidenswerth.

(56)

[Things are different for those who are called on to colonization, to cultivate the land by the Brazilian government; they receive a parcel of wooded land, supplies, and also other support; however, if they arrive without any money, their end is still not to be coveted].

All in all, Ida Pfeiffer described German immigration to Brazil as an unfortunate occurrence, one which, as lure of the capital city Rio de Janeiro did, promised much but delivered very little. In her estimation this was the case whether or not one was invited by Brazilian officials: “Möge doch jeder, ehe er sein Vaterland verlässt, genau sich zu unterrichten suchen; möge er lange und reiflich überlegen und sich nicht von trügerischen Hoffnungen hinreissen lassen” (Pfeiffer 56). [One should seek to inform oneself thoroughly before leaving one’s fatherland. One should consider it at length and thoroughly, and not allow oneself to be swept away by false hope].

Ida Pfeiffer’s narrative betrays its own negative bias against German immigration to Brazil by revealing at least two immigrant cases with, at least seemingly, positive ends. An older woman, who had sailed with her to join her only son in Brazil, looked younger from the joy of having reached her destination (7, 73).

Pfeiffer's experience with Herr and Frau Best in Novo Friburgo³⁸ (owners of an extensive animal collection and of a successful boys' school) seems to indicate that their experience in Brazil had been a somewhat successful one (Pfeiffer 81), and that not all German immigrants were duped poor farmers.

An interesting point to make here is that Pfeiffer's narrative does not identify the specific regional origins of German immigrants, as is the case in Kletke's text (Pfeiffer 80-81). In 1848 Germany was not yet a united empire, but unification and democracy were certainly part of the public discourse, with the *klein-* and *großdeutsche Lösung* [small and greater German solution]³⁹ as main considerations. Pfeiffer did not differentiate herself as an Austrian from other German speakers she encountered. This was perhaps an indication of a possible identification with the greater German solution, which signified a unified Germany including Austria.

Princess Therese von Bayern, on the other hand, although not as consistently as Prince Adalbert, did, in some cases, identify immigrants by their regional origins (Therese 322, 323, 362). As a matter of fact, she ironically conveyed an encounter with an Italian speaking immigrant who vehemently held on to his Austrian origins, refusing to pursue Brazilian citizenship (322). A footnote in the text explains that a decree had been passed, that would spontaneously naturalize all immigrants residing in Brazil by a certain date. The young man (unknowingly) therefore was about to lose his Austrian affiliation officially, which he seemed already to have lost linguistically.

³⁸ While Novo Friburgo was originally a French Swiss colony founded in 1820, Petropolis was a German colony settled in 1845 (Therese 419). It was placed on a high altitude for the cultivation of European produce, in order to supply Rio de Janeiro's European population with familiar fruit and vegetables. The royal family also maintained a residence in the center of the city (Pfeiffer 73).

³⁹ The [small and great German solutions] were two unification options considered in the nineteenth century, with the former excluding Austria and the latter including it.

For the most part, however, Princess Therese's travelogue does not differentiate between the regional origins of Germans in Brazil (Therese 38, 55, 87, 362):

- “In Nazareth endlich suchten wir in patriotischen Gefühlen einen halbblinden deutschen Priester auf” (38) ... [Finally, in Nazareth, we sought out a half-blind German priest out of patriotic sentiments].
- “Bei den hiesigen Deutschen ist uns ein äusserst freundliches Entgegenkommen zuteil geworden” (55). [We were helped in the friendliest way among the Germans here].
- “Unter den hiesigen Europäern finden wir ziemlich viele Deutsche” (87). [There are quite a number of Germans among the Europeans here].

Even when the Princess identified regional differences, it was only later to identify with the individuals nationally:

In der Fazenda fanden wir aber, trotz unseres wenig empfehlenwerthen Aussehens, bei unseren deutschen Landsleuten gastliche Aufnahme. Ausser dem Preussen lebten daselbst noch dessen Schwester and der Mann derselben, ein Hamburger. Das Haus trug den Stempel der Sauberkeit und muthete uns Allen heimatlich an. (362)

[In the *Fazenda*, in spite of our our less than desirable appearances, we enjoyed the hospitality of our German co-citizens. Apart from the Prussian, his sister and her husband, a man from Hamburg lived there. The house was marked with cleanliness and made us all feel at home].

By the time Princess Therese traveled to Brazil in 1888, Germany had been united under one flag and one Prussian emperor – excluding Austria. Germans were now expected to identify first with each other nationally even if they still valued their regional differences.

Her perception of German immigration to Brazil was much more positive than Pfeiffer's (Therese 287). She acknowledged the difficulties faced by sponsored and unsponsored immigrants, such as unfavorable choices of land and usury work contracts with Brazilian landowners; she, however, drew favorable conclusions about the entire project:

(S)o lässt sich sagen, daß im Grossen und Ganzen, die in Brasilien Eingewanderten bei vernünftiger Lebensweise und einigem Fleisse ihr mindestens bescheidenes Fortkommen haben. Die besser Gestellten können sogar jährlich einige tausend Mark zurücklegen. (Therese 287)

[Therefore one could say that all in all, immigrants to Brazil are at least slowly making progress through reasonable lifestyles and hard work. The better off are even able to save a few thousand Marks].

The princess was impressed with the European or German ambience of the German colony, and noticed that German was spoken everywhere in Petropolis. Both Catholic and Protestant confessions, historically the two dominant faiths in Germany, were represented, indicating a presence of northern and southern Germans (Therese 419). She maintained the stereotype of Germans being blond: “Sobald man einem blondhaarigen Menschen begegnet, kann man ihn getrost mit dem heimatlichen ‘Guten Tag’ anreden“

(Therese 419). [Any blond person one encounters can be comfortably addressed with the familiar ‘Guten Tag’].

While Princess Therese experienced Petropolis as a predominantly German colony, Ina von Binzer perceived it as a more cosmopolitan environment, although the linguistic samples she offered in her narrative seem to indicate otherwise:

Petropolis ist auch schon lange keine rein deutsche Kolonie mehr wie es ursprünglich war. Es wohnen hier Kolonisten aus aller Herren Länder, und man hört alle Sprachen, unter welchen mir ein Kauderwelsch von Neger-Portuguiesisch und Plattdeutsch am besten gefällt: ‘Kiek mal, ob dat noch schuwet (regnet)’ – Esperen (warten) Se mal en beten’ – Ich kann ainda (noch) nicht’, und der gleichen hört man viel. (Binzer 53-54)

[Petropolis is also no longer a purely German colony as it initially was. Colonialists from all colonizing countries live here, every language is spoken; among them, I enjoy a mixture of Negro-Portuguese and *Plattdeutsch* the most: one hears a lot of ‘Kiek mal, ob dat noch schuwet (regnet)’ – Esperen (warten) Se mal en beten’ – Ich kann ainda (noch) nicht’, and such].

Ina von Binzer’s stay in Brazil was not marked by substantial interaction with German immigrants, although her narrative is sprinkled with evidence of their substantial presence in the former colony. While the other travelers seem to have enjoyed exceptional hospitality from German Brazilians, this was not Binzer’s experience for the most part (49). The longest account of any interaction with a German person (41-45)

humorously narrates the visit of a rather neurotic professor visiting Brazil for research purposes. I will revisit this instance in the next chapter.

3. Intersecting Triangulations

In their roles as colonizers, German immigrants to Brazil stood at the intersection of two triangulations (Sieg and Zantop): Portuguese colonizers– German immigrants–Brazilian Subalterns, as well as German travelers– German immigrants– Portuguese colonizers. In the first scenario, most of the immigrants stepped into the role of ‘surrogate’ colonizers representing the Portuguese in the territories they were assigned to; they even transmitted their language to their African slaves and servants for a time (Ziegler 34). In the second scenario, as a theatre audience witnesses actors addressing each other in playing various roles, German travelers to Brazil witnessed this surrogacy, but painted a more complex picture of the German immigration experience in Brazil. Indeed, some who had made the journey uninvited by the Brazilian government and, without adequate funding, joined a higher category of subalterns than the native populations and the African slaves, but were described as subalterns nonetheless due to economic hardships.

In some ways they were a mirror to the travelers, who identified with them as people of German descent, regardless of class or region. They were a possible answer to the question of what if Germans had colonized Brazil. However, the travelers were often surprised by the image reflected back to them. It is in this crossroad between ‘same’ and ‘other’ that I find the travelers gazing at the uncanny, according to Freud,

that which is the same as the self but at the same time surprisingly different (134). The uncanny in this scenario could refer to the fact that German immigrants to Brazil came for the most part from the lowest echelons of society. They were the type of people with whom the travelers in this study most likely would never have interacted. One of the byproducts of the industrial revolution in Europe was the growing number of people living in abject poverty within the cities. Certainly, members of the nobility like Prince Adalbert and Princess Therese would not have interacted with these individuals. The weakest members of society could be described as the repressed members of society—those who lived out of sight in slums, behind the walls of industries factories, and in the guilty subconscious of the wealthier classes. In Freud's essay, the uncanny occurs when the repressed appears in the open (147). In Brazil, middle class and wealthy German travelers came face to face with members of the repressed classes of German society, those who, perhaps, represent a failure of their nation, an idea that would have been suppressed to the darkest confines of the subconscious during the Second German Empire.

Although the immigrants expressed great enthusiasm about their German origins, their credibility seemed to be challenged by their failure to transmit this patriotism to their offspring. For instance, the greatest evidence of this loss was the marked decrease in the use of their own language outside of the homes from one generation to another. The travelers seem to question their patriotism in underscoring this occurrence. The permanent presence of Germans in the tropics seemed to question the German attachment to the *Vaterland*. Ida Pfeiffer found it difficult to fathom any

hardship great enough to cause any German to leave her or his beloved Fatherland (74) for such a foreign place as Brazil.

Based on the travelers' response to German immigrants to Brazil, one could deduce the following understanding of German identity: a white, blond, ambitious, courageous, and hardworking male or female subject with a strong attachment to Germany, one who is not inclined to depart from his or her fatherland. Among the German immigrants in Brazil, German travelers to Brazil encountered social classes from which they were shielded by their own social class. They were for the most part surprised by the decision to leave Germany in the era of nationalism and at times suspicious of their patriotism. Their responses were ultimately determined by their social location or class after an initial patriotic identification with German speakers in the tropics.

The question of gender is another important facet of national identity. Many contributions have been made addressing this aspect of the discourse on German nationhood. In the last segment of this chapter will raise the question in the hope of encouraging further research in this direction.

D. Gender and Nationalism: Women in Brazil

It would be a great oversight not to address at least briefly the description of Brazilian women in nineteenth-century German travel texts. A thorough study would require the consideration of at least five categories of women: Portuguese, African,

native, biracial and other European women. One could search for any discernable trends or differences in the responses of male and female travelers to the women in the contact zone, for instance. Therefore the last segment of this chapter will comment on a few responses to nineteenth-century Brazilian women in the selected travel narratives.

1. Familiar Commentaries

Laura Fishman's essay, "French Views of Native American Women in the Early Modern Era: The Tupinamba of Brazil", unmask a common intention to criticize European women through descriptions of native American women in early modern narratives about Brazil by French travelers (65-78) such as Jean de Léry, Claude d'Abbeville, and Yves d'Evreux. Fishman's text finds a common focus on the division of labor along gender lines which are described with a distinct misogynist slant in all three narratives of her study. Their misogyny, however, according to Fishman, was aimed at European women of their day. In painting a rather ideal image of native American women, the travelers actually lauded attributes that they perceived as lacking in French women. My study discusses the impressions of men and women travelers of a later period. Another important resource in this discussion is June E. Hahner's Women through Women's Eyes (1998). The introduction affirms that "(d)espite their (gender) differences [...] foreign observers had much in common. They were still outsiders" (xvi). Despite their shared outsider status in Brazil the texts still show differences in their responses to women in Brazil.

The portrayal of native women will be addressed in the next chapter; however, I will here include a discussion that examines some inferences about German femininity through these texts. A brief description of the position of women in Brazil should inform an understanding of these descriptions.

In researching the history of Brazilian women, two volumes by Mary Del Priore stand out as valuable resources on the subject: While Mulheres no Brasil Colonial (Women in Colonial Brazil, 2000) is a concise description of the lives of women in a specific point in history, História das Mulheres no Brasil (History of Women in Brazil, 1997) is a more comprehensive effort that comprises contributions from several specialists on various periods of Brazilian history. Another text by June Hahner, Emmancipating the Female Sex (1990), examines the struggle for women's rights which began in the second half of the nineteenth century in Brazil and reached a high point with the success of the suffrage movement in the 1930's. The text focuses on urban centers and agricultural and mining settlements which would by default center the observations on women of Portuguese and/or African descent to the exclusion of Native American women. Princess Therese von Bayern had noticed the absence of native populations in Rio de Janeiro, a manifestation of either their massacre or their banishment to remote areas or religious camps. Both of Del Priore's texts, on the other hand, begin with a chapter on native American women.

It is important to note that the literacy rate among women in Brazil was considerably lower than among their counterparts in Germany; this resulted in far fewer private written documentation of their lives, private letters or diaries, when compared to the nineteenth-century culture of letters among women in Germany, for instance.

Historians today find themselves depending mostly on travel narratives (mostly by male European travelers who usually superficially addressed the lives of Brazilian women, if at all) and archived official documents to reconstruct the past lives of Brazilian women (Del Piore 3-4).

The stereotypical Brazilian woman in the nineteenth century was represented as a young white woman who had married into a wealthy patriarchal system at an early age. “She developed into an indolent, passive creature, kept at home, who bore numerous children and abused the Negro slaves” (Hahner 1). Ina von Binzer’s text gives an example of a vivacious mistress who regularly terrorized her slaves (10). Therese von Bayern described with much disdain Brazilian women who suffered from sea-sickness as they sailed to Maranhão. She expressed that they had surrendered to the disease with the “lack of energy that characterizes the Brazilian woman”, even accusing them of first psychologically relenting to the sickness (182). Princess Therese refers back to this stereotype during a visit to a convent hospital, in which Brazilian nuns served among numerous French nurses: “Letztere sollen sich, trotz der brasilianischen Mädchen und Frauen gewöhnlich innewohnenden Indolenz und Energielosigkeit, ganz gut zu diesem entsagungsvollen Berufe eignen” (412). [The former seem to do well in this sacrificial profession, in spite of the laziness and lack of energy usually and deeply rooted in Brazilian women and girls]. Regardless of this example of hardworking disciplined Brazilian women, the princess still perpetuated the stereotype of laziness.

