

Envisioning a “Whitened” Brazil: Photography and Slavery at the World’s Fairs, 1862–1889

SVEN SCHUSTER
Universidad del Rosario

Abstract

Between 1862 and 1889, the Brazilian elite perceived international exhibitions as an opportunity to promote and project an idealized image of the “modern nation”. By displaying commodities and agricultural products, as well as some manufactured artifacts, Brazil sought to attract foreign investment and immigrants. However, in contrast to its Spanish American competitors at the world’s fairs, many of Brazil’s exhibits derived from slave labor. To downplay this unpleasant reality before a critical international audience, the exhibition organizers used the “objective” medium of photography to depict their country as overwhelmingly European, focusing on the gradual process of “whitening” through immigration. In addition, a few carefully selected photographs of black people aimed to corroborate the “benevolent” nature of the Brazilian slavery system.

Keywords: Brazil, world’s fairs, photography, slavery, visual culture, 19th century

Resumen

Entre 1862 y 1889, la elite brasileña concibió exposiciones internacionales como una oportunidad para promover la imagen idealizada de una “nación moderna”. Por medio de la exhibición de productos agrícolas, así como de algunos objetos manufacturados, Brasil trató de atraer capital extranjero e inmigrantes. Sin embargo, a diferencia de sus competidores hispanoamericanos en las exposiciones universales, muchos de los objetos expuestos por Brasil provenían de mano de obra esclava. Para minimizar esta realidad

desagradable ante el crítico público internacional, los organizadores de la exposición utilizaron el medio “objetivo” de la fotografía para proyectar un país predominantemente europeo, enfocándose en el proceso gradual del “blanqueamiento” por medio de la inmigración. Además, expusieron algunas fotografías de negros cuidadosamente seleccionadas con el fin de corroborar el carácter “benévolo” del sistema esclavista brasileño.

Palabras clave: Brasil, exposiciones universales, fotografía, esclavitud, cultura visual, siglo XIX

Introduction

Between 1862 and 1889, the Empire of Brazil under D. Pedro II participated in international exhibitions to define and promote the idealized image of a “modern nation”. Although the focus of these events was on economic development and natural resources, representations of Brazil’s population and culture also played an important role in the elites’ project to promote a “tropical yet progressive country” abroad.¹ In the same period, the rival Argentines and Mexicans also sought to use the world’s fairs to display their gradual economic and social progress to an international audience, hoping to attract foreign labor, technology and assets, but they were just catching up to Brazilian standards by the time of the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1889.² In this year, Brazil’s participation in Paris marked the apotheosis of a process that had begun three decades earlier, when the Empire made its debut at the Great London Exhibition in 1862. As the 1889 fair was held in commemoration of the French Revolution and its republican ideals, the Brazilian monarchy was not officially represented for the first time, although the emperor had visited the exhibition grounds before and had acted as a sponsor. Nevertheless, the private Franco-Brazilian Syndicate managed to organize a spectacular performance, culminating in the erection of the Brazilian national pavilion right beside the era’s new symbol of universal modernity: the Eiffel Tower.³

Ironically, the Empire’s finest hour in terms of self-representation was also the last success of this kind. Just two weeks after the closure of the Paris exhibition, on 15 November 1889, the emperor was ousted by a military coup and Brazil became a federal republic. With some notable exceptions, such as the country’s participation in Chicago (1893), St. Louis (1904) and Seville (1929), the newly formed United States of Brazil showed considerably less interest in world’s fairs. At the greatest fair of the 19th century, the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900 – celebrated to commemorate the achievements of the past century and attended by almost 50 million visitors – Brazil was not even present. Thus, the golden age of exhibitions, consisting of the years between the Crystal Palace Exhibition

in London in 1851 and the Paris Exhibition of 1900, had finally ended. Since the world's fairs were global media events that also captured the attention of large sectors of the working and lower middle classes, no other contemporary medium better represented the universalistic claim of the Atlantic West, according to Jürgen Osterhammel.⁴

Although most other Latin American countries perceived the exhibitions in London (1862), Paris (1867, 1889), Vienna (1873) and Philadelphia (1876) as an opportunity to gain a higher standing within the world's leading nations and to define how a truly “modern” nation could and should look, the Empire of Brazil had a huge disadvantage in respect to its competitors. As they did at the national preparatory exhibitions, which were usually staged a few months before the world's fairs in the Imperial capital, Rio de Janeiro, the exhibition organizers sought to display their material progress by emulating European patterns of development, focusing on machinery, agricultural products such as coffee, sugar and wood, and iron ore and textiles. However, most of the other non-European nations attending the world's fairs had quite similar products on show. What made Brazil's case different, or in a certain way “delicate”, was the fact that many of the exhibits derived from slave labor.

Since Brazil had just abolished slavery on 13 May 1888 – one year before the opening of the Paris Universal Exhibition – the Imperial elite faced the enormous problem of how to “sell” the institution's continuing existence before an international audience. This had already been an issue at the Great London Exhibition in 1862 due to the heavy pressure exerted by Great Britain since the 1830s, which soon escalated into the temporary abandonment of diplomatic relations.⁵ As slaves made up a considerable part of the Brazilian workforce during most of the Imperial era, the exhibition planners at first tried to hide this unpleasant aspect of reality. Notwithstanding, many members of the progressive-minded elite in charge of organizing Brazil's participation in the world's fairs were slaveholders themselves, as José Luiz Werneck has pointed out.⁶ Most of them were affiliates of Rio de Janeiro's *Museu Nacional*, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (AIBA), the Brazilian Institute of History and Geography (IHGB), the National Industry Support Society (SAIN) and the Imperial Institute of Agriculture (IIFA). Although many of them relied on slave labor to make a living, they nevertheless opted for gradual emancipation. From their perspective, a country that wished to be “civilized and progressive” could not afford to present itself as a slave society before the eyes of the world. Therefore, they simply tried to avoid the topic in the context of the Great London Exhibition in 1862.

However, at the 1867 Paris Exhibition this stance became almost impossible, as the world's largest slave society, the Southern States of North America, had experienced a crushing defeat in the bloody civil war just two years before.

Another delegitimizing factor for maintaining slavery in the Americas was the increasing critique from British and French abolitionists, which finally convinced the Brazilian exhibition planners to tackle the problem publicly. Hence, at the exhibitions of 1867 and 1873 there were images and textual descriptions of slavery on display, presumably to justify the persistence of slavery by creating the image of Brazil as a “racial paradise”.⁷ From this perspective, Brazilian slavery was “different” and had nothing in common with the cruelties known from Cuban or North American plantations; it was rather like a paternalistic “civilization project” that would someday transform slaves into citizens. In line with the enactment of laws for the gradual emancipation of slaves, the Brazilian stands and pavilions at the world’s fairs between 1873 and 1889 usually hosted images, display boards and exhibition guides to show the exceptionally “humane” treatment of slaves.

