

**UM TENENTE INGLÊS NO BRASIL: NOVAS INFORMAÇÕES SOBRE AS
VIAGENS E OBRAS BRASILEIRAS DE HENRY CHAMBERLAIN**
AN ENGLISH LIEUTENANT IN BRAZIL: NEW INFORMATION ABOUT HENRY
CHAMBERLAIN'S BRAZILIAN TRAVELS AND ARTWORKS

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Resumo

Este artigo apresenta novas informações sobre as viagens e obras brasileiras do tenente Henry Chamberlain (1796–1843). Chamberlain é mais lembrado por sua série de águas-tintas, *Vistas e costumes da cidade e arredores do Rio de Janeiro*, publicada pela primeira vez em Londres em 1821 e uma peça brasileira muito apreciada. No entanto, pouco mais se sabia sobre a visita de Chamberlain ao Brasil em 1819–1820, além do que poderia ser verificado pelas gravuras e pelas aquarelas que sobreviveram. Fontes primárias britânicas e brasileiras, especialmente jornais, revelaram detalhes mais tangíveis sobre sua chegada e saída do Brasil, mas também sobre seu retorno ao país alguns anos depois, o que resultou em outras aquarelas. Uma aquarela na Pinacoteca de São Paulo, anteriormente não atribuída a nenhum artista, é aqui identificada como obra de Chamberlain de sua segunda viagem ao Brasil. Por fim, esta pesquisa também revelou a existência de um modelo topográfico do Rio de Janeiro que o tenente fez em 1824 e exibiu em Londres.

Palavras-chave: Henry Chamberlain; arte britânica; artista viajante; paisagem.

Abstract

*This article presents new information about the travels and Brazilian works of Lieutenant Henry Chamberlain (1796–1843). Chamberlain is best remembered for his series of aquatints, *Views and Costumes of the City and Environs of Rio de Janeiro*, first published in London in 1821, a highly valued Brazilian piece. However, little else was known about Chamberlain's visit to Brazil in 1819–1820 beyond what could be inferred from the surviving engravings and watercolors. British and Brazilian primary sources, especially newspapers, have revealed more tangible details about his arrival and departure from Brazil, as well as his return to the country a few years later, which resulted in additional watercolors. A watercolor in the Pinacoteca de São Paulo, previously unattributed to any artist, is identified here as a work by Chamberlain from his second trip to Brazil. Finally, this research also revealed the existence of a topographical model of Rio de Janeiro that the lieutenant made in 1824 and exhibited in London.*

Keywords: Henry Chamberlain; British art; traveling artist; landscape.

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When Brazilian art historians took an interest in the European travelling artists who came to Brazil in the nineteenth century, the English lieutenant and watercolourist Henry Chamberlain (1796–1843) soon came to be highly regarded. Yet despite the immense value placed upon his series of aquatints, *Views and Costumes of the City and Neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro*, (1821), more precise details of his Brazilian travels were unknown. Some facts could be ascertained from his watercolours which were not published in *Views and Costumes*, demonstrating that he also travelled to Minas Gerais and São Paulo. However, excepting the book's title page, which states that the engravings were based upon drawings of Rio made "During the Years 1819 and 1820", little more was known about Chamberlain's experiences in Brazil. This article, based on extensive research into British and Brazilian primary sources, presents new information about the lieutenant's visit to Brazil, as well as a second trip which he made to the country which was previously unknown to scholars. This in turn provides new insights into his original watercolours which survive in Brazilian collections, and even the attribution of a hitherto overlooked watercolour by him in the Pinacoteca de São Paulo. Furthermore, the research has revealed the existence of another artwork in a completely different media which Chamberlain made in 1824: a topographical model of Rio de Janeiro.