I find it important to note that the lifestyles described in the travel narratives might pertain to only a small segment of the Brazilian women. According to Maria del Priore, the sequestered lifestyle applied only to wealthy wives living in the north-east of

Brazil (15). Her volume on the history of women in colonial Brazil, Mulheres no Brasil Colonial (2000), speaks of a very dynamic and independent group of less wealthy Brazilian women of Portuguese descent (14).

A julgar pela documentação de época, muitas delas tinham origem humilde, viviam de suas costuras, de seu comércio, de sua horta e lavouras, faziam pão, fiavam sedas, lavam e tingiam panos, se prostituíam. Outras tantas eram proprietárias de escravos ou casadas com funcionários da coroa portuguesa. (Del Priore 14)

[Judging from the documentation of the time, many of them came from humble beginnings, [and] made a living from their sewing, trading, their gardening, and labor, they baked bread, wove silk washed, and dyed cloth, and practiced prostitution. Others were also slave owners or married to employees of the Portuguese crown].

Many of them were single mothers and heads of households responsible for the needs of an extended family. This description does not match the profile offered by German travelers to Brazil.

Hahner and Del Priore (73) agree that narratives by European male travelers were instrumental in creating this stereotype of the young, lazy, well-to-do Brazilian woman who was worn out by multiple childbirths. As the examples above show, I found the women travelers featured in this project also complicit in the perpetuation of these ideas.

In any case, women in Brazil, whether in high society or in humbler circles, seemed to lead sequestered lives and subject to the authority of their fathers or husbands, much like women in Europe in the nineteenth century. They were not often seen in public unaccompanied or unveiled. Their lives were regulated for the most part by patriarchal laws and the Catholic Church. Social restraints imposed upon nineteenth-century Portuguese-Brazilian women might have contributed to their reputation as unenergetic women. Their lack of power in a patriarchal social order might have led some Portuguese women to affirm their authority by dealing harshly with their slaves.

Ina von Binzer's text, the result of her experience as a governess in wealthy Brazilian families, offers a closer look at the domestic realm and a more complex image of privileged Brazilian women, despite the overarching patronizing tone of her narrative. I would like to examine more closely the example mentioned above. In one instance she reports:

Madame Rameiro liegt auch manchmal in der Hängematte, [...] aber sie ist eine etwas lebhaftere Dame, sie hält es nie lange darin aus, und wenn ihre Energie erwacht, etwa ob einer schlechten Naht einer derer mit den Bambuskörben, so höre ich sie im Schulzimmer (was hörte ich da nicht!) die Negerinnen anfeuern durch Wörter, die merkwürdigerweise eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit haben mit recht kräftigen heimischen Schimpfwörtern. (10)

[Mrs. Rameiro also lies down in the hammock sometimes, [...] but she is a somewhat animated lady, she never endures staying in it very long, and

when her energy is stirred, say because of a bad seam of one of those with the bamboo baskets, I then hear her in the school room (what haven't I heard there!) shouting at negresses with words that sound remarkably similar to very strong familiar swear-words].

Here, Binzer offers a first-hand account of a private domestic moment. In this instance Mrs. Rameiro did not fulfill the stereotype of the unenergetic Brazilian woman; she displayed, however, the harshness discussed above toward her slaves.

Social pressures were exacerbated by the double standard applied to men and women in the area of acceptable behavior. Rules that regulated among other things their sexual behavior and supposedly protected women from the sexual aggression of men, seemed to secretly facilitate these same transgressions in the private realms (Hahner 1). As a result of such pressures the abandoning of infants, many of them born under socially unaccepted circumstances, was a frequent social occurrence in nineteenth century Brazil⁴⁰. The arrival of the royal family in 1808 also loosened the social rules concerning women and later German travelers to Brazil saw more aristocratic women on the streets of Rio de Janeiro than their predecessors. The above mentioned stereotype would, of course, almost exclusively apply to wealthy Brazilian women of Portuguese descent. Research shows that social norms and pressures differed by geography, race, and class⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Venâncio Renato Pinto elaborates on the question of motherhood in nineteenth-century Brazil in his essay, "Maternidade negada," found in *História das Mulheres no Brasil*, volume edited by Mary Del Priore (Repensando a História. São Paulo: Contexto, 1997).

⁴¹ Please refer to Hahner, Del Priore and Diaz for a more thorough explanation of the lives of nineteenth-century Brazilian women.

2. Considerations of Class

Prince Adalbert and Princess Therese, as royalty, had access to the Portuguese royal family, a privilege that obviously was not afforded to the other travelers. Both narratives include descriptions of the women in the royal family. The prince's remarks about the king's sisters are limited to their outward appearances (Kletke 242). The empress is described as neither "particularly attractive" nor "majestic looking" because of her slight height, yet of "noble spirit", and "having won the hearts of many" through her "sincere" and "unlimited generosity" (Therese 409-410); and the crown princess is praised as a lovely, uncomplicated, natural, and friendly creature, who is intellectually gifted and logical (413). The stereotypes don't apply in this context, resulting perhaps from identifying with the Braganças as royalty. In their narratives, the royal family belongs to a category outside of Brazilian society. Prince Adalbert was even careful to mention the blond hair of the king and his siblings. Ina von Binzer and Ida Pfeiffer, as commoners, accentuated the Brazilian traits of the emperor and his family.

There were fewer constraints on the behavior of lower class women which included not only free and enslaved women of African descent, but also impoverished – and yet slave-owning – white women as well (Del Priore 2000). Although much more can be said about the lives of these women, I would like to raise two points that will help create a context for the description of Brazilian women in the travel narratives featured here: the prevalence of single mothers as heads of households in a patriarchal context and the visibility of black women as street vendors and their implication for society. Wars, expeditions, and colonial attempts in this vast country left a significant number of middle to lower class white women behind as heads of households towards

the middle of the nineteenth century. These women were either widowed or simply left to raise children born out of wedlock. Many of them survived on the margins of society as street vendors. The absence of poor white Brazilian women from the travel narratives is due to the fact that most European travelers to Brazil came in contact with the higher echelons of society (Hahner, Women through Women's Eyes xix).

Among the Africans brought over to be sold into slavery women were not favored, and twice as many men were purchased by slaveholders than women with the belief that men would be more productive workers. I was surprised to learn that, in the midst of the restrictions and violations entailed in slavery, certain women slaves were allowed by their masters or mistresses to roam the streets of the cities as vendors in exchange for a percentage of their sales to be paid at the end of each day. This afforded them a limited amount of freedom and social influence. Some have even been known to carry information for runaway slaves (Dias). One could assume that it is the sight and number of these vendors that surprised and at times even shocked German travelers to Brazil upon their arrival in Rio de Janeiro.

3. Aesthetic Considerations

Earlier on in this section the common perspective of outsiders in Brazil shared by the different German travelers discussed in this dissertation was in question. One common tendency I encountered in my reading is primarily either a clear negative or a positive aesthetic response to them (Therese 229-230, 409; Kletke 242, 259; Langsdorff 31; Pfeiffer 34). This aesthetic evaluation of women, and at times men, in Brazil is a

remnant of an eighteenth century conviction that there was a connection between the physical attributes of a human being and his or her inner character. An article by Susanne Zantop entitled “The Beautiful, the Ugly, and the German”, contradicts the widespread perception of biological racism’s roots emphasizing Darwinism in the late nineteenth century. The text accentuates that, although Darwin and his contemporaries might have contributed significantly to this school of thought, the discourse held by German intellectuals of the eighteenth century entailed bold racist beliefs that were widely published and influential. The writings of Christoph Meiners⁴² (1747-1810), a philosophy professor in Göttingen made sweeping generalizations in an attempt to categorize human beings according to their physical traits such as skin color and height.⁴³ Meiners described all people of color as ugly and therefore inferior in culture and character to the “beautiful” Europeans (Zantop, “The Beautiful” 23). It is interesting to note that this understanding of beauty, attached with a value judgment toward the person described, is duplicated in travel narratives discussed here for the most part. Princess Therese of Bayern is the only traveler who describes black women as beautiful:

⁴² Christoph Meiners (1747-1810) was a German philosopher and anthropologist who coined the term “Caucasian”. In his *Grundriß der Menschheit* (1785), he attempted to categorize human beings into a hierarchy, ascribing value and aesthetic judgments to the physical attributes ascribed to each race, as defined by him. Meiners did not believe in a common origin for all human beings. He believed in two distinct original human races – Caucasians and Mongolians – classifying Caucasians races as morally, aesthetically, and physically superior to all other races considered of Mongolian origins. According to Meiners “the world is, in fact, constituted by only two kinds of humans: the culturally superior, ‘beautiful’ ones – the Europeans – and all others who are ‘mongolized’ to varying degrees and hence ‘ugly’ and inferior – Asians, Africans, Americans. “All of Meiners’ subsequent publications are variations on the same theme” (Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 23). Meiners was one of the first to attempt such a categorization of races according to physical attributes. Others were philosopher Immanuel Kant and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach.

⁴³ Swiss theologian and poet, Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801) was an influential philosopher during the late eighteenth century. He became famous through his *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775-1778), an illustrated collection of essays linking physical attributes with human character. Christoph Meiners, a contemporary of Lavater’s, shared this belief in the connection between the two, relating race to national character.

An Bord hatten wir unter anderen Schwarzen auch Minasnegerinnen, diese für Bahia typischen Erscheinungen. Es sind eine Art schöne Frauen, gross und kräftig von schokoladebrauner Hautfarbe und mit je drei Querschnitten auf der Wange tätowirt, zuweilen mit ebensolchen auf den Oberarmen. (229)

[Among other blacks there were negro women from Minas Gerais, a typical occurrence in Bahia. They were women with a type of beauty, tall, strong and with chocolate brown skin, and with three crosslines tattooed each on their cheeks and on their arms].

Generally speaking, the stereotype of the lazy and unenergetic housewife, who took out her frustrations on her slaves, seems to be perpetuated in narratives by travelers who were exposed to domestic life for an extended amount of time (Pfeiffer, Binzer); this of course, would exclude most male travelers. Del Priore's text discusses the complexities of motherhood in colonial Brazil in a chapter, "Ser mãe na colônia" [Motherhood in the colony]. Del Priore's work explains that Portuguese women married at a very young age as did their counterparts in Europe; she refutes, however, the perception of the large family as the norm of the time.

As a medical doctor, Langsdorff took an interest in the causes of high infant mortality and birthing practices in Brazil and discovered an arena in which women exercised some control over their bodies (60-61): wealthy Brazilian women nursed their children themselves – rather than using a wet nurse. They also chose to nurse them longer than was customary in Europe in order to prevent another pregnancy. Based on

the customs of the day, one could read this choice as a hardship on the wealthy mother; however, the justification given by Langsdorff suggests an attempt by women to control their reproductive health by limiting the number of children they bore.

Apart from Langsdorff's discussion of childbearing in the context of his medical interests, the men travelers discussed here had have very little, if anything at all, to say about Brazilian women; this, I find, is an extension or expression of the marginalization of women in German society that was being confronted by the rising women's movements they left behind. Princess Therese's account bridged the gap between the texts by men and women. While her report emphasizes the narration of events, illustrating them with picturesque descriptions of landscapes and people, it maintained an apparent distance from the subjects. Her narrative does not include domestic scenes as it is inevitably the case in Ina von Binzer's text. However, women, as a part of her experience in Brazil, do appear significantly in her account.

In conclusion: travelogues of nineteenth-century Germans in Brazil offered a partial representation of women in Brazil. Generally speaking, they were rather superficially and fleetingly described in narratives by men, who as scientists – as all of the men were – focused on exploring the Amazons and conveying their contributions to various fields of research (botany, anthropology, etc.) Native American women had a place in these texts as one aspect of their principal motivation for traveling: discovering native peoples of America. Narratives by women by default could only include more in depth descriptions of Brazilian women. Yet despite commonalities, their responses were colored by their social class and their position in Brazilian society. Slaves and free people of African descent captured the gaze of most German travelers because, in

addition to the landscape, they were the most unfamiliar aspect of Brazil to them. Privileged women also found representation in German travelogues, although they were filtered through negative stereotypes of the time. Women on the lower echelons of society – the poor white and free black women – remained invisible; this can be explained by the fact that most travelers would hardly ever come in contact with these members of Brazilian society (Hahner). Altogether these travel texts paint a picture of women at the top and bottom extremes of Brazilian society.

Based on the portrayal of the privileged, Brazilian women were described as frail, plain in appearance, and lazy despite certain exceptions (nuns, for example), and as having little power in their daily lives. Yet they took steps to gain some control over their bodies and surroundings: breastfeeding their children and becoming authoritarian mistresses in their households, for example; they otherwise led rather sequestered lives and were subservient to their husbands and fathers. Black women slaves were seen as loud, dirty, and aggressive. In agreement with German race theories dating back to the eighteenth century, they were described as being ugly in most cases. What do these perceptions infer about nineteenth-century German travelers and their view of German women?

As mentioned earlier, I find the almost nonexistent representation of women in certain travel texts by men as an expression of their refusal to see women as significant members of society even in their home lands. However, in contrast to Brazilian women they would be judged beautiful according to their standards (in other words blond, tall, and of good health). Although of arguable heroism, they would be strong, energetic, and free. They would also have attributes perceived in the royal family: they would be

intellectually gifted, very generous, and of noble character. Patricia Herminhouse and Magda Mueller's introduction to the volume entitled Gender and Germanness (1997), "Looking for Germania" (1-16), evokes the allegorical figure of a woman named Germania which was instrumental in nineteenth-century imaginations of a united German empire. According to Herminhouse and Mueller, after serving emancipatory and uniting tendencies until 1870 (3), Germania came to represent a "warrior virgin (Valkyre)" and an all-"embracing" (6) mother. In considering the characteristics noted above, a composite of Germania can be recognized. While some of the travelers seem to have been "looking for Germania" in their travels to Brazil, others might have been avoiding her altogether, resisting the representation of Germany by a female image.⁴⁴

This chapter attempted to read nineteenth-century German travelers' 'pursuit of Germania' as a united and perhaps colonizing nation in their gaze upon three aspects of Brazil. In representing Rio de Janeiro, they were challenged in their understanding of a metropolis. In their encounters with German immigrants they wrestled with the location of national identity, and, finally, in gazing upon Brazilian women, some looked passed them while others reconstructed Germania in their responses to them.