With the exception of the privately organized 1889 endeavor, all of Brazil’s fair participations were highly official affairs, aimed at demonstrating the Empire’s material and human progress “in a nutshell”. Nevertheless, behind the pompous ceremonies and the monumental facades of Brazil’s exhibition palaces there were fierce debates within the Imperial elite over what to show and how to present it the “right way”. The national and international press, as well as the exhibition reports and catalogues, indeed show a wide range of opinions on how to combine visions of modernity with images of exoticism, indigenous cultures and slavery, as demanded by the European and North American host countries. Despite the universalistic celebration of peace and civilization on the exhibition grounds, Europe and North America both perceived the fairs as arenas for extending their struggle over the geopolitical distribution of power in a symbolic and performative way, by creating a “miniature globe” divided into centers, peripheries and colonies. In this context, an officially independent, but politically and economically dependent country such as Brazil had to “play by the rules”. By displaying raw materials, rather primitive manufactured goods and “exotic pictures” of slaves and indigenous people alongside the technological exhibits of the developed countries, Brazil temporarily accepted its inferior role in the World System. However, its future would be bright if the elite simply followed the teleological path of development shown by the European and North American mentors.

In this context, the new medium of photography was especially relevant, as it was one of the very few technologies that even a peripheral country like Brazil could master and successfully display abroad. Furthermore, as exemplified by the figure of keen amateur photographer D. Pedro II himself, the Brazilian elite associated photography with modernity and regarded the technique as an “objective” way of depicting nature.⁸ Photographs and cameras were therefore

ranked equally alongside astronomical instruments and machinery at the world’s fairs, as Maria Inez Turazzi has shown.⁹ By repeating the same images at various national and international exhibitions, but always adapting them to specific historical contexts, they became even more powerful over time.

In what follows, I will interpret photographs as visual components of complex discourses on race and slavery. Beyond that level of analysis, I will focus on the material and performative dimensions of these pictures, drawing on sources that provide us with information about their reception and the possible intention of their authors. As a matter of course, many scholars have analyzed the political iconography of the world’s fairs, but even within the huge body of scholarly literature, the issue of visual representations of slavery at the exhibitions is still an important lacuna. In accordance with the most important discursive strategies relating to the “problem” of how to present slavery to a highly critical audience, this article is divided into two thematic sections. First, I will look at the strategies deployed to avoid the issue of slavery altogether and to instead promote the gradual process of “whitening the nation” following the declaration of the Law of the Free Womb in 1871. Then, I will delve into the equally important construction of the so-called “racial paradise” concept and its sociopolitical function within the scope of the exhibitions.

“Whitening the Nation”

As we have already seen, in 1862 the Empire of Brazil avoided conveying a certain image of its population. Generally speaking, the Empire’s display in London was rather poor and there was not even a special exhibition guide for the Brazilian section, as there would be at later exhibitions. The few photographs and paintings included in the collection gave no impression of the actual composition of the country’s population, as they only depicted members of the Imperial family, as well as a series of “illustrious personalities”.¹⁰ According to the Brazilian exhibition planners, the meager display of agricultural products and manufactured goods should at least be linked to the use of modern machinery and the establishment of an efficient infrastructure, in order to avoid creating the image of an excessively underdeveloped country. As the exhibition organizers failed to transport huge machines to London, they exhibited photographic reproductions of them instead.¹¹ After all, the exhibitions should promote a process of modernization, which is why the persistence of slavery did not fit well into the desired celebration of “order, liberty and progress”, the motto of the first National Exhibition in 1861, staged in Rio de Janeiro in preparation for the world’s fair.¹²

While the visual exclusion of free blacks and slaves, who actually represented a significant proportion of the Brazilian workforce in the 1860s, did not cause any further debate among the exhibition committee or provoke any critical commentary from Rio de Janeiro's semi-official press, some of the independent satirical journals reacted differently.¹³ Thus, in its habitual sarcastic spirit, Rio de Janeiro's *Bazar Volante* published a series of cartoons making fun of the fact that the Empire aimed to depict itself as an overwhelmingly "white" country by simply fading out the "unpleasant realities" of slavery and miscegenation. In one issue, *Bazar Volante* showed two fictitious exhibition visitors of African descent staring at one of the paintings exhibited by the AIBA in the *Escola Central*, where the first National Exhibition took place. In colloquial and grammatically incorrect language, they attempted to measure the painting's "artistic value", showing no apparent understanding of its European-style esthetics. Finally, they asked themselves whether a "white man" would have interpreted the painting the way they did.¹⁴ With blatantly racist cartoons of this kind, *Bazar Volante* and other journals aimed to highlight the huge contradictions between the realities of a slave-dependent economy and the somewhat out-of-place celebration of progress demonstrated at the exhibitions. For them, the presentation of the works of AIBA artists, who usually received part of their education in France or Italy, was just more proof of the Empire's failure to recognize the nation's true problems by slavishly emulating European culture. The kind of "high culture" displayed in the exhibition halls, they claimed, could not even be correctly interpreted by "uncivilized" Brazilians. Hence, in yet another critical remark on the National Exhibition, the satirical journal *Semana Illustrada* insinuated that Rio de Janeiro's elite poured into the exhibition halls just "to be seen, and not to see". For Rio's upper classes, the journal argued, it was all about social distinction and not about popular education.¹⁵ As was to be expected, Brazil's participation in London was again targeted by similar criticism.¹⁶ However, harsh attacks from the press were quite common during the Imperial era and Rio's satirical journals in particular enjoyed an astonishing degree of liberty, even more so than during the republican period between 1889 and 1930.¹⁷

Although the Brazilian exhibition organizers firmly believed that the world's fairs would boost modernization at home and saw the preparatory National Exhibitions as opportunities to educate the general population about the blessings of a free market economy, their stance on the issue of abolition was somewhat ambivalent. The refusal to approach the "problem of slavery" in London was mainly a consequence of the ongoing civil war in North America and the sense of uncertainty about its outcome. There were, indeed, widespread fears of a slave revolt, as had happened in Haiti, or other violent forms of rebellion within the country. The pressure of French and British abolitionists on Brazil was also

considerable. The sense of reluctance to exhibit any aspect of slavery in Rio de Janeiro or London became particularly evident in the exhibition organizers' decision to disqualify the images of slaves taken by French photographer Victor Frond at Brazilian plantations during the 1850s. Frond, who ran a photographic studio in Rio de Janeiro between 1858 and 1862, was actually the first to take photographs of Brazilian slaves.¹⁸ His status as a celebrated photographer essentially stemmed from his technically perfect portraits of celebrities, as well as his detailed panoramic views of the city of Rio. In particular, his pictures of the Sugar Loaf and the Lapa aqueduct became clear icons of national self-representation, as photography historian Margrit Prussat has pointed out.¹⁹

His images of slaves were incorporated into the lithographic album *Brazil Pittoresco* along with various spectacular landscapes and city views. The book was first published in 1859 in Rio de Janeiro, combining lithographs made by Philippe Benoist based on Frond's photographs with texts by French journalist Charles de Ribeyrolles.²⁰ It was the first endeavor of its kind, not just in Brazil, but also in Latin America. A second improved edition was published two years later by the prestigious French publishing house Lemercier, due to the poor paper quality of the first edition.²¹