Chamberlain's descendants in England (who were described in 1956 as living "in reduced circumstances") sold or gave away virtually all his original watercolours in the twentieth century, mostly to Brazilian collectors.² Most intact copies of *Views and Costumes* are also in Brazil, such as the Biblioteca Nacional, the Pinacoteca de São Paulo, the Museu Castro Maya and the Coleção Brasileira of Itaú Cultural. So thorough was the Brazilian acquisition of this book that there are no original copies in British collections today, not even the British Library. There is, however, one in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, while in the USA there are original copies in the Oliveira Lima Library of the Catholic University of America, the Yale Center for British Art and the Newberry Library in Chicago, with a fourth in private hands.³

The widespread circulation and reproduction of Chamberlain's *Views and Costumes*

² A letter from Gastão Nothmann to Pietro Maria Bardi, 30 January 1956, MASP archives, folder nº 821P: "A família dos baronetes continua ainda hoje mas em circunstâncias reduzidas".

³ The latter was only rediscovered recently; it is particularly special as it contains annotations written by Anne Eugenia Chamberlain, the lieutenant's stepmother. Sold by Blanchards Auction Services, New York, online sale, 28 March 2021; sold for \$108,000 to a private collection in New England.

(including facsimile editions in 1943 and 1974) has ensured its longevity as a piece of *brasiliiana*, but there has been surprisingly little curiosity to know more about the artist and his travels, presumably as it was thought that there was not much to be found. Various accounts have merely recycled factual errors about Chamberlain from previous secondary sources, and twentieth-century historians even attributed several oil paintings to him, when in fact he was an amateur watercolourist without the necessary training to work in oils.⁴ His evident skills as a picturesque draughtsman have also been overshadowed by the fact that he copied the small figures of enslaved people by the Portuguese artist Joaquim Cândido Guillobel to include in the street scenes of his *Views and Costumes*.⁵ This has led to accusations of plagiarism and an assumption that there is little other value to Chamberlain's work beyond its engagement with the horrors of slavery.⁶ While this is an important and necessary consideration, it is only one aspect of his oeuvre – most of his surviving watercolours instead focus on the tropical Brazilian landscape. A fresh examination of relevant primary sources has been necessary and productive, presenting a more accurate and detailed account of Chamberlain's life and artworks than has yet been written.

Biographical details

The basic facts of Chamberlain's biography were established by Joaquim de Sousa-Leão.⁷ He was born in 1796, the eldest child of Henry Chamberlain (later Sir Henry) [Fig. 1] and Elizabeth Harrod. Henry and Elizabeth had two other children, William Augustus Charles and Eliza Caroline. The couple were divorced by an Act of Parliament in 1813, and Henry married Anne Eugenia Morgan a few months later. The younger Henry entered military service in 1815, aged 19, becoming Second Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery of the British Army; he was promoted to First Lieutenant on 1 May 1819.⁸ It has recently been stated that he

⁴ For the misattributions, see: SOUSA-LEÃO, Joaquim de. "Chamberlain, o enamorado da Guanabara". *Rio Magazine*, March 1949, n.p. SOUSA-LEÃO, Joaquim de. "Biographical notes". In: CHAMBERLAIN, Henry. *Views and Costumes of the City and Neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro*. Facsimile edition. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editoria, 1974. FERREZ, Gilberto. *Iconografia do Rio de Janeiro, 1530–1890: catálogo analítico, volume 1*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa Jorge Editorial, 2000, pp. 198–99.

⁵ This was first identified by RANGEL, Alberto. "O Album de Highcliffe". *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, n. 6 (1942), p. 95.

⁶ HONOUR, Hugh. *The Image of the Black in Western Art, Vol IV, Part I: Slaves and Liberators*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012, p. 309, note 55.

⁷ Sousa-Leão, "Chamberlain, o enamorado da Guanabara", n.p.; Sousa-Leão, "Biographical notes".

⁸ "Sir Henry Chamberlain, Bart.". *The Gentleman's Magazine* (August 1844), p. 207.

received training as a draughtsman at the Royal Naval Academy, “enthusiastically attending the drawing courses that were part of the training for naval officers”, although this is difficult to confirm, and he was attached to the Army rather than the Navy.⁹ Around this time, his portrait was painted by an unknown artist [Fig. 2], shortly before he went to Brazil.¹⁰

Fig. 1. Unknown artist, *Sir Henry Chamberlain*, ca. 1810, oil on canvas, 76.8 x 64.3 cm.