⁴⁴ The representation of Germany as a woman was highly contested in the nineteenth-century, even by Bismarck (Herminhouse and Mueller 6).

Chapter V: *Wissenschaft*, Race and Nationhood

In the nineteenth century, research/scholarship (*Wissenschaft*) experienced significant changes under the impact of considerable social and political movements of the time. As mentioned earlier, all but one of the journeys examined in here study were undertaken for research purposes. The fact that, regardless of their primary fields of investigation, the travelers featured in my study all included anthropological contributions in their narratives, speaks to the growing interest in anthropology in nineteenth-century Germany. Therefore, the following discussion of *Wissenschaft* will draw attention to this field because it was a common interest of the travelers. This chapter will continue in three sections. It will begin with a discussion of the scientific context within which journeys to Brazil were undertaken in nineteenth-century Germany. Then it will examine responses to blacks in Brazil and to slavery in the context of German ideas on race. In a forum contribution entitled “Beyond Eurocentrism” (2005) Sara Lennox challenged critics to include an examination of ‘race’ questions in any analysis of constructed German identities (518). In general, the travelers’ observations of black Brazilians seemed to come more from a political perspective than from an anthropological standpoint. This was probably because Africans were as native to Brazil as people of Portuguese descent. Examples for this portion of the project will come from Ina von Binzer, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Ida Pfeiffer’s texts and the report of the Novara frigate from Austria. Responses to Brazilian Indians as represented in travel texts by Ida Pfeiffer, Adalbert von Preussen, Therese von Bayern, Maximilian von Wied, and by Karl von den Steinen will be the subject of the third and last section of this chapter. I will identify various manifestations

of triangulations and reflect on their contributions to the construction of a German national subject.

A. Anthropology as *Wissenschaft*

German-speaking travelers to Brazil were participants in a trend that is specific to nineteenth-century Germany: the popularization of *Wissenschaft*. Empiricism, under the influence of scientific efforts from Great Britain and France, began to permeate all scholarly activity, especially the life sciences, establishing as a universal scientific value the testing of traditional texts and concepts through empirical experience (Liebersohn, Daum).⁴⁵ For my purposes, I would like to focus on the developments within the field of anthropology and ethnology.⁴⁶ A study by Andreas Daum on the popularization of *Wissenschaft* in nineteenth-century Germany considers ethnology and anthropology to be marginal, to essentially a benefit to the life sciences such as zoology and botany which were often the main motivation to travel.⁴⁷ I will now take a closer look at the development of cultural and physical anthropology in Germany.

An article by Harry Liebersohn, “Anthropology before Anthropology” (Kuklick, *A New History of Anthropology* 2008; 17-31) summarizes a history of western anthropology from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, locating its origins in the

⁴⁵ Andreas W. Daum’s text, *Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert* (1998) offers a more comprehensive discussion of this topic. The focus is on life sciences (biology, zoology, botany, etc.) with marginal consideration of ethnology and anthropology.

⁴⁶ See Chapter II of this study for a discussion of Adolf Bastian as an instrumental figure in the establishment of ethnology as a field.

⁴⁷ David Cahan’s *From Natural Philosophy to the Sciences* (2003) and John Theodore Merz’s *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Vol I) (1965) are other valuable sources on the history of science in Europe.

field of archeology. His discussion points to the tension between two trends, “the Renaissance era, characterized by a tension between inherited texts and [actual] new-world experiences” and “the Enlightenment era characterized by the tension between the newly acquired knowledge of the Pacific and conventional notions of reason” (19). In other words, by the eighteenth century textual authority gave way to reason as the only reliable tool in the pursuit of knowledge. However, in the context of anthropology, the infallibility of human reason in the pursuit of knowledge was “tested against the experiences of new generations of travelers” (25). Western anthropologists questioned the traditional or biblical explanations of the common origin of human beings; they relied increasingly on empirical experience to test the veracity or reliability of widespread convictions and hypotheses on the subject. The texts discussed in this chapter are located chronologically in a period subsequent to these eras: in the nineteenth century abstract ideas developed through notions of reason inherited from the Enlightenment era clashed with empirical observations acquired in the Pacific region in the context of rising nationalism and other related ideologies.

According to H. Glenn Penny’s “Traditions in the German Language” (*A New History of Anthropology* 2008), the development of German anthropology took a unique trajectory due to the political atmosphere of the nineteenth century (“German Traditions” 79): “Nineteenth-century German anthropology and ethnology were self-consciously liberal endeavors, however, guided by a broadly humanistic agenda and centered on efforts to document the plurality and historical specificity of cultures” (Bunzl and Penny 1). More specifically, two characteristics set German anthropology apart from the field in other European countries: first, not as in France and Great

Britain, anthropology did not evolve in a centralized manner and was driven by competitive ambition among various German principalities and kingdoms. Since Germany did not unify into a single empire until 1870, numerous anthropological organizations came into existence in the various German states competing with each other for the best collections and museums. Larger kingdoms such as Prussia, Bavaria, and Austria had the resources to overshadow most other efforts. Even after unification in 1870 there were complaints about Prussia hoarding the acquisitions of expeditions in its Berlin museums instead of distributing duplicates to other centers as they were expected expected (Penny, “Traditions” 89).⁴⁸

The second aspect of German anthropology that sets it apart from that of other nations is the fact that it was housed primarily in museums and not in major universities. “Museums, not universities, became the dominant institutional setting for the ethnographic sciences, which thus focused on material culture, extensive collecting, and salvage anthropology” (Penny 80).

This localizing of anthropological sciences outside of universities is a direct result of the popularization of the sciences. Three related trends led to this change in nineteenth century Germany: the wide spread acceptance of the scientific method⁴⁹ as a universal approach to acquiring knowledge, the creation of scientific associations, and the establishment of museums to accommodate the research conducted by many of these organizations.

⁴⁸ Matti Bunzl and H. Glenn Penny, eds. Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

⁴⁹ The scientific method or, more appropriately, methods, represent an ensemble of investigative approaches or philosophies of acquiring knowledge – or, more specifically of “inferring general theories” through search for “causal relationships” between phenomena (Harper and Schulte 682).

2. Social Hierarchies and German Societies

The Industrial Revolution brought changes in society including the rise in Germany of an educated middle class – the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Financial affluence brought accessibility to higher education for middle-class men (institutes of higher learning were closed to women until the end of the nineteenth century). The failed revolution of March 1848 resulted in a backlash on the part of various German governments against political opposition of any kind and attempted to suppress liberal and nationalistic discourse which caused numerous middle-class intellectuals to take refuge in private societies. A combination of the repressive political atmosphere following failed demonstrations, the collapse of the Frankfurt parliament, and a widespread application of scientific methods to various fields led to the creation of a multitude of independent societies in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Jonathan Sperber: “The period between 1860 and 1869 alone saw the founding of thirty-one societies devoted to natural history and the natural sciences” (Sperber 157). Penny ascertains that “25 anthropological associations were founded in Germany” after 1869 (82). Most of these organizations were led by highly educated members of the middle-class but did not require the same educational background of their membership. They were so numerous that they broke the absolute monopoly of universities in the advancement of knowledge: associations and museums created an arena for private– mostly middle class– citizens who were interested in science as a hobby and not necessarily as a career. Andreas Daum describes these organizations as a place where members of the middle class could freely assemble and define their

position in society (85). His text Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert includes a timetable of the creation of societies with an interest in the natural sciences (91-95). The numbers can be summarized as follows:

Timespan	Number new Natural Science Societies
1743-1799	11
1810-1849	53
1849-1899	101
1900-1914	9

Timetable of the creation of new scientific societies in nineteenth-century Germany.

The following societies count among them (Daum 91-95): The *Gesellschaft deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte* (Leipzig 1822) (Daum 119) shows the close connection between medical doctors and research in other scientific fields. A multitude of *Humboldt-Vereine* were established in 1859 in response to a call by Emil Rossmassler⁵⁰ to honor Humboldt's legacy through a series of conventions, festivals, and the founding of associations throughout Germany (138-142). Other societies were: *Verein der Freunde der Naturwissenschaft* (Mecklenburg and Vienna 1847), *Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Unterhaltung* (Erfurt 1840), *Verein für Naturkunde* (München 1847 and Meissen 1845), *Naturhistorisch-Medizinscher Verein* (Heidelberg 1856), *Botanischer Verein* (Freiburg 1881, Weimar 1882), *Verein der Naturwissenschaftlichen*

⁵⁰ Rossmassler (1806-1867) was an enthusiastic zoologist from Leipzig and member of the 1848 National Assembly. After the 1848 revolutions he retreated from overt political activities and devoted his efforts to the natural sciences and to the promotion of Alexander von Humboldt's scientific legacy.

Unterhaltung (Kassel, 1870; Hamburg 1871), and the *Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein* (Magdeburg, 1869; Bromberg, 1865; Greifswald and Oldenburg, 1866; Aschaffenburg, 1878; Darmstadt, 1880; Düsseldorf, 1884; Dortmund, 1887).

Within these organizations self educated intellectuals could now participate in scientific debates and even participate in the pursuit of new knowledge. This development created an environment in which agreement on the terminology within various fields of research was lacking.⁵¹ The new accessibility of *Wissenschaft* to a broader audience and greater pool of participants certainly did not eliminate hierarchies among disciplines. Well established fields such as philosophy, physics, and the life sciences enjoyed a certain prestige because of their representation at universities. On the other hand, newer areas of research, such as anthropology, were rarely taught at universities and, therefore, were marginalized for a time. According to H. Glenn Penny, Adolf Bastian was an exception:

Bastian became a lecturer and later an honorary Professor at the Berlin University, and a number of his assistants were also able to work there. But there was no department of ethnology or anthropology. Not until 1908 was there a university chair, in both ethnology and anthropology, established in the Philosophical Faculty of the Berlin University for Felix von Luschan, Bastian's successor at the museum. (Penny, "Traditions in German Language" 9)

⁵¹ See Penny's "Traditions in German Language" (3) for a more in-depth discussion of the German terminology in the field of anthropology.

Eventually, under Bastian's leadership, ethnology (*Völkerkunde*) grew out of anthropology and separated itself as a field representing cultural anthropology and limiting the greater field to the physical aspect of anthropology (3-4).

According to Penny, Bastian's German Association for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*) and German Museum of Ethnology initially emphasized physical anthropology due to the considerable number of medical doctors in its membership (4). Nineteenth-century physicians in Germany showed great interest in physiology, hence their attraction to physical anthropology. However, the organization, under Bastian's influence, quickly changed its focus to ethnology as evidenced in the name of the association's periodical: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

German anthropology differentiated itself from British and French practices structurally as well as ideologically: for instance, Adolf Bastian was a vehement opponent of spreading Darwinism. He and Rudolph Virchow "vigorously opposed any and all developmental theories," challenging German anthropologists and ethnologists to "valoriz(e) the particularity of each national and ethnic entity" (Bunzl and Penny 11) without setting up hierarchies.

Nationalistic discourses along with questions about German origins created an interest in the cultures and lifestyles of other people around the world, particularly in so-called primitive populations such as native Americans. These associations and museums encouraged travel to areas of the world considered as 'exotic' for the collection of cultural items documenting an assumed development of human beings

from one common primitive state to the highest form of development, which, in their view, was the western or European industrial way of life. While on expeditions travelers combined their interests in various scientific areas.

3. Reluctant Inclusions: German Women and Popular

Wissenschaft

The popularization of research and science meant that individuals without a university education could engage in research projects, including expeditions in tropical regions of the world. Lila Marz Harper's text entitled Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation (2001), examines the experience of British women in the Sciences during the nineteenth century, which was very similar to the journey of their German counterparts. According to Harper, "by the 1840s, travel narratives were playing an important role in scientific popularization" (16). Harper further comments that:

[i]n the 1830s the scientific method was presented as accessible, unified, and transferable: it was accessible in that participation was open to everyone and involvement in science was possible without specialized training or talents. Thus women who did not have access to the university, who lacked classical and mathematical training, could still actively participate. (33)

This meant that women would also have the opportunity to contribute to scientific research, often circumventing the prerequisites of having previous experience and an extensive formal education in the field. Their travel narratives granted them authoritative perspectives from which to impart new knowledge to their audiences. Since they communicated information that only they had experienced directly (14-16).

However, new opportunities afforded women through private academic associations were limited because, like the universities of that time, most scientific societies excluded them from their membership or refused to fund their projects, casting doubt upon women's ability to conduct credible research. According to Gabriele Habinger: "Man sprach also Frauen [...] nicht nur grundsätzlich die Fähigkeit zum Reisen, sondern auch zu wissenschaftlichem Denken ab" (2004). [Therefore, not only women's ability to travel, but also their ability to think scientifically were negated].

Harper's research shows that although women were initially welcomed in scientific organizations, their work was not taken seriously – they often encountered skepticism and even disbelief in their ability to conduct research (11-12). This resistance reflects responses in general of the time to literary texts by women. According to Todd Kontje, "even if women's writing was not essentially different from that of men, it was treated as if it were" (1998 xiv).

An essay by Karen Hausen asks the question, "Warum Männer Frauen zur Wissenschaft nicht zulassen wollten" (1986), [Why men refused to include women in scientific research]. Hausen explores nineteenth-century debates surrounding the

inclusion or exclusion of women in *Wissenschaft* and summarizes 104 self-serving arguments against the inclusion of women as follows:

Männer unterwerfen sich dem Joch der Wissenschaft und richten sich auf an dem Stolz, daß nur sie als Männer imstande sind, dieses Joch auszuhalten, zu tragen und darunter zu arbeiten. Ihre außerhalb der Wissenschaft noch vorhandenen Bedürfnisse können sie nicht aus eigener Kraft erfüllen. Dazu bedarf es der Frauen und der von den Frauen gestalteten Lebenswelt. Die Zulassung der Frauen zur Wissenschaft aber bedroht sowohl den Wissenschaftsstolz der Männer als auch die sichere Erwartung, sich außerhalb der Wissenschaft im Leben aufgehoben zu finden. (38)

[Men place upon themselves the yoke of *Wissenschaft* and align themselves with the proud assumption that only they, as men, are able to take up this yoke and to function under it. They are not able to meet their own needs outside of this context in their own strength. Here lies the necessity of women and the realm formed by them. Women's access to *Wissenschaft* represents as much a threat to the male ego in this context as it does to [men's] sure expectation of finding themselves properly placed outside the realm of the *Wissenschaften*].