According to Prussat, the lithographic prints contained in *Brazil Pittoresco* were an immediate success. Although the high price meant that just a few wealthy members of the elite could actually purchase the book, the rapid spread of Frond's images by reproduction in other media increased their circulation over the following decades.²² According to photography historian Boris Kossov, we can therefore assume that Frond's images had a significant impact in comparison with the work of other contemporary photographers.²³ The accompanying text by Charles de Ribeyrolles, however, was barely noticed, while Frond's images increasingly circulated in other contexts, completely independent from the original album.²⁴ Due to the great success of *Brazil Pittoresco* and his portraits of "illustrious personalities" made for D. Pedro II, Frond had arguably become one of the most popular photographers in Brazil by the time of the first National Exhibition.²⁵

As a recent study by Maria Antonia Couto da Silva convincingly suggests, the photographer wanted to display his "picturesque album" to an international audience from the beginning, probably in London.²⁶ After all, Brazil's artistic community generally agreed that it was a masterpiece and Frond himself was eager to participate in the fair, as he declared several times.²⁷ In the end, however, none of his photographs were exhibited, neither at the National Exhibition nor at the world's fair. Although Frond's album had been submitted in time to be considered as an official exhibit, it was not accepted by the jury. At first glance, the decision to reject a photographic masterpiece of this quality seems

completely incomprehensible, but it was probably due to the various images of slaves and free blacks contained in the book. Officially, however, the rejection of Frond's album was justified by alleging that only "national" products could be displayed according to the regulations. Since the second edition of *Brazil Pittoresco* was printed in Paris on good quality paper, the book was classified as a "foreign product", and hence excluded from the fair.²⁸ In an attempt to compensate Frond, the exhibition makers appointed him as chair of the Fine Arts section at the National Exhibition, with responsibility for photographic products as a jury member.²⁹

It is highly probable that the Commission's decision to exclude *Brazil Pittoresco* from the exhibition was actually influenced by the fear that the Brazilian population – as displayed in London – might appear too "African", as the machines and scientific instruments shown at this exhibition, as well as five years later in Paris, were also partly produced in Europe. In fact, many of the components of this machinery originally came from Germany, France or England, and had merely been assembled by Brazilian companies. Nevertheless, in these cases, the judges of the National Exhibition raised no opposition whatsoever.³⁰ According to Maria Antonia Couto da Silva, the album was finally exhibited at the National Exhibition of 1861, but only as a closed book. Thus, rather than Frond's photographs, the album's magnificent leather cover produced by the *Casa Lombaerts* was listed as an official exhibit.³¹

However, at later exhibitions, Brazil could no longer avoid the problematic issue of slavery. Yet, while displays and exhibition guides included graphical and textual descriptions of the supposedly "benevolent nature" of slavery at the exhibitions in Paris, Vienna and Philadelphia, the invisibilization of all things African was maintained in the case of the official paintings exhibited by the AIBA in Vienna and Philadelphia. Thus, monumental battle paintings such as *Batalha de Campo Grande* (1871) and *Combate Naval do Riachuelo* (1872) by Victor Meirelles, shown in Vienna and Philadelphia respectively, systematically minimized the role of black soldiers in the Imperial army during the Paraguayan War (1865–1870), by simply editing them out altogether. In so doing, Brazil's glorious victory over the "barbarous Paraguayan hordes" would be remembered as a "white accomplishment" in official historiography and iconography.³²

However, at least since the passing of the Law of the Free Womb in 1871, "whitening" was not just conceived as hiding the "shameful" fact of slavery from foreign eyes, but increasingly as a political tool aimed at altering the nation's "biological basis" by fostering European immigration. As Jeffrey Lesser has pointed out, most contemporary Brazilian intellectuals were monogenesisists who believed that humanity shared a common origin, but due to certain environmental and biological influences, various races had developed over time.³³ Although they

did not question the existence of racial hierarchies, in which people of African descent usually took a place at the lower end of the scale, while Europeans were located at the upper end, they were also convinced that these "realities" were not static and could be changed by smart demographic measures, such as stimulating immigration from European countries.³⁴ Thus, they strongly argued against the increasingly popular "degeneration" theories as formulated by thinkers such as the infamous Count of Gobineau, who were highly critical of any form of racial mixing.³⁵ As a matter of course, many of the exhibition planners thought that the process of "whitening" (*branqueamento*), by which they meant breeding out the "inferior races", was Brazil's only option in its aim to become a "civilized and progressive" country.³⁶ Therefore, they also embraced the gradual emancipation of slaves and generally considered the Law of the Free Womb as the first step to finally "de-Africanize" the country.³⁷

An instructive text written by Francisco Inácio de Carvalho Moreira, the Baron of Penedo, about the newly established *Colônia Agrícola de Blumenau*, is paradigmatic in this respect. For Penedo, this agricultural colony founded by German settlers in southern Brazil was proof that a truly "civilized" country was only viable with European immigrants, especially from German-speaking countries. The presentation of the colony, which won an "honorable mention" at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1867, was expected to attract future immigrants by downplaying the role of slavery and highlighting the almost "European" climate and countryside of Brazil's southern regions.³⁸ Most importantly, potential immigrants should by no means fear being treated like slaves themselves. Therefore, Penedo promised that the Brazilian government would adopt measures to put an end to slavery and gradually "outbreed" people of African descent, as they represented an "obstacle to development". Astonishingly, this view was also shared by many abolitionists, such as Joaquim de Nabuco.³⁹ In a very similar manner, several other texts written for the Brazilian presentation in Paris refuted the view of Brazil as an "African" country by describing slavery as a vanishing relic of the past and immigration as a means of gradually promoting "racial regeneration". In these books and leaflets, the exhibition planners artificially separated the many agricultural products exhibited at the stands and in the pavilions from their producers, the slaves. As one official country guide put it, the results of Brazil's booming agricultural activities, such as sugar and coffee, were all produced by "free citizens".⁴⁰

However, much more significant than the apologetic descriptions of slavery in the exhibition catalogues and reports were the photographs of "types of negroes" by Italian-born photographer Auguste Stahl at the second National Exhibition in 1866. These images were clearly influenced by anthropometric photography, a popular technique at the time, and were most likely exhibited

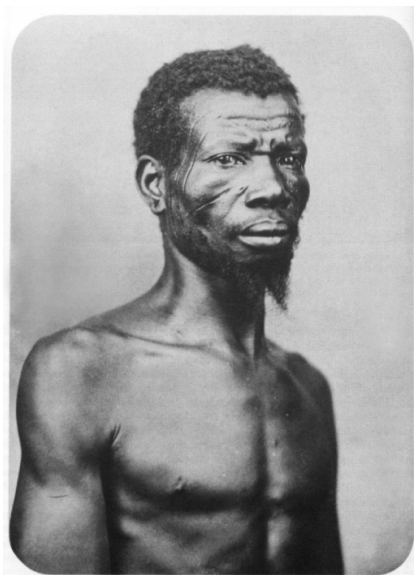


Fig. 1: Auguste Stahl, ca. 1865, *Escravo Mina Mondri* (albumen, 15 × 12 cm, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, MA).

to illustrate contemporary racial theories and to promote the politics of “whitening”. Through anthropometric photography, which had experienced a boom in Europe since the mid-19th century, it was possible to visualize certain phenotypic properties of the depicted “races”. It was therefore necessary to take a series of pictures of naked or semi-naked bodies in standardized poses in order to deduce the supposedly consistent properties of a certain “racial family”. Adhering to a positivist conception of photography, many saw the new medium as the best way of depicting nature – including the human body – in an empirical and objective manner. For them, photography was “the pencil of nature”.⁴¹