Source: Government Art Collection, UK

Fig. 2. Unknown artist, *Lt. Henry Chamberlain*, ca. 1819, oil on canvas, 76.5 x 64 cm.



Source: Museu de Arte de São Paulo

The main purpose of Chamberlain’s trip was to visit his family in Rio. His father had been appointed Britain’s consul-general to Brazil in 1814 and relocated to Rio with Anne Eugenia; the couple had seven children while living there.¹¹ By the time that Lt. Chamberlain arrived in Rio, his family had become a fixture in the city’s elite social circles and amassed a large fortune. Maria Graham, who met the family on several occasions, remarked in her diary in August 1823 that Anne Eugenia was a stickler for etiquette but was “a well-informed woman, with pleasant manners”.¹² The Chamberlains had two properties: one in Catete, which was recorded in two of the lieutenant’s watercolours [Figs. 3 and 4], and a country house (*chácara*) named Braganza, over in Niterói. The latter was the subject of several watercolours by the lieutenant, one of which was published in *Views and Costumes*, the plate entitled

⁹ MARTINS, Carlos; SILVA, Paulo da Costa e. *Vistas e panoramas do Brasil século XIX: coleção Carlos Mariani*. Rio de Janeiro: Andrea Jakobsson Estúdio, 2021, p. 44.

¹⁰ This portrait was obtained by Gastão Nothmann from the Chamberlain family in around 1950 and donated by him to MASP. Nothmann also acquired the portrait of Consul Chamberlain [Fig. 1] from Neville Henry Hargreaves Chamberlain (Lt. Chamberlain’s great-great-grandson), presenting it to the British Embassy in Rio in May 1950 (now in the British Consulate General in Rio). Both portraits seem to have been painted by the same artist.

¹¹ His and Anne Eugenia’s first seven children were born in Rio: Anne Beresford (1815), Harriet Mary (1816), William Charles (1818), Neville Bowles (1820), Crawford Trotter (1821), Thomas Hardy (1822) and Katherine Cochrane (1824). Their eighth child, Charles Francis Falcon, was born in London in 1826.

¹² GRAHAM, Maria. *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence There, During Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824, p. 267.

Fig. 3. Henry Chamberlain, *The Chamberlains' house in Catete, with the Corcovado*, ca. 1819–20, watercolour, 19.8 x 27.3 cm.



Source: Pinacoteca de São Paulo.

Fig. 4. Henry Chamberlain, *The Chamberlains' house in Catete, with the Sugarloaf*, ca. 1819–20, watercolour, 19.7 x 26.7 cm.



Source: Pinacoteca de São Paulo.

Braganza.¹³ Sousa-Leão believed that the Chamberlains had a third abode on the Outeiro da Glória (Glória Hill), but this is unlikely.¹⁴ The source of the confusion was Nicolas-Antoine Taunay's painting of the view of the Sugarloaf Mountain as seen from the Chamberlains' house (one of two pictures which he painted for the family), the location of which was identified as the Outeiro da Glória by Gilberto Ferrez.¹⁵ Yet Maria Graham's panoramic sketch of the very same view was clearly done in Catete, as the date on the drawing, 20 December 1821, matches her diary entry for the same day, in which she paid and received visits in that neighbourhood.¹⁶ Confusingly, Ferrez correctly stated that Graham's drawing was made in Catete, despite also pointing out that Taunay's painting depicts the same view.¹⁷

A more precise indication of Lt. Chamberlain's time in Brazil has now been provided by two primary sources. The first is a letter which was published in *The Times* in October 1819, and then as a Portuguese translation in the *Correio Braziliense*. Dated 2 July 1819, the