While a lack of university degrees was no longer a hindrance for male researchers, this remained an excuse for excluding women from numerous funding opportunities; in an effort to confine women to their traditional social roles as caretakers of men, they were

often required to finance their own expeditions, thereby excluding many from the pursuit of this ambition. The Austrian finance minister's public refusal to fund Ida Pfeiffer's second world tour was a case in point (Habinger 124). Pfeiffer's inherited funds made it possible for the travel enthusiast to pursue her dreams; however, when she died in 1858, her travels had depleted her fortune. Needless to say, finances were never a concern for Princess Therese of Bavaria, and Ina von Binzer's work as a governess covered the expenses associated with her journey to and within Brazil.

Harper's text shows that despite the restrictive atmosphere in which they functioned, women nevertheless made significant contributions to the popularization of the sciences in nineteenth-century Germany. Ida Pfeiffer protested the unfair underestimation of her contributions to *Wissenschaft* by her male contemporaries, pointing to her vast contributions to museum collections. Princess Therese's contributions to the fields of zoology, anthropology, and botany were acknowledged through honorary memberships in scientific associations normally inaccessible to women. Princess Therese even received an honorary doctorate in zoology from the university of Munich in 1897, six years prior to the institute's admission of women as students. Despite the inclusive effects of the propagation of the scientific method as a universal means of acquiring knowledge, later interpretations of Darwin, classifying human beings in hierarchical categories favoring white European men, contributed to social restriction of women to the private domestic sphere (Harper 24; 26; 34).

While secondary literature abounds about the work of Ida Pfeiffer, it is a challenge to find much on Ina von Binzer and on Therese of Bavaria. I am hoping to contribute to the closing of this gap and to encourage further investigation of the works

of von Binzer and Princess Therese in the future. Ina von Binzer was a teacher but not a scientist; as a matter of fact, her narrative includes an episode which makes a mockery of German scientists in Brazil (Binzer 42): a German botanist who was a house guest of the governess' employers ran away from field slaves who offered to assist him, taking them for cannibalistic 'savages' or native Brazilians. Startled at the sight of them moving toward him, he fled the scene, leaving behind his equipment and some clothing articles. While her comments seem to make light of scientific exploration in the tropics, she had much to say about the debate on African slavery in Brazil, which leads me to the next segment of this study: German travelers' responses to Africans in Brazil who were for the most part slaves at the time.

B. "Inventions of Race": Responses to Black Brazilians

In her research, Zantop argued that nineteenth-century German concepts of race could only be understood in light of the political concerns of the time. Enthusiastic and at times measured support for the French Revolution subsided with the advent of subsequent violence; and the French invasion of German territories in the early 1800s encouraged a "tendency to conflate racial character with national character" (Colonial Fantasies 82). It was during this period that the term 'race' underwent significant changes. It went from signifying categories of animals (Linnaeus or von Linné) to including categories of people (Kant, Meiners, Blumenbach).⁵² It seems that regardless of the various positions taken in categorizing human beings into races based on

⁵² A volume edited by Sara Eigen and Mark Larrimore, The German Invention of Race (2006) gives a detailed explanation of this change in the German-speaking realm.

anatomical features and alleged character traits, the loudest voices were of those who described Africans as lazy, violent, unintelligent, cowardly, promiscuous, irritable, treacherous, and insensitive to torture or beatings. (Zantop, Colonial Fantasies 84) As mentioned earlier, Zantop credited Christoph Meiners with the “invention of the German Race,” (87) contradicting the widespread perception of Darwinism as the origin of present day racism. According to Zantop, “[b]y basing his definition of Germanness on a few physical traits, Meiners establishes an exclusive, racialized national identity”. (87) I will now turn to descriptions of blacks and slavery in Brazil by Ina von Binzer, Heinrich von Langsdorff, the Novara expedition crew, and Ida Pfeiffer.

Ina von Binzer’s text entails the most extensive commentary on slavery in Brazil. Being a governess for her wealthy employers and she was exposed to the private daily workings of a slavery-driven society. Her first position was located in São Francisco (São Paulo State) on a coffee plantation. According to Roderick Cavaliero, “[t]he harshest conditions of all (for slaves) were to be experienced on coffee plantations of the south” (56). Her third post was on a plantation belonging to a republican family in São Cristovão⁵³. In such contexts, Binzer was not likely to encounter free blacks. This might have been the case during her stay in Rio de Janeiro where she encountered many black street vendors (Binzer 55). In her narrative she categorized the two hundred slaves owned by the Romeiro family into plantation and domestic workers, tailors, and seamstresses.

⁵³ More than one city in Brazil carries this name. Binzer was in the southeast of Brazil, near a city called Villa Americana (São Paulo State), a town settled by former confederates from the United States.

Binzer's response to the slaves as black people seemed to echo Christoph Meiners' assessment of Africans. Her own slave, Olympia, is described as follows: "Im Vertrauen will ich dir zwar sagen, daß sie das scheußlichste, dicklippigste, schwarze Geschöpf ist, dass je einen hoch trabenden Namen trug" (Binzer 8). [Confidentially I want to tell you, that she is the most hideous, thick lipped black creature that has ever carried such a lofty name]. The term 'hideous' is frequently used by Binzer to describe black Brazilians as shown in the next two examples:

So saß ich neulich Sonntags ein Stündchen in dem paradisischen Garten auf der Bank unter einem mächtigen Mangobaum und träumte –
ach Grete – von deutschen Eichen, als mich plötzlich, wie ich aufblickte, eine scheußliche kleine schwarze Kreatur vor mir in die Tropen zurückschreckte. (12)

[Recently on a Sunday, I was sitting for a little while on a bench in the paradise-like garden under an imposing mango tree dreaming– oh Grete– of German oaks, when suddenly, as I looked up, a hideous little black creature before me startled me back to the tropics].

And also:

Die Zeremonie begann, und ich war stummer Zeuge, wie diese acht plattnäsigen, wollköpfigen, kleinen Scheußlichkeiten die Namen: Cäsar, Felicio, Messias (!), Illyia, Angelica, Maria Salome, Marcella und Ruth erhielten. (28)

[The ceremony began, and I was a silent witness, as these eight flat-nosed, woolly-haired, little horrors received the names: Cäsar, Felicio, Messias (!), Jlyia, Angelica, Maria Salome, Marcella and Ruth].

Binzer's description does not add any new information: Similar to Ida Pfeiffer, her emphasis was on a rather one-dimensional description of stereotypical physical attributes that differentiate them from Europeans and the transmission of her negative response to these traits.

Triangulation takes place in Binzer's discussion of labor distribution in Brazil under slavery (26-27). Referring to white Brazilians, she wondered with exasperation: "Ich möchte bloß wissen, was diese Menschen anfangen wollen, wenn einmal die Sklaven-Emanzipation ganz und gar vollzogen ist!" (Binzer 26) [I would like to know what these people will do once the total emancipation of the slaves comes to pass!] Equating work load with power, the governess deplored her fellow Europeans' heavy dependence on the unsalaried work of African slaves in Brazil. Since hard work was considered by many a German virtue, Binzer, in this instance at least, seems to identify with the slaves as hard workers, distancing herself from the Portuguese as 'other', lazy Europeans. Further along in her narrative, another triangulation occurs as Binzer's text asserts the North American's respect for work (121) in contrast with the Portuguese. According to Cavaliero, by 1800 half of the Brazilian population consisted of slaves (50). There also seems to have been a widespread disdain for manual labor among Portuguese Brazilians which was related to their contempt for those upon whom such tasks were forced. Manual labor was ironically despised for being the lot of African

slaves in Brazil. Ironically, this perception was fostered by their own action of enslaving Africans and assigning manual labor to them.

Later on, in an evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of abolition, Binzer made light of efforts by slaves and abolitionists to free individual slaves and to dismantle the system (75-77), empathizing with Brazilian planters who saw in the emancipation of slaves their certain ruin (77). Similar to Ida Pfeiffer's narrative, there is a tendency in Binzer's text to minimize the effects of slavery on the African slaves (98). She further goes on to say:

Was überhaupt diese schwarze Rasse für ein Druck auf Brasilien ist, und daß die Sklaverei schließlich ein weit größerer Fluch für die Sklavenhalter als für die Neger ist, das zeigt sich jetzt so recht, wo sie aufgegeben werden soll (121).

[Now that slavery must be given up, it has become quite evident what a burden this black race is for Brazil and that slavery is a much greater curse to the slaveholders than to the negroes].

Captain Wüllersdorf, of the Austrian Novara frigate, shared the same sentiments in the account of his ship's tour around the world (Scherzer 153). He remarked that in Brazil, "[d]ie Frage ist hier nicht, ob weiß oder schwarz, sondern ob frei oder Sklave" (Scherzer 152). [The question here is not whether one is white or black, but whether one is free or enslaved]. The Captain's assertion was in direct contradiction to Cavaliero's assessment that free black Brazilians who were considered too bold by the society in which they lived could very well lose their freedom and be forced back into slavery

(55). For economic reasons, the Captain of the *Novara* saw the abolition of slavery and the replacement of black slaves with white skilled workers as a positive economic step for Brazil (Scherzer 153).

Ida Pfeiffer expressed that in her estimation Brazilian slaves were better off than factory workers in Europe since their industrial employers were under no obligation to feed and house their workers (37). Travelers passing through Brazil could not credibly claim not to know about the inhuman circumstances under which slaves were transported from Africa to Brazil and then those under which they lived. For three hundred years a slave in Brazil was “cheaper to replace than to preserve” (Cavaliero 51). It was only after 1817, when it was no longer legal to import slaves, that the life-span of an African in captivity grew from 7-12 years to 20-30 years (51). These statistics do not agree with Pfeiffer and Binzer’s euphemistic evaluation of slavery in Brazil.

In 1804, when Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff landed in Brazil for the first time on behalf of the Russian tsar, unlike many other travelers to the same location, slavery was not the first item mentioned in his narrative. However, when he did respond to this pervasive aspect of Brazilian society, it was with dismay and, at times, guilt (Langsdorff 33, 36-37, 41-44, 47). While Pfeiffer and Binzer witnessed this practice in its final stages, Langsdorff’s first impressions were taken before the prohibition of transatlantic slave trafficking. Unlike those of the two previously mentioned travelers, Langsdorff’s narrative did not minimize the hardship of slavery, acknowledging the murderous aspects of the trade and of the living conditions imposed on the slaves:

Bei diesem Handel, obgleich ihn auch in neueren Zeiten noch viele angesehene Männer vertheidigt haben, meiner Ansicht nach, so wie man ihn hier betreibt, [muß] das feine Gefühl eines gebildeten Europäers sich empören. (36)

[In my opinion, this trade, although recently it has been defended by respected men, must be found highly offensive to the fine sensitivities of an educated European].

In the portion describing the lot of Africans arriving in Brazil, Langsdorff no longer refers to slaves as *Neger* but as “suffering creatures” and “people”:

Es wurde eine ganz eigene neue und empörende Empfindung in mir rege, als ich zum ersten Mal nach Nossa Senhora do Desterro kam, und eine Menge dieser elenden hilflosen menschlichen Geschöpfe, nackt, und entblößt in den Kreuzstraßen vor den Thüren liegend and zum Verkauf ausgeboten, erblickte. (Langsdorff 36)

[A new feeling of outrage arose in me as I arrived in Nossa Senhora do Desterro and saw so many of these suffering helpless human creatures, naked and exposed at crossroads, lying down in front of doors, offered up for sale].

And also:

Mit diesen Menschen, wird eben so wie mit Waren gewuchert, und je nachdem sie alt oder jung, stark oder schwächlich, gesund oder

kränklich, männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts sind, werden sie mit mehr oder weniger Geld bezahlt. (Langsdorff 36)

[Just like merchandise these people were the object of usury and were sold for more or less, depending on whether they were old or young, strong or weak, healthy or sickly, male or female].

By using these terms, Langsdorff's text calls his readers to identify with the African slaves and share the author's feelings of revolt against slavery. Langsdorff's text differentiates itself from Pfeiffer's and Binzer's accounts by a lack of actual descriptions of African slaves. They are simply represented as people who are treated unfairly in Brazil. The Novara report followed the same pattern when it came to the description of African slaves in Brazil. However, in conveying the case of three Mozambicans illegally sold into slavery and transported to Brazil, the Captain's remarks insinuate laziness in their character and to define their usefulness in terms of their helpfulness to the Austrian research team (134).

Langsdorff includes a favorable description of slaves performing what he interestingly refers to as their "national" dance (42). In this scene the spotlight is placed almost as much on women as on men. One could pause here and wonder in which way this dance was a "national" dance of the slaves since the newcomers arrived from different regions of Africa. Perhaps Langsdorff saw in Brazilian slaves a people or a nation within the Brazilian people. Or perhaps this was an echo of Christoph Meiner's equation of racial identity with national identity. Another echo of Meiners is found in Binzer's statement:

Ich habe noch nicht herausfinden können, ob es an mir oder an ihnen liegt, vielleicht macht es auch der Rassenunterschied zwischen Germanen- und Romanentum, denn Französisch lernen sie halb im Schlaf. (Binzer 59)

[I have not yet been able to find out if it was because of me or because of them; perhaps the difference in races between Germanic and Roman people is the reason, because they learn French while half asleep].

Langsdorff's dismayed response toward Brazilian slavery includes a moment of introspection when he recounts a nineteenth-century Brazilian custom of foot washing before retiring:

Ehe ich mich schlafen legte, brachte mir ein Sklave, nach der Landessitte, von welcher ich schon weiter oben gesprochen habe, ein warmes Fußbad an das Bette, und sobald ich die Füße in das Wasser setzte, so wusch, drückte und strich mir dieser Mensch dieselben so sanft, daß ich frei bekennen muß, es behagte mir diese Manipulation ausserordentlich, und meine ermüdeten Glieder fanden heute und in der Folge jedesmal in diesem Gebrauch Erquickung und Wohlbehagen. (Langsdorff 47)

[Before I lay down to sleep, a slave brought a warm footbath to my bed, in accordance with the custom I spoke of previously, and, as soon as I placed my feet in the water, this person washed, massaged, and rubbed them so softly that I must frankly confess that I found this process

extraordinarily comforting, and my tired limbs found refreshing and comfort in this custom today and each subsequent time].