Stahl’s photographs at the National Exhibition of 1866 coincided roughly with the growing dissemination of biological theories of race in Brazil, although they were not yet widely accepted.⁴² As a representation of “racial types” that could be measured and classified, the photographs from Stahl’s studio in the *carte de visite* format lacked any contextual information, let alone the name of the person being portrayed. Instead, the captions simply mentioned the different “nations” to which the subjects supposedly belonged, such as “Mina” or “Mina Mondri”. The subjects’ clearly visible tribal scars actually indicate that they were not born in slavery, but were probably so-called *boçais* imported from Africa. *Cartes de visites* of this kind circulated widely in Brazil between the 1860s and 1880s, and probably had a social function similar to that of the

famous caste-paintings of late 18th-century Spanish America.⁴³ In Imperial Brazil, such "type-photographs" were distributed as "visual collectibles", which served the rising urban bourgeoisie's purpose of establishing a visual differentiation between themselves and the lower "castes" in the wake of abolition, as Jens Andermann has argued.⁴⁴ Thus, these images of "otherness" based on "scientific truth" were possibly useful in terms of maintaining social control at a time when the established social hierarchy was under threat.

Despite their high quality, Stahl's "types of negroes" were exhibited only at the National Exhibition, while he and his business partner Germano Wahnschaffe displayed nothing but "harmless" landscape photographs at the Paris world's fair. As with the exclusion of Victor Frond's photographs at the Great London Exhibition of 1862, this was probably no coincidence. In this context, Nancy Stepan has argued that the second National Exhibition Commission was reluctant to exhibit pictures of Afro-Brazilians in Europe, causing these to be disqualified before they could even reach Paris. While Stepan makes her point by citing the example of photographer Cristiano Júnior and his equally infamous slave portraits, it is more likely that this is what happened to Stahl rather than to his competitor.⁴⁵ In fact, Cristiano Júnior never presented any of his slave portraits at an exhibition, and at the second National Exhibition he only displayed a selection of photographic reproductions from the book *Os Lusíadas*.⁴⁶

Furthermore, Stahl's photographs received several positive mentions within the context of the second National Exhibition, and even the Empire's most renowned artist, the painter Victor Meirelles, praised their "exceptionally high quality". Although the AIBA member Meirelles declared that the "newfangled medium of photography" was by no means a form of art comparable to painting or sculpture, he commented very positively on Stahl's photographs of "diverse types of the African race". According to Meirelles, they combined the essential properties that accounted for a "perfect photography".⁴⁷ Despite their official disqualification, some of Stahl's "racial types" could still be seen at subsequent world's fairs, albeit in a rather indirect manner. After being included as illustrations in the famous travelogue *A Journey in Brazil* (1868) by Swiss-American naturalist Louis Agassiz, they circulated at the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873 as well as at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition three years later.⁴⁸

The strategy of displaying pictures of Afro-Brazilians at the National Exhibitions but not outside the country was maintained throughout the Imperial era, with some notable exceptions. While the figure of the idealized Brazilian Indian – in the form of the heroic, but now extinct "noble savage" – became the official allegory of Imperial Brazil at home and abroad, images of free blacks and slaves were extremely rare in the context of the world's fairs.⁴⁹ On a visual level, the exhibition organizers always sought to stress the gradual process of

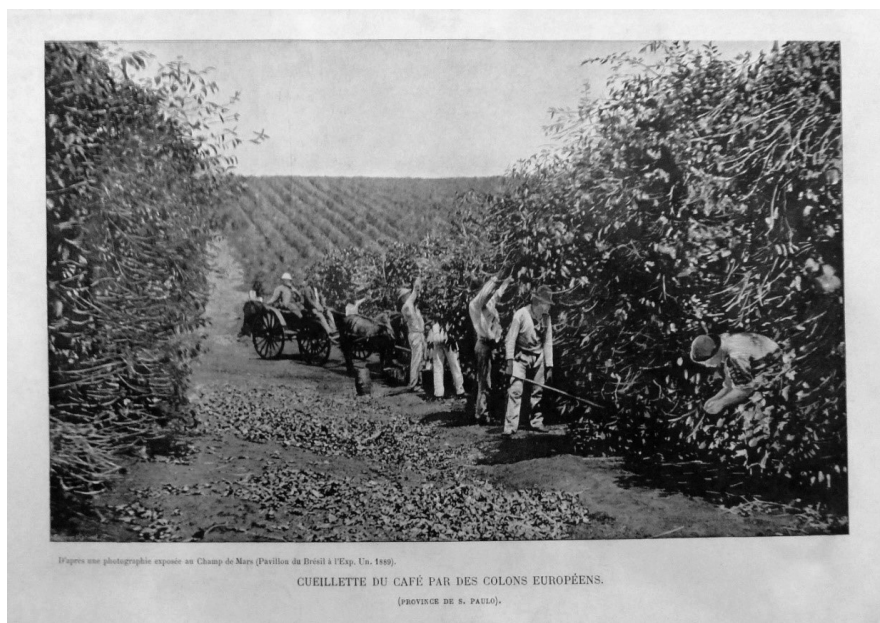


Fig. 2: Rougeron, Vignerot & Cie., 1889, *Cueillette du café par des colons européens* (lithographic print, in J. M. da Silva Paranhos, Baron de Rio Branco, *Album de vues du Brésil* [Paris: Imprimerie A. Lahure, 1889], s. p.).

“whitening” as a result of European immigration. Thus, on the occasion of the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873, the *Semana Illustrada* proudly declared that while Brazil’s industrial exhibit was quite disappointing, the international audience would at least have recognized that “not all Brazilians were black or mulatto”.⁵⁰

Finally, at the Empire’s last participation in a world’s fair in 1889, the objective was once again to display a “Europeanized” Brazil, although slavery had been abolished the year before. In the halls of the monumental Brazilian Pavilion, as well as on the pages of the illustrated album *Vues du Brésil*, edited by the Baron of Rio Branco especially for the Paris Exhibition, there were several photographs and lithographs depicting the living and working conditions of European immigrants on São Paulo’s coffee plantations.⁵¹ These images characterized work on the plantations as an orderly and harmonious activity, without acknowledging that Afro-Brazilians still made up a significant part of the agricultural workforce. In the following lithograph of a coffee plantation in São Paulo, the background is especially noteworthy, as the field appears so boundless that the coffee plants begin to fuse with the horizon. A few leisurely immigrants working on the land, as well as endless rows of neatly-planted trees, perfectly illustrate the goal of

the Brazilian campaign: to promote unlimited natural wealth and great agricultural potential as well as humane and orderly working conditions. In this way, the exhibition organizers consciously downplayed the continued importance of black workers within Brazil's post-abolition economy.