¹³ Chamberlain's unpublished watercolours of the *chácara* are recorded in FERREZ, Gilberto. *Iconografia do Rio de Janeiro, 1530–1890: catálogo analítico. Volume 1*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa Jorge Editorial, 2000, p. 197. They were part of an album of the lieutenant's watercolours which was eventually sold by his descendants at Maggs Bros., London, in 1925; it was bought by João Fernando de Almeida Prado, who brought it to Brazil. Perhaps regrettably, after his death in 1987 this original album was broken up and the watercolours were sold individually in the late 1990s, so that their present whereabouts are unknown. See, for instance, LOUZADA, Maria Alice; LOUZADA, Júlio. *Artes Plásticas no Brasil 97*. São Paulo: Julio Louzada Publicações, 1997, v. 9, p. 202: sale of two Chamberlain watercolours from the album, including the *Barbacena* watercolour [Fig. 12 below]. I am very grateful to Julio Reis for sending me information about these sales.

¹⁴ Sousa-Leão, "Biographical notes", n.p.

¹⁵ Ferrez, *Iconografia*, p. 199, n° 1050: "Residência de verão do cônsul geral inglês, no outeiro da Glória".

¹⁶ Graham, *Journal*, p. 162. The full inscription on Graham's drawing, which is in the British Museum, London, reads: "from the window of the Upper Room in Mr Chamberlayne's [*sic*] house near Rio, Dec^r 20th 1821".

¹⁷ Ferrez, *Iconografia*, p. 226, n° 1191: "Panorama feito do alto da casa de Chamberlain que ficava no Catete, próximo ao largo do Machado".

letter recounts an incident which had occurred in Rio during the previous week:

It has long been the custom here, whenever any of the [Portuguese] Royal Family are met, either in or out of the town, for every person to bend the knee to them whilst passing; and should a gentleman be on horseback, he must get off, or in a gig, &c. he must get out, and down on his knee. About a week since, as Commodore Bowles, of his Majesty's ship *Creole*, [...] was going to St. Christophe [São Cristóvão], [...] in company with either Mr. Chamberlain's (the Consul-General) son, or nephew, they met the Queen [Dona Carlota Joaquina] coming to town, and being in rather a hurry, did not alight, but passed on, and were immediately attacked by the dragoon guards, pulled off their horses, and very ill treated.¹⁸

It is not known if Consul Chamberlain had a nephew staying with him. He was the "illegitimate" son of the British politician Henry Fane, who had fourteen "legitimate" children; the consul would therefore have had nieces and nephews through his half-siblings, although his relationships with them are unclear. As Lt. Chamberlain's own half-siblings were infants at this time, he is the only person who fits the description of "son".

The second and much less ambiguous source is an article in a London newspaper, which states that on 16 October 1820, "Lieutenant Chamberlain, of the Royal Artillery, came home passenger in the *Tyne*, from Madeira", arriving in Portsmouth.¹⁹ It also says that the HMS *Tyne* had left Rio on 23 August, although according to the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* the ship departed on the 24th.²⁰ These sources show more precisely the period that the lieutenant spent in Brazil, from about June 1819 until August 1820.

Views and Costumes was first published in London in six monthly installments between July and December 1821: six prints per month, priced at one guinea per part. The series was advertised in London newspapers as early as April, with one notice stating that it was "In the Press, and speedily will be Published".²¹ Curiously, an advertisement for the series in July stated that the first installment was being dedicated to Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, although this dedication did not carry over into the complete book version which was brought out the following year.²² The publisher, Thomas McLean, was a print seller with a premises in the Haymarket. The aquatints themselves were executed by four artists, copying

¹⁸ "Spirited Assertion of National Honour. – Extract of a Letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated 2d July [1819]". *The Times* (20 October 1819), p. 3. *Correio Braziliense*, v. 23 (October 1819), p. 450. See *The Times* (28 October 1819), p. 2, for a reply from "A Brazilian established in London", dated 26 October 1819, refuting aspects of the 2 July letter. The same incident is recounted in: HENDERSON, James. *A History of the Brazil; Comprising Its Geography, Commerce, Colonization and Aboriginal Inhabitants*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, p. 51, but only mentions Bowles.

¹⁹ *New Times (London)* (18 October 1820), p. 4.