Langsdorff's 'confession' reveals a measure of guilt for enjoying one of the benefits or luxuries afforded by slavery after having expressed severe criticism against the institution. This instance also represents one of the few overt moments of self-reflection in travel accounts about Brazil. Another similarly reflective moment is found in the narration of Ina von Binzer's encounter with a leprous slave named Ignacio (Binzer 114-120); the governess fled at the sight of him and began to reflect on her response. After seeing her behavior in contradiction to Goethe's often quoted motto: "Edel sei der Mensch, hilfreich und gut" [Let man be noble, helpful, and kind], she decides to behave more compassionately with the leper, who, rather than joining others in a leper colony, chose to live on the outskirts of the Souza plantation so that he would not be separated from his daughter. Her compassion and self-critique was in response to the leper's illness and not to his condition as a slave. Interestingly enough she finds his blackness to be just as worthy of sorrow as his enslavement and his illness:

Ein Gefühl unsäglichen Jammers für den Unglücklichen, den die Schickung nicht tief genug demütigen zu können schien, überkam mich. Neger – Sklave – aussätzig! Es war fast eine Erleichterung zu denken, daß ihm nun nichts Schlimmeres mehr treffen könne. (Binzer 115)

[A feeling of unspeakable sadness for the miserable one overcame me, because destiny seemed unable to humiliate him enough. Negro – slave –

leprous! It was almost a relief to think that now nothing else could happen to him].

Even in her compassion the governess continued to reveal her negative perception of black people. This is an ‘anticonquest’ moment– which means, according to Mary Louise Pratt, a moment in which a European traveler in the ‘contact zone’ criticizes colonial practices while inadvertently expressing the same hegemonic views that they seek to criticize (7).

C. Winnetou revisited? Responses to Native Populations

I would like to discuss descriptions of native populations in Brazil. Although the explorers discussed in this dissertation represented different fields of science, mostly botany and zoology, they were all fascinated by the lives of native Americans. I find that, while many colonial texts tend to narratively erase the native populations of a colonized region by inserting themselves into the space as the rightful rulers of the land, German travelogues about Brazil do the opposite. These narratives reinsert the natives, as they were one of the travelers’ main reasons for making the journey.

A volume entitled Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections (2002) edited by Colin G. Galloway, Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop, explored various representations of interactions between Germans and native North Americans. This popular fascination with native peoples found its greatest expression in the novels of Karl May (1842-1912) and persists today for various reasons. Contemporary German

‘Indianthusiasm’⁵⁴ shows that the fictitious friendship between a German cowboy named Old Shatterland and the son of an Indian Chief, Winnetou, as depicted in the novels of Karl May (beginning in the 1890s) is still casting a long shadow on German society today. The conference and project entitled Germans and Indians did not, however, consider the encounters with native **South** Americans, which will be the focus of this section.

According to Zantop, “Indianthusiasm” included the following rhetorical features:

The exoticized yet sympathetic, even idealized, depiction of the Other; the fixation on hair and skin color as essential markers of difference, typical of European racialized descriptions from Columbus’s letters onward; the fantasy of balance, equality, tacit agreement, and respect between the two extraordinary men/cultures as they meet eye to eye; the moral-Christian and Enlightenment overtones (sun, light, tolerance); and the erotic attraction to the Other experienced by the European newcomer. (“Close Encounters” 3)

Although this description might well apply to the interaction between the main characters of Karl May’s novel, it does not describe most of the encounters between German travelers and nineteenth-century native Brazilians. In this triangle they at times identified with the Indians; their depictions of them nevertheless were far from idealized, often referring to them as savages (*Wilde*). While a certain level of tolerance seems to permeate the narratives of traveling men, it seems less evident in the texts of

⁵⁴ Hartmut Lutz coins this term in his contribution to the Germans and Indians (2002) anthology.

Ida Pfeiffer and Ina von Binzer, for example. Describing her first impression of a Puri village Ida Pfeiffer exclaimed:

Hier traf ich die größte Dürftigkeit, das größte Elend! – Ich hatte auf meinen Reisen schon manche Bilder der Armut gesehen, doch nirgends in solcher Weise. Auf einem kleinen Raume unter hohen Bäumen waren fünf Hütten oder eigentlich Laubdächer [...] aufgeschlagen. Vier Stangen in die Erde gesteckt, daran eine Querstange, bildeten das Gerippe – große Palmblätter, zwischen welchen der Regen ganz bequem eindringen konnte, das Dach. Auf drei Seiten, war die Laube ganz offen. (Pfeiffer 100)

[I found the greatest poverty, the greatest desolation! – During my journeys, I had already seen images of poverty, but nowhere to this extent. In a small space under tall trees, there were five huts, or more appropriately, straw roofs [...] put up. Four rods stuck in the ground, with one attached accross them formed the skeleton framework – and large palm leaves, through which rain could very easily flow the roof. The hut was completely open on three sides].

Prince Adalbert's description of similar abodes of native populations reads more like scientific inventory, distanced without the resounding negative value judgment found in the quote above:

Diese Wände haben ferner die gute Eigenschaft, daß man sie sehr leicht mit einem Stück Holz durchstoßen kann, was unter Umständen sehr

nützlich ist, z. B., wenn man Sachen aufhängen will, damit sie auf dem Boden der Hütte nicht schmutzig werden. (Kletke 594-595)

[Furthermore these walls have the quality of being easily pierced with a piece of wood, which can be very useful under certain circumstances, for instance if one wants to hang things up, so that they do not become dirty on the floor of the hut].

He finds the Turuna huts appropriate for the environment and in a favorable light. Princess Therese did not share this sentiment (Therese 58) and saw the structures as “unfinished” (Therese 347): “Als wir die unfertige, nach allen Seiten offene Hütte der Botokuden betraten, lungerten die meisten dieser Halbwilden beschäftigungslos herum” (Therese 347). [As we entered the unfinished Botocudos hut that was open on every side, most of these semi-wild people were loitering around idly]. In passing, one could perceive the above mentioned “loitering” native Brazilians as Puris who had gathered in the hut to welcome the newcomers, wanting to greet Prince Adalbert. One perceivable fact from these different descriptions of the huts among various native populations is that not all huts were built in the same manner: the degree of enclosure seems to be the main varying factor, ranging from structures without walls to those with walls made out of very light construction material, at least by western standards.

Despite the travelers’ attempts to meet the natives with at least a semblance of “balance” and “respect” – to borrow Zantop’s choice of words – this is undermined by the one-sidedness of their interactions, at least as depicted in the narratives. The initial reaction of certain native Brazilian women to their arrival indicates that their approach

was initially perceived as an intrusion. For example, in a few instances, as Prince Adalbert and his entourage approached a Turuna village, women who saw them arriving ran away fearfully (368, 546, and 627) and men appeared with arms in hand (664, 682). Another particularly intrusive moment is when Maximilian zu Wied presumes to inspect the homes and to dig up the grave of Botocudo natives in the absence of the inhabitants:

Ich benutzte besonders die Abwesenheit der Botocudos, um ihre vor kurzer Zeit verlassenen Hütten, die ziemlich weit vom Fluß entfernt in einer dicht geschlossenen Wildnis lagen, zu besuchen und durch eigene Ansicht kennenzulernen [...] doch gab ich den Gedanken einer Untersuchung jenes Grabes nicht auf. Nach mehreren Tagen begab ich mich wieder an die Stelle, in der Hoffnung, noch vor der Ankunft der Wilden meinen Zweck zu erreichen. (Wied, [1987] 131, 132)

[I especially took the opportunity in the absence of the Botocudos to visit their recently abandoned huts that were located in the thick forbidding wilderness a good distance away from the river, in order to observe them for myself [...] nevertheless, I did not give up the idea of examining that grave. After a few days I returned to the location hoping to reach my objective before the savages returned].

In his curiosity or zeal for knowledge, Wied, as an explorer, objectified the individuals whose home and grave he was about to violate without questioning the ethics of his intentions. However, the fact that he was hoping to fulfill his mandate in their absence,

indicates an acknowledgment of the ‘savages’ as people; or perhaps Wied simply feared the possible unknown reaction on their part should they surprise the intruder in their abode.

Another form of objectification – the “erotic attraction to the Other” (Zantop, “Close Encounters” 3) – gave way to a scientific semblance of objectivity in texts by Prince Adalbert and Ida Pfeiffer:

(I)hre Hautfarbe ist lichtbronze, ihre Statur gedrungen and von mittlerer Größe. Sie haben breite, etwas zusammengesobene Gesichter und kohlschwarzes, straff herabhängendes, dichtes Haar, welches die Weiber zum Teil in Flechten tragen [...] Die Stirn ist breit und nieder, die Nase etwas gequetscht. (Pfeiffer 53)

[Their skin color is light-bronze, their stature stocky and of average height. They have broad, slightly pressed-together faces, pitch-black, straight hanging thick hair, which the women at times wear braided... the forehead is broad and low, the nose somewhat pressed down].

Prince Adalbert’s description of the Turunas is detailed and can be divided into two categories: apparently factual observations of physical attributes and subjectively perceived character traits. The more objective descriptives are few and refer to the more obvious: *Nackt, braun* (588) [naked, brown], *kräftig* (589) [robust], *mittlerer Größe* (596) [of medium size], *bartlos* (597) [beardless]. On the other hand, the following terms reflect more the Prince’s gratitude for his welcome than objective scientifically measurable facts: *Gutmütigkeit* (588, 596) [goodnaturedness], *Anstand*,

Zuvorkommenheit, Einfachheit (588) [decency, openness, simplicity] *schön* (589, 596) [beautiful], *freundlicher Blick* (596) [friendly look], *edel, natürliche Grazie, wahre Mannhaftigkeit, keine Verweichlichung, hübsche gebogene Nase, angenehm, Offenheit, Intelligenz* and *weit höhere Stufe der Bildung* (589) [noble, natural grace, true masculinity and without effeminacy, handsome bent nose, pleasant, openness, intelligence and of a far higher level of cultivation].

Not surprisingly, while native women are practically invisible in Prince Adalbert's narrative, they were portrayed more vividly by Pfeiffer and Princess Therese alongside descriptions of native men traditionally included in travel texts by men. Prince Adalbert of Prussia, for example, after making aesthetic remarks – “*hübscher als die Puris und Coroados*” (589) [prettier than the Puris and Coroados] – limited his observations to the domestic roles (602-604) and outward adornment of native women (599). His narrative described that adult women wore beaded necklaces and short skirts (589, 599), leaving the rest to the readers' imagination. He also indicated that feathers were not a part of their wardrobes, as most Europeans expected to find among the so called ‘savages’ in the nineteenth century (600), and that prepubescent girls were naked (599). Turuna women appear to be very timid and shy, which might have been surprising to a European audience shocked by the prevailing nudity found among native Brazilians: “*João [...] überließ ihnen nämlich die Hütte des abwesenden Häuptlings gänzlich und nahm deren Bewohner bei sich auf, da die Indianerinnen sich scheuten, in demselben Raume mit den Fremden die Nacht zuzubringen*” (589). [João (...) gave up the entire hut of an absent warrior to them, and received its inhabitants in his, since the native women were too shy to spend the night in the same room as the strangers]. It

would seem that, at least in the nineteenth century, a woman's refusal to share night quarters with strange men would hardly be newsworthy. However, a European readership, shocked by other perceived social transgressions on the part of the South American Indians – nudity, alleged sexually licentious tendencies (Kletke 683), murderous tendencies (591, 668) and appetite for human flesh (633, 636) – might have expected the contrary of them.

Princess Therese did not avoid the usual aesthetic categorizations. Of the Maué Indians her narrative includes the following statement: “Es sind kräftige, wohlgebaute Leute von hellbrauner Hautfarbe, welche den Ruf geniessen, unter allen Indianern die schönsten Frauen zu besitzen” (70). [They are strong, well-built people with light brown skin, who enjoy the reputation of having the most beautiful women among Indians]. However, in another episode that echoes description of the unfortunate lot of a German immigrant woman who had journeyed to Brazil to join her husband,⁵⁵ Princess Therese gives a detailed description of a newly captured Miranha woman:

Sie war kaum mittelgross, kräftig, untersetzt und hatte eine gelbbraune Hautfarbe, eine tiefliegende Nasenwurzel, einen breiten Mund und kleine, dunkle Augen mit engeren Lidspalte. Das pechschwarze, schlichte Haar trug sie, wie viele brasilianische Indianer, oberhalb der Augenbrauen und im Nacken horizontal abgeschnitten. Ihr Aussehen verrieth Intelligenz, ihr Benehmen, als das eines echten Kindes der Wildnis, war etwas scheu. (Therese 88)

⁵⁵ Chapter IV discusses this episode in the discussion of German immigrants to Brazil (49).

[She was barely of medium size, of strong built, stout, and had a yellowish brown skin color, a sunken nose, a wide mouth and small dark eyes with narrow eyelids. She wore pitch-black slick hair, as many Brazilian Indians do, cut above their eyebrows and horizontally along the neck. Her appearance revealed intelligence, her behavior was a bit reserved, which is that of a true child of the wilderness].

This woman had an uncertain future and an apparent lack of control over her destiny in common with the German immigrant mentioned in Pfeiffer's narrative. Her reserved disposition could have been more a result of her despair at being kidnapped from her home and her arrival in an unfamiliar environment than of any alleged wild nature. It could also have been a personality trait of this individual woman. However, none of these possibilities were considered in the narrative. The traveler's gaze not only recorded and responded to the scene, but also projected eurocentric expectations of native populations onto representations of the Others.

The intrusive gaze of the travelers was at times reciprocated by the Natives:

Oben am Rande des Ufers versammelte sich während dessen das ganze Volk von Tavaquára, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, **die weißen Leute anzuschauen**, die ihnen, im nackten Zustand gewissermaßen näher gerückt, weit weniger fremdartig vorzukommen schienen. (Kletke 592)

[Meanwhile, all the people of Tavaquára, men, women and children, gathered up at the edge of the riverbanks, **to watch the white people**,

who, in their nakedness, to a certain extent had drawn closer to them, and seemed far less foreign to them].

One could say that in more ways than one had the European travelers drawn closer to the natives as a result of their nakedness. Not only had they temporarily joined them in their physical condition, but for a moment they experienced the vulnerability of being surrounded and subjected to the uninvited gaze of strangers in a private moment. In some cases the visual intrusion was accompanied by physical contact:

Wir gedenken noch einer unterhaltenden Episode, die am Nachmittage nicht wenig zu lachen gab. Als nämlich Graf Oriolla das Hemd wechselte, drängten sich die Männer neugierig um ihn herum, um seine weiße Haut anzufühlen, und riefen dann ihre Frauen herbei, damit diese sich durch Befühlen selbst von dem merkwürdigen Naturspiel überzeugen möchten– so auffallend war ihnen die Erscheinung der Weißen! (Kletke 676)

[We still remember an amusing instance, which gave much to laugh about in the afternoon. Namely as Count Oriolla changed shirts, the men hurried curiously around him in order to touch his skin, and called their wives over, so that they could ascertain for themselves by feeling this strange marvel – so surprising they found the appearance of the white people!]