The "Racial Paradise"

While slaves and free black citizens were usually made invisible or depicted as if they would soon disappear as the result of "intelligent racial mixing", there was yet another discursive strategy at work at the exhibitions between 1867 and 1889. From this perspective, the exhibition organizers admitted the existence of a large Afro-Brazilian population as well as the temporary persistence of slavery, but presented slavery as a kind of "educational project". At the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, for instance, they positioned Brazilian slavery as the "humane" counterpart of the infamous "peculiar institution" of North America, in order to combat growing criticism from French and British abolitionists. Thus, the exhibition planners not only decided to downplay the role of slavery and promote "whitening", but actively sought to create a convincing counter-image. While it was still far less important than the dominant discourse of "whitening", the image of the "racial paradise" became especially popular in the years shortly before and after the declaration of the Law of the Free Womb, as could be seen at the international exhibitions of Paris (1867) and Vienna (1873). While celebrating the slaves' good living conditions, the tolerant and benevolent nature of the Brazilian people and the educational aspect of forced labor, the exhibition organizers handled the construction of this image with great care. Due to the preeminence of the "whitening" discourse, there were not many representations of free black citizens and slaves at the world's fairs. However, the few photographs on display were designed to convince an international audience that slavery was on the decline in Brazil. In the future, there would be no more slaves; and, who knows, maybe not even "persons of African blood".⁵² In the meantime, the European visitors to the Brazilian presentations in Paris, Vienna and Philadelphia could see for themselves that Brazilian slavery was in fact a "benign institution":

The slaves are treated with humanity and are generally well housed and fed. In the greater part of the plantations, they are allowed to cultivate portions of land for their own purposes and to dispose of the produce with all freedom.

Their labor is nowadays moderate and usually lasts only during the daytime; the evenings and nights are passed in repose, in the practice of religion, or in sundry amusements.

The institution was imposed on Brazil by the force of particular circumstances which date from the first years of her discovery. The questions, on the solutions of which depends its total suppression, occupy the most serious attention of the Government; the feeling of this body on the matter has been lately manifested in the reply forwarded to the address of the French Abolition Society.⁵³

In such texts, slavery was described as an almost idyllic, decent “way of life”, with less dire working conditions than some European commentators might have expected. However, these descriptions were obviously far removed from reality, as innumerable historical studies on the harsh reality of slavery in different regions of Brazil have demonstrated. Thus, the exhibition planners deliberately excluded any reference to the particularly gruesome practice of the internal slave trade, which had intensified since 1850 as a result of the end of Atlantic slave traffic, enforced by the British Navy. In the course of internal traffic, a growing number of slaves were brought from the increasingly impoverished northeast to the plantations and mines of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais, tearing apart whole families and costing the lives of thousands.⁵⁴ However, at the world’s fairs the Empire chose to present an apologetic depiction of the supposedly “humane” and paternalistic form of Brazilian slavery, in some ways reminiscent of the image of “racial democracy” formulated more than seventy years later by Gilberto Freyre. This vision created by the exhibition curators was also referred to as the “racial paradise”, a concept with roots stretching back to the first half of the 19th century. It was first created by North American abolitionists, who used it to contrast the harsh conditions of slavery in their own country with the supposedly “milder” form of slavery found in Brazil. However, the Brazilian plantation owners soon adopted this convenient concept themselves, as Célia Marinho de Azevedo has shown.⁵⁵ The reference to South America’s supposed “racial paradise” played an important role in the struggle of US abolitionists, and there were actually plans to relocate black inhabitants of the United States to Brazil after the civil war. According to this narrative, racism was not an issue in Brazil, a country characterized by harmony and tolerance.⁵⁶ However, as modern historiography has shown, both slave societies were comparable in terms of their cruel treatment of slaves and the regimes of social control they established, including the discourse of “scientific racism”. As seen in the quote above, the almost flowery description of the “racial paradise”, a place where slaves could live in conditions similar to their African

homelands, but were additionally empowered to receive education in order to become "civilized" someday, was also meant as a direct response to complaints from the French Abolition Society.⁵⁷

As a visual component of the "racial paradise" discourse, the album *Brazil Pittoresco* finally received some recognition at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1867. While Victor Frond's unique photographs had been disqualified due to their "foreign origin" just four years before, his "magnificent picturesque album", as one Austrian exhibition report described it, was finally presented to an international audience.⁵⁸ Apparently, the album fit perfectly into the new visual strategy of promoting Brazil as a "racial paradise", as Frond had depicted most of the black slaves in idyllic and peaceful environments. The majority of the *Brazil Pittoresco* slave lithographs show larger groups of field workers or slaves performing their daily tasks, with long shots dominating the scenery. According to Margrit Prussat, Frond's pictures seem to have been inspired by the picturesque and bucolic style of European paintings, which also served as models for many AIBA artists at the time.⁵⁹ The accompanying text by Charles de Ribeyrolles, on the other hand, echoed the long tradition of European travel writing in Latin America, dating back to the 18th century. The result was therefore by no means a realistic or even a critical representation of slavery in Brazil, but rather a combination of images and texts aimed at legitimizing the prevailing ideal of the "racial paradise" as a paternalistic yet benevolent reality. As other official texts from the Brazilian section in France suggest, the slaves brought to Brazil were supposedly in some ways "better off in the New World" than in the "barbaric regions" of Africa.⁶⁰

Brazil Pittoresco was less a book about individuals or individual destinies than a statement on the beneficial aspects of social life within the slave populations and their masters' good will in terms of accepting the "burden" of forming good citizens.⁶¹ According to Prussat, the pictorial composition of most of the lithographs included in the album followed distinctively harmonic principles, as shown in the balanced structure of the foreground, center and background, as well the tendency to avoid converging lines. The result was a somewhat "stage-like" effect, similar to a theatrical performance.⁶² This type of composition, however, was quite typical of most 19th-century landscape and portrait photography. Many similar albums and illustrated travelogues, written for European readers interested in "exotic topics", sought to narrate a coherent story corresponding to their pre-fabricated expectations of the "other", depicting scenes of "everyday life" in a highly stylized and romanticized manner.⁶³ Thus, in order to invalidate European perceptions of Brazilian slavery, such as the precarious hygienic conditions of the slave cabins, the reality of slave markets or the cruel punishment regime, *Brazil Pittoresco* proved to be the ideal propaganda vehicle. By showing the slaves

surrounded by idyllic cityscapes and landscapes, they were presented as mere decorative elements that fit quite well into the image of the “racial paradise”. The accompanying text by Ribeyrolles contributed to this de-contextualization process by emphasizing the “different” nature of Brazilian slavery. Thus, for example, Ribeyrolles mentioned the “natural possibility of social ascent of the free black” in Brazil, as if this were a commonly observed phenomenon.⁶⁴ This possibility did indeed exist, but Brazil was by no means a socially-mobile society. For instance, there were some mulatto members among the Brazilian elite, a fact that considerably disturbed the “father of scientific racism”, the Count of Gobineau, during his stay in Brazil between April 1869 and May 1870. It was also possible for slaves to “buy themselves out” (*alforria*), but both situations were quite rare and not the rule, as Ribeyrolles falsely suggested.⁶⁵