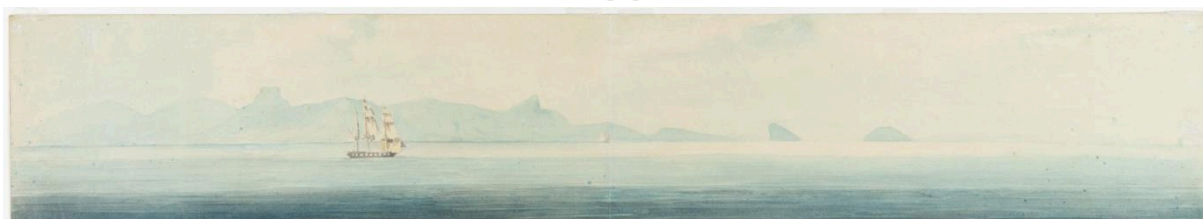
²⁰ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, n. 69 (26 August 1820), p. 3.

²¹ *New Times (London)* (2 April 1821), p. 2.

²² *Star (London)* (9 July 1821), p. 1.

Lt. Chamberlain's watercolours: John Heaviside Clark, Henry Alken, George Hunt and T. Hunt. They were then printed for McLean by Howlett & Brimmer, a printers based in Soho. The book version was still being advertised for sale by McLean in 1823, at the price of £6 6s, but it is thought that relatively few copies were printed, which explains its scarcity.²³

Fig. 5. Henry Chamberlain, *Entrance to the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. Sugar loaf. About two miles distant*, ca. 1819, watercolour on paper, 12.2 x 69.2 cm.



Source: Instituto Moreira Salles

The publication of *Views and Costumes* is thought to have been financed by Consul Chamberlain at great personal expense, which is feasible, given the family's artistic interests.²⁴ As mentioned earlier, the Chamberlains commissioned two oil paintings from Taunay. One depicts the Outeiro da Glória with the church of Nossa Senhora da Glória, while the other shows the view of the Sugarloaf from the window of the Chamberlains' home in Catete.²⁵ (These paintings were mistakenly misattributed to the lieutenant by his descendants.) As Lago has pointed out, Lt. Chamberlain's exact copy of the first picture was published in *Views and Costumes* (the plate *N^a. S^a. da Gloria*, engraved by Alken) without acknowledging Taunay.²⁶ Another Chamberlain family member was also a watercolourist: Eliza, the consul's daughter by his first marriage and the lieutenant's younger sister, who also lived in Rio.²⁷ She made at least one known watercolour, which shows the same view of the Sugarloaf from the Chamberlains' house in Catete which Taunay painted for her family and which Graham sketched in 1821.²⁸ Furthermore, the Chamberlains received another French artist at their

²³ In the back of BURKE, Edmund. *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*. London: Thomas McLean, 1823, v. 1, described as "containing thirty-six superbly coloured engravings on imperial quarto drawing paper, price £6:6s. in boards".

²⁴ LAGO, Pedro Corrêa do. *Taunay e o Brasil: obra completa, 1816–1821*. Rio de Janeiro: Capivara, 2006, p. 140.

²⁵ Both paintings are now in a private collection in São Paulo.

²⁶ Lago, *Taunay*, p. 140.

²⁷ *Staffordshire Advertiser* (4 March 1820), p. 4: "On the 2nd of December [1819], at Rio de Janeiro, the Hon. Charles Bridgeman, R.N. son of the Earl of Bradford, to Eliza Caroline, eldest daughter of Henry Chamberlain, Esq. his Majesty's Consul General in the Brazils". There are portrait miniatures of her and Charles in the collection of Weston Park, Shropshire. Eliza died in 1865.

²⁸ This was sold at an auction on 29 March 2000, but the location of the sale has not yet been established. Described as "*The Sugar Loaf, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*, watercolour, 23.5 x 33.6 cm". There is a black-and-white

Catete home in the mid-1820s, Edmond Bigot de la Touanne, who drew a view of the Corcovado “seen from the house of the English consul” which was later engraved in 1837.²⁹

Fig. 6. John Clark after Henry Chamberlain, *Approach to Rio de Janeiro, from the Westward Sugar Loaf, about four leagues distant*, published 1821, coloured aquatint.