Gazing was no longer sufficient in this case; the natives' curiosity was such that they added another dimension to their visual experience: the touch. In this description the

native populations were not passive objects waiting to be measured by the Europeans. The travelers found themselves as much objects of curiosity to the natives as the Natives were to them. Ida Pfeiffer's text seems to reluctantly admits such reciprocity: "Die Weiber lagerten sich um mich, und ich verständigte mich nach und nach mit ihnen zum Verwundern gut" (52). [The women encamped themselves around me, and I communicated with them little by little surprisingly well]. As she was surrounded by Puri women, the reader of her narrative gets the sense that she was closely gazed at and followed by her hosts, without her explicitly saying so. She redeems her position of power and able to flee the perspective of an object of the Other's gaze by affirming her superior ability to communicate with them.

Princess Therese, despite her primary interest in zoology, made it a point to pursue opportunities to visit Indian villages. Her descriptions differ from those of her male counterparts: while Prince Adalbert limited his physical descriptions of native Brazilians to the men, for instance, Therese's narrative includes several detailed descriptions of the physical traits of Indian women, which fills a void in the representations offered by her male counterparts.

Despite their differences, the descriptions contain the language of Christoph Meiners' aesthetic, moral judgments: Ida Pfeiffer found the Indians "noch häßlicher als die Neger" [even uglier than the negroes] (101) which would be her only disagreement with the early anthropologists in whose estimation the opposite was true. Pfeiffer also underscores the Puris usefulness to European slaveholders: "Die Puris sollen ganz vorzüglich zum Aufspüren entflohener Neger zu gebrauchen sein, da ihre Geruchsorgane besonders ausgebildet sind" (54). [The Puris have the reputation of

being quite advantageously useful in the tracking down of fleeing negroes, since their sense of smell is especially developed].

Pfeiffer, recognized as a knowledgeable woman, was approached by the Puris for medical care. On one occasion, for example, she visited an elderly woman who was succumbing to the ravages of cancer; according to Pfeiffer, this was a rather frequent occurrence among the Puri women she observed. Could that have been an assumption on their part rooted in the fact that many previous European visitors had in fact been physicians? Pfeiffer was obviously not the first explorer to visit their village. If any of her predecessors happened to have responded to the medical needs of the natives during their stay among them, this could have very well created a similar expectation of subsequent white visitors.

Pfeiffer's short account actually reveals more about her response to Puri culture than about the Puris themselves. Although Prince Adalbert's diaries offered a more differentiated and comprehensive description of Brazilian Indians, I find his response to be as personal as Pfeiffer's. The mood in his detailed account of his stays among the Puris and the Turunas reflects the different welcomes he received from these two tribes. In both cases he was accompanied by a priest who had been successful in baptizing a number of natives and in establishing a trustful relationship with them. A rather portly, gluttonous, and lazy Franciscan priest from Italy named Florido served as Prince Adalbert's guide in his search for 'uncivilized' Puri Indians. The prince was disappointed that the Puris he eventually encountered were not 'natural' ones (365): "Im Allgemeinen entsprachen die Puris der Roça den Erwartungen des Prinzen nur in sehr geringem Maße, denn sie schienen schon dem Naturzustande ziemlich entfremdet zu

sein“ (362). [In general the Puris of the Roça hardly met the prince’s expectations because they were already quite alienated from their natural state]. However, it is important here to remember that this is a second hand account that might reflect more of Kletke’s disappointment at the native’s indifference in response to a person he held in such high esteem. It is difficult to say if the sentiment was expressed by the prince in his journal or if it was imposed on the text by the narrator. In any case, Kletke, if not Prince Adalbert, was especially disenchanted by the lukewarm welcome he received from them (360). The natives barely paid attention to their visitors, taking a long time to assemble around them, and needing to be coaxed into performing the expected celebratory dance (368). In his description of the Puris, Prince Adalbert had nothing positive to say about his reluctant hosts: physically he described them (the men) as *dunkel braun, nicht häßlich, kalmückisch, hervorstehende[n] Backenknochen, strüppiges, schwarzes Haar*, [dark brown, not ugly, mongolian looking, high cheekbones, black hair], *stupid(em) Ausdruck* [with a daft facial expression]. Comparing them to the apparently more hospitable Turunas, he ascribed the following inner characteristics to the Puris: *stumpfsinnig* [dull], *menschenscheu* [timid], *mißtrauisch* [suspicious] (360-361). Their apparently very sedentary lifestyles– according to the prince, the Puris hardly did anything other than sleep (359) – are credited with the longevity of some Puris. Despite Pfeiffer’s equally prejudiced description of the Puris, her perception of them is less severe, although she does objectify them by representing their usefulness to European colonizers of the land:

Auch zu schweren Arbeiten, [...] hat man diese Wilden gern, da sie fleißig sind und [...] leicht abgelohnt werden. Doch darf man sich ihrer

durchaus nicht mit Gewalt bemächtigen–sie sind freie Menschen. Sie kommen gewöhnlich nur zur Arbeit, wenn sie schon halb verhungert sind. (54-55)

[One likes to hire these savages for heavy physical work as well [...] since they are easily compensated. However, they should not be seized by force–they are free people. They usually only come to work when they are almost starved to death].

And:

Die Miranha werden als unbezahlte Arbeiter von den Weissen gern eingefangen, namentlich die Mädchen, gehen aber an Heimweh bald zu Grunde. (Therese 88-89)

[The Miranha are often captured to become unpaid laborers for whites, specifically young girls who, soon after perish of homesickness].

Father Torquato de Souza, Prince Adalbert's guide on his expedition into the Amazon forest and along the Xingu River, makes a similar assessment of the native Brazilians in general:

Will man die Indianer bei gutem Muth erhalten, pflöge Padre Torquato zu sagen, so muss man sie ruhig gewähren lassen, sie nie antreiben. Dann arbeiten sie gern und willig, und gerade soviel als sie können. Wollen sie jedoch ruhen, so muss man ihnen nie hinein reden. (652)

[In order to maintain goodwill with Indians, Padre Torquato often said, one has to allow them to move at their own pace without ever pushing them. Under such circumstances they work gladly and willingly, and just about as much as they can. However, should they decide to rest, one should never attempt to dissuade them].

The prince agreed with this assessment (568) and expanded this list of useful attributes by underscoring their pronounced sense of direction and the ability to move soundlessly through the rainforest (516-517).

Prince Adalbert's travel narrative attempts to represent the number of Indian tribes and their diversities in Brazil: in addition to the more detailed account of his visit among the Puris in Parahyba do Sul and the Turunas along the Xingú river, he does at least briefly mention other tribes such as the Corvados and the Botocudos (355), the Mundrucús (551), the Taconhapéz (620), the Ticuapamoin, and the Impindu (685). Princess Therese took a different path through Brazil than her counterparts in my project and her narrative offers a sense of the diversity among the native Brazilian populations. She mentions numerous tribes such as the Muras, Caripunas, Ticunas, and Miranhas (Therese 17) of the Pará region. The princess grouped most of them under the following four categories: the Tupi (Mundruku) (79), the Gê, the Caribs (Arará) (78), and the Nu-Aruak (Aroaqui) (83) also known as the Maipure (14), even evoking tribes that were practically extinct, at the time, such as the Mura of the Amazon, and the Ueiupé of the Rio Negro region (14).

Despite the diversity displayed in this text, it entails paradoxical generalization:

Von Natur ist der Indianer durchschnittlich gutmütig, ehrlich, vertrauend, dankbar und treu; er gilt ferner als intelligent, geschickt und fleissig. Erst die Berührung mit den Weissen und die Behandlung durch dieselben, das Übervortheilt- und Betrogenwerden durch habsüchtige Händler hat ihn verdorben, hat ihn verstockt und rachsüchtig, unzuverlässig, misstrauisch und dem Trunke ergeben gemacht. (Therese 16)

[By nature the Indian is generally good natured, honest, trusting, thankful and loyal; furthermore, he is intelligent, skilled, and hardworking. Only the contact with whites and their treatment, being disadvantaged and betrayed by greedy traders, has spoiled and hardened him, making him vengeful, untrustworthy, distrusting and prone to drinking].

In this triangulation the princess aligned herself with the natives, at least initially, distancing herself from the “other” Europeans (i.e. the Portuguese), whom she accused of having damaged the character of the Natives through their colonial practices. Her characterization begins with an idealized generalization reminiscent of Karl May’s Indian character Winnetou, Old Shatterland’s loyal and noble friend. Both descriptions have more to do with the writers’ perceptions than the human realities of diverse native Americans. In this context, therefore, the one dimensionally negative representation of native Brazilians is more an expression of judgment against the Portuguese colonial practices than a depiction of facts.

Pfeiffer's text draws broad generalizations about Indians from her brief experience among the Puris. One must remember, though, that her stay in Brazil was much shorter than the prince's and occurred during the first stages of her first journey around the world. However brief it is, Pfeiffer's travel text follows the expected formula of adventurous narratives by including in condensed format the usual ingredients of nineteenth-century travel texts such as a hunting trip (55), a feast of unfamiliar delicacies (roasted monkeys and parrots, 56) and the usual celebratory dance to welcome the visitor (56).

Ida Pfeiffer also related the adventure of a hunting trip. One could read hegemonic appropriation in the text's referral to the catch "they" brought back to the village after had marveled at the skill of the native hunters. Adalbert of Prussia's account likewise includes numerous hunting escapades— some more or less fruitful than others (671-672, 674, 681, 682). During his stay among the Turunas, feasts of roasted monkey were a common occurrence; the prince also had the opportunity to observe the preparation of a beverage commonly served by his hosts. The process involved the chewing and spitting out of one particular ingredient by Turuna women, truly a rather unappetizing scene for most foreign observers.

The celebratory dance, the third common occurrence, was experienced differently by the travelers. In Princess Therese's rendition, the Botocudo dance is interpreted as an expression of an ascribed national identity: "Gegen Abend fanden sich die Botokuden des Aldeamentos auf unserem Lagerplatze ein, zündeten vor unserem Zelte ein Feuer an und begannen bei einbrechender Dunkelheit ihren nationalen Tanz"

(Therese 351). [During the evening the Botocudos of Aldeamentos assembled in our camp, lit a fire in front of our tent and began their national dance at dusk].

As Langsdorff does when describing slave dances, the term ‘national’ is used to define a common identity of the dancers. The question I would like to pose in this context is whether the Botocudo Indians perceived themselves as a nation in the same sense as expressed by the princess. By the time she undertook her journey to Brazil, it had not yet been twenty years since Germany was united as a nation into the Second Empire. In Bavaria, which had been an autonomous kingdom until the advent of the Second German Empire, culture and national identity might have been, at least temporarily, synonymous. Despite some controversy around Meiners’ ideas, they were influential, and still find expression today.

The princess’ description reads as a careful inventory of movements, devoid of any aesthetic evaluations: “So in Kette formiert tanzten sie, etwas zur Seite geneigt, sich langsam halb auf die Fußspitzen hebend und langsam nach links fortbewegend. Ein rhythmischer, aus wenig Tönen bestehender, nasaler Gesang begleitete den Tanz” (Therese 351). [In this manner they danced in lines, leaning a little to the side, moving forward by raising themselves halfway on their toes. A rhythmic nasal sounding song with very few notes accompanied the dancing]. Prince Adalbert’s account includes several similar descriptions of such dances led by women among the Turunha Indians. In one instance he admired the skill of an Indian woman, who was able to pick up her small child while remaining on beat. It is difficult to identify any trace of admiration in Pfeiffer’s description of the Puri dance:

Sie warfen ihre Körper mit merkwürdiger Plumpheit von einer Seite zur anderen und bewegten dabei den Kopf nach vorwärts; hierauf traten auch die Weiber hinzu, blieben jedoch etwas hinter dem Männerkreise zurück und machten die selben plumpen Bewegungen. Die Männer stimmten noch überdies ein höllisches Geplärr an, das einen Gesang vorstellen sollte, und alle verzerrten die Gesichter ganz abscheulich (105).

[They threw their bodies from one side to the other with strange crudity, moving their heads forward; the women also joined in, but remained a little farther behind the men's circles making the same crude gestures. In addition to all this, the men began a hellish bawl, that was supposed to be a song, and they all made terrible faces].

From reading different descriptions of traditional dances performed by Brazilian Indians, one learns that at times they were reenactments of battles or other aspects of their lives. The 'terrible faces' Pfeiffer referred to in the quote above might have been an aspect of such a reenactment.

It is important to note that despite the travelers' scientific intentions in seeking out Brazilian Indians, the explicit information offered in the narratives discussed in this section were hardly objective. The readership is challenged to peer between the lines, searching between the interpretations to find the facts. Despite the racist coloring of their descriptions, in some narratives the travelers identified with the natives in their judgment of colonial struggles for power. Ida Pfeiffer did not concern herself with the power struggle between the Portuguese and Brazilian Indians, and, although her account

entails some of the same aesthetic judgments found in the two previously mentioned descriptions, she displays a more disdainful and patronizing response to her Indian hosts than Prince Adalbert and Princess Therese did. Similar to the texts analyzed in the anthology mentioned at the beginning of this section, Germans and Indians (2002), some nineteenth-century travelers to Brazil included implicit and explicit criticism of the treatment of native populations by other Europeans in their travel narratives. As outsiders in a foreign colony they did frequently align themselves with the natives in their discussions of the colonial conflict with the Portuguese. Princess Therese of Bavaria described the situation as follows:

Das jetzige Verhältnis zwischen Weissen und Indianern ist ein höchst trauriges, ist ein steter stiller Kampf zwischen der raffinierten Schlaueit der einen und der rohen Gewalt der anderen Rasse. Die Hauptschuld an diesen Zuständen tragen die weissen Händler, welche auch die entlegensten Flüsse befahren und zu ihren egoistischen Zwecken die armen Wilden auf die gewissenloseste Weise ausbeuten und hintergehen.
(83)

[The current relationship between and Indians is a most unfortunate one, a constant quiet battle between the refined cunning of one race and the raw violence of the other. Whites, who travel even the remotest rivers, exploiting the savages, betraying them in the most unconscionable way for selfish gain, are mostly to blame for this situation].