In the lithographs, the slaves were always depicted in clean clothes and looked generally well fed and therefore “civilized” in the contemporary sense of the word. By suppressing African customs, traditional jewelry or ancient rituals, which had appeared in some photographs from the 1870s and 1880s that sought to depict a more “exotic” Afro-Brazilian reality and which could be sold as a “souvenir from Brazil”, Frond’s images highlighted the success of the “civilization process”. An impressive example of the stereotypical inhabitant of Brazil’s “racial paradise” can be seen in the lithograph *La cuisine a la roça*, which shows a group of slaves during a break from work. To this day, it is one of the most reproduced pictures from *Brazil Pittoresco*. It depicts four women preparing a meal in an open field, while one of them carries an infant at her breast. Although the accompanying text by Ribeyrolles does express a certain sense of regret by mentioning the sad fate of children born into slavery, he immediately goes on to describe the especially “humane” conditions which supposedly ensured that all Brazilian slaves would have the chance to become a “part of civilization” someday.⁶⁶

At the next exhibition in Vienna, the “racial paradise” discourse was again visually framed, this time by the German-born photographer Albert Henschel. His pictures were shown in the aftermath of the Law of the Free Womb, which finally made it possible to confirm the gradual emancipation process set in motion in 1871. The exhibition planners rightly assumed that no one would question the law’s effectiveness, which was actually minimal, as it extended slavery for another 17 years.⁶⁷ Thus, by emphasizing the “harmonious” transition from a slave society to a society of free citizens, the international audience at Vienna was encouraged to view the “Brazilian way of emancipation” as the best solution for a country still heavily dependent on manual agricultural labor. As stated in the official country guides published especially for the exhibition in German, English, French and Portuguese, there was no need to fear a violent slave uprising



Fig. 3: Ph. Benoist, 1859, *La cuisine a la roça* (lithographic print after an original photograph from Victor Frond, 25 × 32 cm, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro).

in Brazil, as its society was characterized by tolerance, harmony, peacefulness and openness to the world, as well as a general desire for “progress”.⁶⁸

In this context, Henschel’s *Baiana Quitandeira* was surely the most memorable visual representation of Afro-Brazilians at the 19th-century world’s fairs. Although the official catalogue does not allow any conclusions to be drawn on Henschel’s photographs, on 10 April 1873 the *Diario de Pernambuco* commented on them on the occasion of the third National Exhibition.⁶⁹ We therefore know that they were selected for presentation in Vienna. In addition to the emblematic black fruit vendor, – possibly an *escrava de ganho*, a form of urban slavery that allowed slaves to do business but then obliged them to deliver the earnings to their masters – Henschel and his partner Francisco Benque also sent a semi-official portrait of the Imperial family to Vienna. The journal’s description of the photographs, however, does not refer to the content, but only mentions their perfect technical execution, as well as their outstanding artistic quality.

As the international audience at the Vienna exhibition was probably unaware of the existence of the *escravos de ganhos*, they may have interpreted Henschel’s photograph as evidence that black Brazilians were now doing business in an independent and seemingly “free” manner. Henschel’s pictures, which were taken between 1866 and 1872 in Recife, Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro,



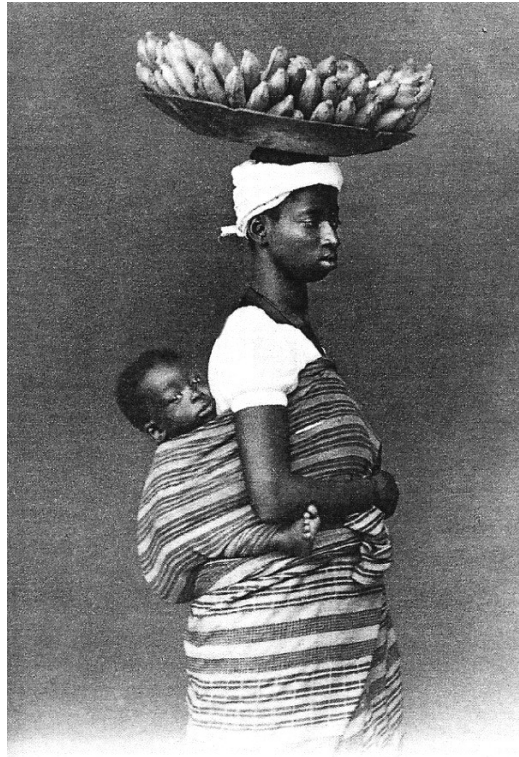
Fig. 4: Albert Henschel, ca. 1869, *Frucht-Verkäuferin in Rio de Janeiro* (albumen, 13,2 cm × 9,6 cm, Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde, Leipzig).

did indeed differ from the more common slave portraits taken by photographers such as Auguste Stahl and Christiano Júnior. Although Henschel portrayed black people and slaves in front of tropical fruits or selected “exotic” backgrounds, sometimes dressed in fictitious “African” robes, in order to appeal to a European audience interested in “exoticism”, he never reduced them to mere objects. In

contrast to the common pictures of “types of Africans”, which were strongly influenced by anthropometric photography, Henschel respected his models’ individuality.⁷⁰

The *Baiana Quitandeira* is therefore shown in a relatively “natural” pose, while smoking a pipe. This staging of everyday life and the reference to the “personality” of the subject were a far cry from Christiano Júnior’s and Auguste Stahl’s infamous slave portraits, which focused on the supposed ethnic and physical characteristics of “inferior races”. Notwithstanding, the poses of the black people photographed by Henschel were not so different from those found on contemporary *cartes de visites*, frequently ordered by wealthy families in the photographer’s studio. However, such representations, which depicted the (ex) slaves as masters of their own destiny – for example as vendors or waged workers – appeared very rarely at the exhibitions. In the context of promoting the Law of the Free Womb, it probably seemed appropriate to visualize the “gradual emancipation” of the slaves, in order to convince the international audience of Brazil’s humanitarian intentions.

After the Vienna exhibition, the image of the “racial paradise” was consciously avoided at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876, although Brazil’s photographic display was of considerable size. As the Brazilian press pointed out, this was related to the very different significance of slavery in a country still struggling with the consequences of its disastrous civil war.⁷¹ Finally, by the time of the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1889, there was no longer any need to celebrate the process of gradual emancipation or the good living conditions of the slaves, as the institution had been abolished on 13 May 1888. Thus, monumental paintings such as *A abolição da escravatura* (1889) by Daniel Bérard commemorated the paternalistic “Golden Law” that gave freedom to the last Brazilian slaves, while exhibition guides celebrated the “maniacal enthusiasm” shown by the Brazilian populace as well as the new era of “progress and prosperity”.⁷² In this context, the image of the “racial paradise” was evoked one last time, just weeks before the downfall of the Empire. As Henschel had done sixteen years earlier in Vienna, the photographers Marc Ferrez and Rodolpho Lindemann exhibited in Paris several pictures from north-east Brazil, focusing mainly on the country’s abundance of agricultural products as well as its supposedly modern infrastructure. To this effect, they both displayed highly exoticized images of Afro-Brazilians from the northeast.⁷³ Lindemann’s *Tableaux photographiques de Bahia et Pernambuco*, which were exhibited in the Brazilian pavilion, were even praised in international guidebooks.⁷⁴ Among these images, there was once again a Bahian fruit vendor, quite similar to Henschel’s *Baiana Quitandeira*, but even more “exotic”. Thus, the image also appeared as part of a tourist guide for Brazil alongside a picturesque description of oranges, bananas, mangoes and