She went on to say:

Zudem darf man nicht vergessen, dass die freundliche oder feindliche Gestaltung des Verhältnisses zu den Wilden mehr oder minder in den Händen der Weissen liegt, und das, wenn die an und für sich gutmütigen Naturmenschen nun zu fürchten sind, sich dies die Ansiedler nur selbst zuzuschreiben haben und die Regierung nicht unbedingt verpflichtet ist, die durch das Benehmen der Weissen hervorgerufenen Feindseligkeiten an den Botokuden zu rächen. (360)

[Furthermore, one should not forget, that the friendly or hostile nature of the relationship with the savages is more or less in the hands of the whites, and that the settlers have only themselves to blame if the inherently good-natured natural people are now to be feared, and that the government is not necessarily obligated to take revenge for the Botocudos hostility in response to the behavior of the whites].

Despite this common interest in the lives of native peoples, the rhetoric of German travelers to Brazil did not lean towards “a relationship of mutual recognition and collaboration” (Zantop, “Close Encounters” 4) between German subjects and Brazilian Indians, as was the case in Karl May’s novels. This was not the image of the noble savage inherited from the Enlightenment years; however, the Portuguese, the other Europeans, were blamed for twisting the character of otherwise naturally noble natives.

Despite an inevitably eurocentric response to native Brazilians, the tone is at least slightly different in the works of traveling ethnologists Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied and Karl von den Steinen. Before closing this portion of my study, I would

like to turn my attention to the two explorers whose main objective was to study the cultures of native populations in Brazil. As ethnological resources, both texts present native populations in a more favorable light than the three travelers just discussed, but still remain rooted in their historical and social contexts: Wied was an immediate follower of Alexander von Humboldt, and an aristocrat; Steinen was an educated middle class physician who traveled to Brazil later in the nineteenth century (1884) than Wied did. Much had changed, culturally and politically, in Germany since 1815 when Wied arrived in Rio de Janeiro.

Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied explored the southeastern regions of Brazil between 1815 and 1817, returning with a wealth of information about native South Americans, particularly the Puris and Botocudos. In 1884 Karl von den Steinen followed in the steps of Prince Adalbert von Preussen.⁵⁶ Sailing up the Xingu River he investigated the lifestyles and cultures of various people such as the Bakairi, Trumai, and Kustenau. Although they explored different regions of Brazil, Steinen and Wied, as ethnologists, expressed enthusiasm and great interest in the languages and artifacts of the native populations. Wied's text tends to offer general linguistic information with references to previous research:

Daß diese Sprache in Brasilien und in den angrenzenden Provinzen Südamerikas weit verbreitet war, beweisen unter andern die Namen der Thiere, welche Azara in seiner Naturgeschichte von Paraguay anführt.

⁵⁶ Steinen's first chapter, in which he summarized prior research conducted on the Xingu River, is illustrated with a portrait of his royal predecessor and a map of Brazil indicating his route and the prince's trajectory (Steinen 1).

Sie sind aus der Sprache der Guaranis aufgenommen, stimmen aber mit denen der Lingoa Geral zum Theil ganz überein. (Wied, [1820] I/35)

[Among other things, the names of animals, which Azara presents in his history of Paraguay, prove that this language was spread out in Brazil and in neighboring provinces of South America. They are taken from the Guaranis but agree generally with those of the *Lingoa Geral*].

As opposed to broad linguistic statements such as the one above, Steinen's text is copiously infused with linguistic samples:

Die alte Sibylle gesellte sich heute Abend auf dem freien Platz zu uns. Sie deutete nach Westen: 'Bakaïri!', nach Süden: 'Bakaïri!', nach Norden und Osten ebenso: 'Bakaïri!', und endlich einen Kreis in der Luft beschreibend resumierte sie mit stolzer Zufriedenheit: 'Bakaïri!' Zu deutsch: ‚dies alles ist mir unterthänig, gestehe, dass ich glücklich bin. (Steinen 165)

[The old sybil joined us on the open plaza. She signalled to west, 'Bakaïri!' to the south: 'Bakaïri!' the same to the north and the east: 'Bakaïri!', and finally drawing a circle in the air, she resumed with proud contentment: 'Bakaïri!' In German: "all this is subject to me, I admit, I am happy"].

The above quote is representative of Steinen's text in more ways than one. His text incorporates several direct quotes of native languages spoken in their natural contexts

such as the one above. The fact that it is the voice of a woman with special powers, the village oracle, is also quite representative, because unlike most of his male predecessors, Steinen did not shy away from measuring and describing the native women. Both these texts are *wissenschaftlich*, building on previous research and approaching the natives with a more consistently positive outlook. Both are rich sources of ethnological data but remain nevertheless two very different texts.

Generally speaking, and contrarily to Alexander von Humboldt's Relation Historique, Wied's narrative does not seem to have difficulties with the use of "Ich":

Am folgenden Morgen wurde **ich** schon von den neuangekommenen Botokuden geweckt, welche ungeduldig waren den Fremdling kennenzulernen. Sie klopfen heftig an die verschlossene Tür, bis **ich** sie öffnete, und überhäuften **mich** sogleich mit einer Menge von Freundschaftsbezeugungen. (Wied, [1987] 148; emphasis mine)

[Already the next morning **I** was awoken by the newly arrived Botocudos who couldn't wait to meet the newcomer. They knocked vigorously at the locked door until **I** opened it, and immediately showered **me** with many expressions of kindness].

The text presents Wied as a heroic discoverer of the region, who fearlessly confronts dangerous situations and hardships and finds favor with the native inhabitants, which is a typical theme of discovery narratives. Wied deviated from this tradition by acknowledging the reciprocal gaze of the Natives, including women: "Einige mit schweren Säcken beladene Weiber kamen nun, eine nach der anderen, auch herbei,

betrachteten mich mit gleicher Neugier und teilten einander ihre Bemerkungen mit” (Wied, [1987] 132). [Some women carrying heavy sacs came by, one after the other, looked at me with the same curiosity and shared their impressions with one another].

Here the reciprocal female gaze that Ida Pfeiffer reluctantly acknowledged years later, is narrated as part of the discoverer’s experience. Wied was much an object of wonder to the Botocudo Indians as they were to him: “Sie waren nicht wenig verwundert über die weißere Haut, die blonden Haare und die blauen Augen derselben“ (Wied, [1987] 134). [They were truly amazed at the whiter skin, blond hair and blue eyes]. Wied marveled at their skills in archery and their physical strength and endurance – “große Muskelkraft und Ausdauer” ([1987] 135) – and yet all of this admiration did not translate into an understanding of the Botocudos as anything else but *Wilde* [savages] ([1987] 134, 135, 137) and no more predictable than animals. As such he described them when he had the opportunity to watch them in battle with another group of natives: while the men began fighting by making threatening sounds “wie böse Hunde” (152) [like mean dogs], “die Weiber fochten währenddessen ebenfals ritterlich” (153) [meanwhile the women fought just as valiantly]. I would like to draw attention to the difference in comparisons between genders: while fighting native men were compared to animals, ironically, Wied described native women in knightly terms, verbally elevating them to the status of European men. Although in Wied’s description native women appear to be as visible and as strong as men, the explorer stopped at describing their physiology, emphasizing their physical skills and strength. As an early nineteenth-century traveler, Maximilian zu Wied was more immediately influenced by

anthropological theories of the Enlightenment and indeed reproduced to a certain extent the idea of the noble savage.

Despite Wied's informative description of native Brazilians, the text is still more about him and about establishing him as a credible heroic explorer than about the natives. Steinen's rendition of his stay in Brazil allows the objects of his ethnological observations center stage. It is frequently humorous and ironic. His perspective was more a collective one⁵⁷ as opposed to an individual one and his text even dared to make light of the European travelers. Despite the light tone of the narrative, it is most definitely an ethnological document in which Steinen even challenged a well established theory by Martius (101). The volume includes various illustrations by Wilhelm von den Steinen, an ethnographic map, a map of the Xingu River, and numerous linguistic samples. This information is carried by a rather accessible and conversational text in which Steinen inserted a patchwork of official and unofficial documents.

By the time Steinen traveled to Brazil, Germany was united into the Second German Empire (1871) and German literature was experiencing the *bürgerliche Realismus*. Humor became an important component, and the sciences were being popularized through specialized associations and museums as discussed in the second and fourth chapters of this study. As a member of the ascending middle class, Steinen narrated at the intersection of these two cultural events in Germany. Through private associations, *Wissenschaft* had become a collective activity of the bourgeoisie. Steinen

⁵⁷ Steinen traveled to Brazil for the first time in 1884 accompanied by his cousin, the graphic artist Wilhelm von den Steinen and with astronomer and physicist Dr. Otto Clauss.

narrated the expedition not only as a personal experience, but also through the gaze of his travel companions and even at times his team members. The humorous episodes aid in popularizing the data included in the text.

About his stay among what he called “tamed Bakairis” (101), Steinen indicated: “Dass wir keine Frauen erblickten, rührte daher , dass sie in einem zwei Legoas entfernten Aldeamento wohnten“ (101). [That we did not see any women stemmed from the fact that they lived in a settlement that was two legoas⁵⁸ away]. This statement indicates that Steinen clearly sought to include native women as well as men in his research, which emulates Langsdorff’s interest in Brazilian women. Steinen is the only man in my selection of travelers to Brazil who described the facial features and physical countenance of native women (122):

Carlotta war eine von Diamantino mitgebrachte Pareci, die Frau des abwesenden Kapitäns Felipe: ihre kleinen Aeugelein, die von Brauenhöhe bis zum inneren Augenwinkel platte Nasenwurzel unterschieden sie auffällig von den Bakairi-Weibern. (122)

[Carlotta was a Pareci who had been brought from Diamantino, the wife of the absent Captain Felipe: her tiny eyes, her flat nosebase from her eyebrows to the space between her eyes distinguished her remarkably from the Bakairi women].

⁵⁸ *Legoa* was a measurement unit and *Aldeamento* referred to settlements. The Portuguese words were used in Langsdorff’s narrative.

Steinen's description comes across as an inventory of Carlotta's face. However, I would like to look beyond his interaction with colonized natives in which he acknowledged the destructive effects of colonization on their lifestyle (101, 119).

Despite Steinen's inclusive stance toward native women and his critique of colonization, the text is not free of eurocentric stereotypes toward blacks and natives. For instance, as they nervously approached their very first indigenous village they grow "Wir werden ernster und selbst die Neger, die sich so gern in der Angst durch Schwatzen Muth zu machen suchen, schreiten lautlos voran" (Steinen 158) [more serious and even the negroes who, when in fear, like so much to find courage in chatter, silently stride forward]. His Bakairi hosts were "Barbaren" (159) [barbarians] and wild or untamed (as animals) (158, 165).

Their first encounter with the Bakairis was rather tentative: "Ein völlig nackter Indianer tritt heran, jung, wohlgebaut, schliesst die Thüre und kommt uns entgegen, einen langen Pfeilschaft ohne Spitze in der Hand, den er waagrecht vor sich hin hält" (158). [A completely naked Indian comes toward us, young and well-built, closes the door and comes toward us holding a long bow without an arrow horizontally in his hand]. Steinen expressed that he and his team "felt indescribably well among these paradisiacal people" (160). So much so that they visited a total of four Bakairi villages that had never experienced the presence of white people, following the same pattern of establishing contact, smoking tobacco with the hosts, bartering goods and taking measurements, enjoying a drink and a meal, and being entertained with music and at times dancing before their departure. In one such village, Steinen was pleased to be able to measure women (166). During his stay in the first Bakairi village, Steinen proceeded

to correct negative expectations his audience might have had about his hosts. For instance, the natives' reputation of uncleanness and theft was contradicted in a number of their encounters in Brazil.

One humorous recurring episode was the shooting demonstration by the European visitor that consistently received mixed reviews from the native population (159, 177) since they did not know whether to laugh or to flee at the sound of the thundering gunshots. Steinen also made light of himself for inadvertently almost having consumed a poisonous beverage. Bakairí women prevented him from unintentionally committing suicide. The explorer decided "ihnen kein Wunder vorzumachen" [not to perform any miracles before them] by drinking the poisonous beverage. In another humorous episode, a series of misunderstandings between the travelers and the Trumai Indians due to mistakes on both sides brought their encounter to an abrupt end when Wilhelm, Karl's cousin, unintentionally pulled the trigger of his weapon, causing all the Natives to disappear in the forest (192-195).

Not all of Steinen's observations of natives were positive: "der Häuptling fiel durch sein stupides Gesicht und eine starke Nase auf" (169). [The chief stood out because of his vacuous face and strong nose]. Neither did he enjoy the sound of native music (173), that he described as a howl. Also, although he complimented the first village for its cleanliness, the third and fourth villages he judged unsanitary because of all the trash lying around (172). While thefts had not been a concern during their stay among the Bakairís, the travelers had to keep a closer watch over their belongings during their stay among the Trumai (180). In other words, Steinen offered a more differentiated representation of native South Americans than other nineteenth-century

travelers to Brazil. Wied and Steinen, as enthusiastic ethnologists, presented native populations in a more positive– yet not idealized– and also differentiated light than travelers who were not necessarily anthropologists. They saw them, not as noble savages, but as human beings at a different stage of development.

The discussion above has shown that triangular thinking was instrumental in navigating through the unfamiliar aspects of Brazil, allowing the narrating travelers to carve out an identity for themselves. In response to slavery and the presence of numerous black people in Brazil, the travelers reaffirm their identities as hard-working compassionate Germans. Interestingly enough, their descriptions show the travelers identifying with one aspect of African slaves' lives: hard work. However, triangulation in this context did not result in even a momentary identification with black Brazilians per se. Karl May published his first 'Winnetou' story in 1875 and became successful with his first 'Winnetou' book in 1892, which means that most of the travelers discussed in this project were not exposed to May's work. I have not yet stumbled upon evidence of Karl May's direct influence on the latter travelers. Nevertheless, their texts have in common a fascination with native American populations. Read as a dialogue between several representations of Brazil, the narratives challenge the readership with an opportunity to look past the obvious text in order to reconstruct an image of nineteenth-century Brazil.

Conclusion

Russel Berman's question about European travelers' ability to learn something new in their encounter with 'others' should be revisited at this point as a way of summarizing the findings of my discussion. Were these travel texts simple reproductions of narrow-minded ideologies? How did their experiences in Brazil influence their understanding of themselves as German nationals? And, furthermore, what relevance do these observations have two centuries later? Alexander von Humboldt affirmed in a letter he sent from Paris in 1804 to Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III⁵⁹ about his journey:

La protection généreuse des sciences, l'influence des douces lois, et la recherche libre de la société et de la justice ont élevé la monarchie prussienne au commencement du dix-neuvième siècle au plus haut point de bonheur moral et de gloire extérieure. Ne puis-je oser espérer que le fondateur de ce bonheur, que Votre Majesté daignera regarder avec bienveillance une entreprise, par laquelle j'ai cherché, durant cinq ans de sacrifices et avec le concours de toutes mes forces à être utile à l'histoire naturelle et à l'ethnographie. (Humboldt, Lettres 173-174)

[Generous protection of the sciences, the influence of good laws and free research in society and justice have elevated the Prussian monarchy at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the summit of moral happiness and glory abroad. May I dare hope that the author of this happiness, that Your Majesty would kindly look with favor upon an enterprise through

⁵⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840) became King of Prussia in 1797. Prince Adalbert was his nephew.

which, during five years of sacrifice and with all of my strength, I attempted to be useful to natural history and to ethnography].

Humboldt presented scientific research as a matter of national pride to his (Prussian) king; but he also congratulated Wüllersdorf-Urbair, an Austrian, on preparing to lead the Novara expedition (1857), referring to the tour as one that honors “das **deutsche** Vaterland und die Wissenschaften” (Scherzer, Beilage I) [the **German** fatherland and the sciences (emphasis mine)]. Humboldt understood German national identity as one that entailed both a regional and a more global aspect to it. Chapter I addressed this question of German national identity in the travel texts analyzed in this study.

Historically speaking, Germany and Brazil were connected not only imaginarily through what Zantop calls “americanisms”, but also through important commonalities.

For example:

- The direct or indirect influence of Napoleon’s imperialism on the development of nationalism in both regions.
- The rise of the bourgeoisie both in Germany and in Brazil, one rooted in the Industrial Revolution and the other in the enslavement of thousands.
- The boom in research and knowledge in both contexts. Spix and Martius’ account includes a detailed description of Brazilian efforts in the nineteenth century to measure up to European scientific centers. These efforts were curtailed by Portugal’s attempts to keep the independent colony in its place.

For both regions, it was a time of nationalistic striving resulting from foreign influences. In the case of Germany, the French invasion of Central Europe was an

impetus for such unification efforts. In the case of Brazil, nationalism resulted from a division between recently arriving Portuguese members of the royal court accompanying the royal family in their flight from Napoleon, and Brazilians of Portuguese descent, who were beginning to feel colonized by the recent arrivals. Chapter II showed that by the end of the nineteenth century travel narratives had evolved into a popular literary genre in Germany influencing the public sphere. The explosion of *Wissenschaft* at that time created an environment in which a number of scientists could relate to Humboldt's fascination with South America. Humboldt spent the rest of his life summarizing his findings. His monumental work is an encyclopedic puzzle of numerous essays and lists, Brazil being a gaping hole in the picture. The narratives of nineteenth-century German travelers to Brazil contributed to the completion of this puzzle, each narrative representing a missing piece.

The fact that sections of the puzzle can only be filled by several authors speaks to the monumental size of Humboldt's endeavor. From the discussion of Humboldt and his writings in Chapter III, one can perhaps see in the magnitude of his works a reason why Humboldt's writings rarely have been examined as literary texts and also from a post/colonial approach. Lubrich's invitation to such a project will have to be undertaken by addressing Humboldt's writing portions one at a time. In this project, my focus was on the segment of Humboldt's narration pertaining to his trip up the Orinoco and Rio Negro Rivers.

Chapter IV followed the colonizing gaze of the travelers; their narratives paint Rio de Janeiro as a 'pseudo-metropolis' in the midst of the 'tropics' – with the same green opulence and teeming life found in British descriptions of India. Despite the

inevitable “misinformation, misconceptions, and stereotypes” carried by the colonial gaze (Hunt 1), self reflective moments, or ‘auto-pedagogical’ instances show that they did indeed “learn something new” (Berman; Irmer 27). As surprised but disappointed *flâneurs*—marginal colonizers— in Rio de Janeiro, they reconfirmed their eurocentric expectations of colonial metropolis in their responses to the colonial ‘pseudo-metropolis’. One could also say that not only were these expectations confirmed, but the tropical city comes across as a necessary distraction from the true motivation for exploring Brazil: the Amazon forest and the native populations.

Travel narratives served as a ‘confessional space’ in which travelers processed their responses to the ‘other’ things, spaces, and people, and (re)defining themselves as Germans. In Brazil, they became Germans rather than being Bavarians, Silesians, or Prussians, as opposed to Brazilians. Chapter V showed that, at the time, the collective German identity entailed, among other things, being white. It is in this context that the traveler’s ability and/or will to change found expression. As far as the ability to change is concerned (Berman), the travelers did at times display behavior that they might not have previously chosen; however, the question remains if the behavioral changes (Adalbert washing his clothes and bathing in a river, for example) were permanent. Self reflective moments seem to indicate inner or intellectual changes that were more likely to persist (Ida Pfeiffer overcoming her fear of sleeping in an Indian hut at night).

Uncanny encounters with German immigrants, after the initial enthusiasm in finding a reflection of oneself in the tropics generally provoked an ambivalent, negative, if not distanced, response to German immigration to Brazil. Their discourse affirms an attachment to a specific geographical location as an intricate part of German

nationalism. Interestingly, Germans who immigrated to Brazil were usually impoverished farmers who had been disenfranchised in their fatherland and did not own land. Brazil, a foreign country, offered them the possibility to own land, a dream that might never have come true in Germany. This too was an uncanny relationship with the fatherland. German travelers to Brazil could not relate to these circumstances and did not share the same perception of their fatherland.

Their uncanny encounters with German immigrants to Brazil was a distraction or ‘stumbling block’ in their efforts to experience the tropics. While they were all fascinated with the Brazilian tropics, most of the travelers could not imagine departing from their homelands in order to make this colony their home. Therefore the uncanny encounter with Germans of a different persuasion in this regard came as a surprise to German travelers in the century of German nationalism. It is important to note that, although the presence of skilled laborers and traders is evident in the narratives discussed here, most of the German immigrants were of a much lower social class than the travelers and narrators of these texts. Considerations of class are necessary in any effort to compare German immigrants to German explorers of Brazil; the ‘contact zone’ brings together not only individuals of different cultural and historical backgrounds, but also people of different social classes who in their homelands were not likely to interact with one another.

Concerning the influence of gender in the interpretation of Brazil in these texts, it would be, in my opinion, somewhat unproductive to draw a clear dividing line between female and male voices, since the authors crossed the supposed line frequently. Spix and Martius spoke from the heart and expressed emotions at times associated with

women; Langsdorff showed an interest in the feminine realms of Brazilian society that was not shown in narratives by other men; Steinen's descriptions of native women show an almost equal interest in the lifestyle of native South American men and women. The latter is the only male traveler to affirm having taken measurements of native women as well as men. The maternal strength and courage of the *Germania* mythical figure, consciously or subconsciously, became the standard by which various Brazilian women were measured in travel narratives.

Developments in science and knowledge affected women in Brazil and Germany differently. In Germany, the rise in literacy included women and enabled some to contribute to *Wissenschaft* despite their exclusion from universities and several societies. The literacy rate among Portuguese women in Brazil, however, remained comparatively low, because they were excluded from this process. Despite a refusal on the part of the scientific societies to acknowledge women's contribution to their fields of research, the travel texts by women included in this project show that their writings were no less informative than texts by their male counterparts.

Triangulations, as a discursive strategy, offer more flexibility than the binary oppositions presupposed in such concepts as 'manichean aesthetics' for the discussion of the colonial identities and positions of German travelers to nineteenth-century Brazil. Triangular thinking was influenced by the travelers' perceptions of national and racial identities in given situations. In the German explorer-Portuguese colonizer-German immigrant triangle for instance, travelers identified initially with immigrants as outsiders or marginal colonizers; however, the narrators seem to reject the marginal

position of the immigrants, for instance, by questioning the immigrants' nostalgia. The immigrants' ability to adapt to their new lives in the tropics is almost as exotic as the tropics themselves.

Triangulation finds its limits in their responses to black Brazilians, breaking the traditional dichotomies of 'us and them'. Rio de Janeiro, as their first encounter with Portuguese colonialism, was an impetus to define a German metropolis and to establish standards for a colonial metropolis. In the triangle of German traveler-Portuguese colonizer-African slave, the travelers joined Humboldt in criticizing slavery, apparently empathizing with the suffering of the slaves. However, this empathy rarely resulted in a full identification with the Africans. Rigid German theories of race from the eighteenth century had enough influence to hinder this mental step. All of the narrators expressed disdain at the practice of slavery and found it an unfortunate ingredient of Brazilian society and economy, all the while benefitting from the institution during their stays and expeditions. Some ambivalently, even guiltily, enjoyed the services of Brazilian slaves as an exotic experience, showing in their behavior an alignment with the colonizers.

Concerning the triangulation between German travelers-native Brazilians-Portuguese colonizers, Zantop excluded examinations of South American encounters from her volume on German "indianthusiasm" for a very practical reason: the Winnetou model does not apply in this context. While the travel narratives show an enthusiasm for learning about native Brazilians, this sentiment does not apply to all encounters with natives. This narrative triangulation is a potential site for manichean colonialism: German travelers, critical of the interactions between native populations and 'other'

European colonizers, insert themselves in place of the Portuguese colonizers discursively into their travelogues. They (German subjects) become then the Europeans interacting with the Tupis and Botocudos, for instance, in place of the Portuguese (or other Europeans). The discussion on race is in line with Sara Lennox's call for critics to address race as an inherent ingredient of German national identity. Most of the travelers shared the Bavarian princess' conviction that they had been negatively transformed through treacherous interactions with the Portuguese. This is precisely the reason for the urgency expressed by German ethnologist Adolph Bastian for ethnographic work among people considered primitive. Despite his nonhierarchical yet universalistic understanding of culture, Bastian's perspective was that cultures, as the organic entities he perceived them to be, were irrevocably changed through contact with outsiders. Bastian shared Ernest Renan's (1823-1892) perspective that "(b)efore French, German, or Italian culture there is culture" (Renan 50). Bastian, however, extended this worldview to include native populations in tropical regions as well all other non-European subjects. Most of the German travelers discussed in this project perceived the interactions between Natives and Portuguese colonizers as negative. Despite the obvious subjectivity of the narratives discussed, they do convey the diversity of Brazilian native populations.

There is another less obvious triangle to consider: the triangulation between German traveling women, Brazilian women, and German traveling men. It is a less obvious and a more unstable one, because of the diversity of women encountered in Brazil. One could wonder in this context with whom a nineteenth-century German woman traveling in Brazil might identify in opposition to Brazilian women? One could

assume that their male counterparts would be a more direct point of reference, or perhaps, Portuguese men in Brazil. In one account, Ina von Binzer was entrusted by one of her employers with the safety of his family during his absence by providing her with a gun to drive away possible intruders. In this instance, the German woman subject was forced into a triangle between herself, the mistress of the house, and her husband. As she accepted this positioning, I speculate that she agreed with the identification with the perceived protector of the household. She therefore took on a role that was traditionally ascribed to a male. Ida Pfeiffer was at times asked to practice medicine during her contacts with Brazilian Indians, a position usually occupied by men during her time. Rather than argue with her hosts, she stepped into the role, making medical recommendations when requested. As mentioned above, the concept of triangulations can serve as a productive means of breaking the critical theory's apparent imprisonment in dualities and oppositional dichotomies.

It is my thesis that the narratives of nineteenth-century German travelers to Brazil contributed to the construction a German national identity that occupies a fluid (colonial) position in response to diverse "Others" encountered in colonial Brazil. Triangular thinking does create such a fluid position or location from which nineteenth-century German subjects could participate in negotiating and constructing a German nationality.

This project, although conducted in the context of German studies, crosses the boundaries between literary and historical studies, as well as post/colonial German and Brazilian Cultural Studies. At the beginning of this discussion, I remarked that the

narratives analyzed in this study conveyed more subjective observations of Brazil than concrete information. I would like to offer a slightly different view at this time. I propose that, although the travelers' perceptions of and responses to Brazil were influenced by their national, social, gender, and racial locations, it will be up to the readers to look past those biases by deconstructing and challenging them in order to construct their own flexible understandings of nineteenth-century Brazil. In this dissertation, various perceptions and representations of Brazil converse with each other. My understanding of Brazil resulting from my exposure to these texts is comparable to a quilt: I have constructed for myself as a reader an image of nineteenth-century Brazil, pieced together from fragments of various perspectives of the time.

In the process of conducting research and formulating this project, it became increasingly apparent that the subject of nineteenth-century Brazil according to the German gaze is far broader than I anticipated in choosing this as a dissertation topic. As mentioned earlier, the theme of 'women through women's eyes' could be explored in one project. There is still much more to be said about the representation of native Brazilians in German travel texts of the nineteenth century; for instance, there should be an examination of homogenizations and differentiations between native populations in narratives by Germans. In the context of nationalism, the responses to the Portuguese royal family could be explored. Discursive strategies such as personifications and 'orientalisms' in landscape descriptions could be interpreted and explored in yet another project. Unlike Humboldt's Relation Historique, the travel narratives analyzed in this project did not display any reluctance to communicate with common readers of the time. Alexander von Humboldt openly resented and resisted the growing influence of

the reading population on the content of travel texts. He published with reservations the Relation Historique. His successors, on the other hand, adapted to the practice of addressing at least two different audiences by separately publishing scientific results and autobiographical narratives. Texts by Spix and Martius, Prince Adalbert, Binzer, and Wied have seen more recent editions. Translations and abbreviated new editions of the other texts would be of interest to a broader audience. This would include not only specialists in German and/or Brazilian history, but also enthusiasts of travel literature. A critical anthology of excerpts from each of these texts would be of particular interest to academics focusing on the genre of travel literature. I venture to say that the combination of humor, picturesque descriptions, and copious scientific information found in Therese von Bayern's and Karl von den Steinen's texts would result in entertaining yet informative shortened editions for today's readers.

The observations made in this project and the interpretations proposed are relevant today in Germany and in our world today. Through globalization, the world is slowly but surely becoming one extended contact zone or a zone of various and numerous sorts of contacts.

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