II. Vendedora de fructas – Bahia

Cliché R. Lindemann, Bahia

Fig. 5: Rodolpho Lindemann, s. d., *Vendedora de fructas – Bahia* (postcard, Oliveira Lima Library, Washington, DC).

pineapples. The text in French only refers to an apparently nameless “banana vendor”, as well as her skin color, as if she were just another “souvenir from Brazil”.⁷⁵

Conclusion

Overall, the Brazilian exhibition organizers were quite successful at displaying and disseminating the image of a “modern nation” abroad. For a peripheral country such as Brazil, it was not an easy task to combine images of “modernity”, associated with technological progress and “high culture”, with the dismal reali-

ties of a slaveholding monarchy, whose population was overwhelmingly poor, illiterate and “mixed-race”. In this regard, the issue of slavery was problematic from the start, since the civil war in North America erupted just one year before the Empire’s first participation in a world’s fair. Due to the diplomatic pressure exerted by Britain and France on the question of abolition, it seemed wise to avoid the topic completely. Nevertheless, after the defeat of the Confederate States of America, this strategy was no longer viable.

While slaves and free black citizens were made “invisible” at the Great London Exhibition, the exhibition planners decided to go on the offensive at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 by displaying photographs of slavery before an international audience. These images depicted slavery as a kind of “educational project”, with the apparent aim of forming a “free citizenry”. In the minds of most of the exhibition organizers, photography was the appropriate technique to accomplish their goal of convincing public opinion of the “humane” nature of Brazilian slavery, as the medium was generally associated with “objectivity” and thus suitable for creating a “reality effect”. Although there were few photographs showing Brazilian slavery at the world’s fairs, these images were important in terms of defending the Empire against increasing international critique from abolitionists.

Thus, images of slavery could be shown abroad if they were considered appropriate in terms of underpinning the ideal of the “racial paradise”. However, if they were perceived as “dangerous”, as was the case with Victor Frond’s and Auguste Stahl’s pictures, they should better “stay at home”. At the National Exhibitions, anthropometric photographs could serve to legitimize social control on a “scientific basis”. However, the predominant discourse at all exhibitions was that of “whitening”. Hence, the Empire of Brazil celebrated the figure of the heroic and noble but already “dead” Indian – following the fashion of Spanish American Indianism – while the economic and social relevance of Afro-Brazilians was usually faded out. On the contrary, the exhibitions were meant to stimulate future European immigration in order to “better the race”. Notwithstanding, both discourses were highly ambivalent, as they neglected not only the social realities but also the growing political tensions within the Empire, not to mention the fact that many of the exhibition organizers were slaveholders themselves.

Notes

- 1 Francisco Ignacio de Carvalho Moreira, *Relatorio sobre a Exposição Internacional de 1862* (London: Thomas Brettell, 1863), p. 2.
- 2 As there are innumerable studies on Latin America at the 19th century world’s fairs, at this point I will offer just a selection of the most comprehensive of these: Mauricio

- Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Ingrid Fey, "Peddling the Pampas: Argentina at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889," in William Beezley (ed.), *Latin American Popular Culture: An Introduction* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000), pp. 61–85; Jens Andermann, "Tournaments of Value: Argentina and Brazil in the Age of Exhibitions," *Journal of Material Culture*, 14: 3 (2009), pp. 333–363; Alejandra Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions: Modern Cultures of Visuality* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- 3 For Imperial Brazil at the world's fairs, see: Margarida de Souza Neves, "Los escaparates del progreso. Brasil en las exposiciones internacionales del siglo XIX", in Sven Schuster (ed.), *La nación expuesta. Cultura visual y procesos de formación de la nación en América Latina* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2014), pp. 83-100; José Luiz Werneck, "As arenas pacíficas do progresso", 2 vols., unpubl. PhD diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 1992; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, "Os trópicos como espetáculo: a participação brasileira nas exposições universais de finais do século XIX", in Beatriz González-Stephan and Jens Andermann (eds.), *Galerías del progreso. Museos, exposiciones y cultura visual en América Latina* (Rosario: Viterbo, 2006), pp. 195-219; Livia Lazzaro Rezende, "The Raw and the Manufactured: Brazilian Modernity and National Identity as Projected in International Exhibitions (1862-1922)", unpubl. PhD diss., Royal College of Art, London, 2010; Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, *Exposições universais. Espetáculos da modernidade do século XIX* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997); Maria Inez Turazzi, *Poses e trejeitos: a fotografia e as exposições na era do espetáculo* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte/Rocco, 1995).
 - 4 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C. H. Beck, 2010), p. 42.
 - 5 Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *As barbas do imperador. D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010), pp. 296-300.
 - 6 José Luiz Werneck, "Isto é o que me parece. A Sociedade Auxiliadora Nacional (1827-1904) na formação social brasileira. A conjuntura de 1871 até 1877", unpubl. MA thesis, vol. 2, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 1979, pp. 64-65.
 - 7 Célia Marinho de Azevedo, *Abolicionismo: Estados Unidos e Brasil, uma história comparada, século XIX* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2003), pp. 159-161.
 - 8 Schwarcz, *As barbas do imperador*, p. 330.
 - 9 Turazzi, *Poses e trejeitos*, p. 114.
 - 10 Comissão Diretora da Exposição Nacional, *Catalogo dos productos naturaes e industriaes remetidos para a Exposição Universal em Londres* (London: Typographia de C. Whiting, 1862), pp. 105–106.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 57 & 75.
 - 12 Werneck, *As arenas pacíficas*, vol. 1, pp. 222–224; Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 131.
 - 13 According to the first national census taken in 1872, 62 percent of the population counted as "non-white": Stefan Rinke and Frederik Schulze, *Kleine Geschichte Brasiliens* (München: C. H. Beck, 2013), pp. 102-103.
 - 14 "Raridades da Exposição", *Bazar Volante*, Rio de Janeiro, 4 November 1866.
 - 15 "Contos do Rio de Janeiro", *A Semana Illustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 12 January 1862.
 - 16 "The International Exhibition," *The Times*, London, 17 November 1862; "Exposição nacional", *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 10 December 1861; "O Catalogo Brasileiro na Exposição Universal de Paris em 1867", *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 29 December 1867.

- This last article reviews Brazil’s participation in London in retrospect, describing it as “exotic” and “microscopic”.
- 17 Ana Luiza Martins, “Imprensa em tempos de império”, in Martins, and Tania Regina de Luca (eds.). *História da imprensa no Brasil* (São Paulo: Contexto, 2008), p. 67.
 - 18 For further information on Victor Frond and his work see: *Enciclopédia de Artes Visuais* (http://www.itaucultural.org.br/aplicexternas/enciclopedia_ic/index.cfm).
 - 19 Margrit Prussat, *Bilder der Sklaverei. Fotografien der afrikanischen Diaspora in Brasilien 1860–1920* (Berlin: Reimer, 2008), p. 63; Boris Kossoy, *Dicionário histórico fotográfico brasileiro* (São Paulo: IMS, 2002), pp. 151–152.
 - 20 Charles de Ribeyrolles, *Brazil Pittoresco: viagens, historia, descrições, Instituições, colonização. Acompanhado de album de visitas, panoramas, paisagens, costumes, etc. por Victor Frond*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Nacional, 1859).
 - 21 Charles de Ribeyrolles, *Brazil Pittoresco*, 3 vols. (Paris: Lemercier, 1861).
 - 22 Prussat, *Bilder der Sklaverei*, p. 64.
 - 23 Kossoy, *Dicionário histórico*, p. 151.
 - 24 Prussat, *Bilder der Sklaverei*, p. 64.
 - 25 Kossoy, *Dicionário histórico*, pp. 151–152.
 - 26 Maria Antonia Couto da Silva, “Um monumento ao Brasil: considerações acerca da recepção do livro Brasil Pitoresco, de Victor Frond e Charles Ribeyrolles (1859-1861)”, unpubl. PhD diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2011, pp. 80-81.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 204–214.
 - 28 Turazzi, *Poses e trejeitos*, pp. 120–121.
 - 29 Antonio Luiz Fernandes da Cunha, *Documentos officiaes relativos à Exposição Nacional de 1861* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Diario do Rio de Janeiro, 1862), pp. 97–98.
 - 30 Silva, “Um monumento ao Brasil”, pp. 209 & 216.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
 - 32 Sven Schuster, “‘The Pursuit of Human Perfection’: Brazil at the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873”, *Historia Critica*, 55 (2015), pp. 47-71; Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 33.
 - 33 Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 6–7.
 - 34 *Ibid.*
 - 35 Helga Gahyva, “Brasil, o país do futuro: uma aposta de Arthur de Gobineau?”, *ALCEU*, 7: 14 (2007), pp. 152-159.
 - 36 I. C. Galvão, *Discurso* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Universal de Laemmert, 1870), pp. 7–13 & 65–66.
 - 37 Thomas Skidmore, *Preto no branco – raça e nacionalidade no pensamento brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1976), pp. 154–162.
 - 38 Francisco Ignacio de Carvalho Moreira, “A colonia Blumenau”, in Julio de Villeneuve (ed.), *Relatorio sobre a Exposição Universal de 1867. Redigido pelo secretario da Comissão Brasileira Julio Constancio de Villeneuve e apresentado a Sua Magestade o Imperador pelo presidente da mesma comissão Marcos Antonio de Araujo*, vol. 1 (Paris: Typographia de Julio Claye, 1868), p. CLXX.
 - 39 Célia Marinho de Azevedo, *Onda negra, medo branco: o negro no imaginário das elites, século XIX* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2004), pp. 85–87.
 - 40 François Ducuing, *L’Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*, vol. 2 (Paris: Bureaux d’abonnements, 1867), p. 393.

- 41 The expression derived from Henry Fox Talbot's famous photographic album *The Pencil of Nature*, published in six installments between 1844 and 1846. On this matter, see also Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, p. 118; Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 88; Schwarcz, *As barbas do imperador*, pp. 346–347.
- 42 On the dissemination of biological theories of race and the role of anthropometric photography in Brazil, see Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, pp. 85–148.
- 43 George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America 1800-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 44–47.
- 44 Jens Andermann, *The Optic of the State: Visuality and Power in Argentina and Brazil* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 186–187.
- 45 Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 262.
- 46 Maurício Lissovsky and Beatriz Jaguaribe, *O choque do real: estética, mídia e cultura* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2007), pp. 54–56; Victor Meirelles, “28ª. Classe. Fotografia, 20 de Novembro de 1866”, in Antonio José de Souza Rego (ed.), *Relatorio da 2ª. Exposição de 1866*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1869), pp. 164–165.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 48 Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868).
- 49 Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, “Constructing Ethnic Labels – A Mestizo and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil,” in *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe*, 80 (2006), pp. 25–42.
- 50 “Publicações”, *A Semana Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 21 September 1873.
- 51 J. M. da Silva Paranhos, Baron de Rio Branco, *Album de vues du Brésil* (Paris: Imprimerie A. Lahure, 1889).
- 52 E. da Silva Prado, “Immigration”, in M. F.-J. Santa-Anna Nery (ed.), *Le Brésil en 1889* (Paris: Librairie Charles Delagrave, 1889), p. 481.
- 53 Comissão Brasileira na Exposição Universal de Paris, *The Empire of Brazil at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867* (Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert, 1867), pp. 30–31. Other similar texts were also presented in Vienna and Philadelphia, also mentioning the Law of the Free Womb.
- 54 For a comprehensive overview on Brazilian slavery, see Herbert Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 55 Azevedo, *Abolicionismo*, pp. 159–161.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 In response to the petition formulated in 1866 by numerous French intellectuals and directed to the Imperial government, D. Pedro II replied immediately. He promised to take action to end slavery after the country's imminent victory over Paraguay. On this issue, see Schwarcz, *As barbas do imperador*, p. 315.
- 58 K. K. Österreichisches Central-Comité, *Officieller Ausstellungs-Bericht über die Welt-Ausstellung zu Paris im Jahre 1867*, vol. 6 (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1868), p. 67.
- 59 Prussat, *Bilder der Sklaverei*, p. 66.
- 60 José Maria dos Reis, *Catalogo dos Instrumentos de Optica e Scientificos apresentados à Exposição Nacional Brasileira pelo estabelecimento de José Maria dos Reis* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Commercio de Pereira Braga, 1866), p. 6.
- 61 Prussat, *Bilder der Sklaverei*, p. 66.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 Kossoy, *Dicionário histórico*, p. 152.

- 64 Charles de Ribeyrolles, *Brasil pitoresco: história – descrições – viagens – colonização – instituições. Ilustrado com gravuras de vistas, panoramas, paisagens, costumes, etc. por Victor Frond* (São Paulo: Martins, 1941 [1859]), p. 207.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, pp. 82–83.
- 68 Comissão Brasileira na Exposição Universal de Vienna, *Das Kaiserthum Brasilien im Jahre 1873. Ein kurzgefaßter Überblick der vorwärtsschreitenden Entwicklung Brasiliens* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Paul Hildebrandt, 1874), p. 16.
- 69 “Photographia”, *Diario de Pernambuco*, 10 April 1873; Comissão Brasileira na Exposição Universal de Vienna, *Resume du catalogue de la Section Brésilienne a l’Exposition Internationale à Vienne en 1873* (Vienne: Edition de la Section brésilienne, 1873), p. 27.
- 70 For further information on Albert Henschel and his work. see: *Enciclopédia de Artes Visuais* (http://www.itaucultural.org.br/aplicexternas/enciclopedia_ic/index.cfm).
- 71 “Estados Unidos”, *A Província de São Paulo*, 13 June 1876.
- 72 Francisco Ervy, “Brasil”, in F. G. Dumas and L. de Foucard (eds.), *Revista de la Exposición Universal de Paris en 1889* (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1889), p. 522; A. Loiseau-Bourcier, *Guide International d’Europe au Brésil & a La Plata* (Paris: A. Loiseau-Bourcier, 1889), p. 220.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 223–224.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Loiseau-Bourcier, *Guide International*, pp. 266–267.

Copyright of Estudios Interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe is the property of Instituto Sverdlin de Historia y Cultura de America Latina and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.