Source: Copy of Chamberlain's *Views and Costumes* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro

Few of the lieutenant's watercolours which served as the basis for the aquatints have survived. In the Instituto Moreira Salles are two panoramic watercolours of Guanabara Bay, clearly observational sketches, which have been attributed to him.³⁰ Certainly, one of them [Fig. 5] is nearly identical to one of the published panoramas [Fig. 6], so there is no reason to doubt the attribution. Although the second watercolour does not closely resemble any of the prints in *Views and Costumes*, it was clearly painted by the same hand. The rendering of the clouds and the colour washes in these two works is comparable to the techniques evident in the lieutenant's watercolours of the house in Catete [Figs. 3 and 4]. Meanwhile, a watercolour in MASP [Fig. 7] is almost certainly a preparatory study by Chamberlain for the print *A Market Stall* in *Views and Costumes*, with slight differences. The MASP sheet has an inscription on the verso, probably written by the lieutenant, which lists the individual figures which he planned to include in the scene. Pencil annotations in a different hand specify their placement within the foreground, midground or background, which were likely added by John Heaviside Clark, the engraver who executed *A Market Stall*. Another study, evidently for the print *Largo da Glória*, has come to light in the Instituto Flávia Abubakir [Fig. 8]; according to Ferrez, it once belonged to Newton Carneiro, and before this to the Chamberlain family.³¹

photograph of the watercolour: see Artnet, <https://www.artnet.com/artists/eliza-caroline-bridgeman/the-sugar-loaf-rio-de-janeiro-brazil-SUjdLRVnCZInsCXtHDTmng2> (accessed 19 January 2024).

²⁹ Ferrez, *Iconografia*, p. 263, n° 1508: *Le Corcovado vu de la maison du consul d'Angleterre*, published in BOUGAINVILLE, Hyacinthe de. *Journal de la navigation autour du Globe de la Frégate "la Thétis" et de la Corvette "l'Espérance" pendant les années 1824, 1825 et 1826*. Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1837, plate 32.

³⁰ These were acquired by Martha and Erico Stickel from the collection of João Fernando de Almeida Prado.

³¹ Ferrez, *Iconografia*, p. 199, n° 1051 (watercolour, 12.8 x 14 cm; “Quatro das figurinhas postadas em frente das casinhas são idênticas às que ocorrem na água-tinta [...] *Largo da Glória*. Coleção Newton Carneiro”). A letter accompanying the watercolour in the Instituto Flávia Abubakir, from Gastão Nothman to “Senhor Eichner”, 30

Lastly, Ferrez catalogued the original watercolour for the print *The Palace* (signed “H. Chamberlain”), but its present whereabouts are unknown.³² Two other watercolours (one of them signed) which may have served for the prints *Braganza* and *Boa Viagem*, and which also came from the Chamberlain family, are also unaccounted for.³³

Fig. 7. Henry Chamberlain, *Quitadeiras da Lapa* (Study for “A Market Stall”), ca. 1820–21, watercolour, 21 x 28 cm.



Source: Museu de Arte de São Paulo

Fig. 8. Henry Chamberlain, *Largo da Glória*, ca. 1820–21, watercolour.



Source: Instituto Flávia Abubakir

The lieutenant’s second trip to Brazil

Lt. Chamberlain’s experiences of Brazil did not end with the publication of his watercolours – in fact, he returned to the country two years later. This second trip was unknown to scholars until now and was discovered using publicly available but overlooked primary sources. First is the diary of Lachlan Macquarie, the former governor of New South Wales, who stopped in Salvador for several days during his return voyage to England. On 5 May 1822, he wrote that a packet called the *Nocton*, coming from England, had arrived in the port of Salvador, “having Mr. Chamberlaine [*sic*], the consul general for Rio [de] Janeiro on

June 1949, states that the work was acquired by Nothman directly from the Chamberlain family.

³² Ibidem, p. 199, n° 1054 (watercolour, 20.5 x 26.3 cm; “Original. Não possui data e serviu para a impressão da prancha *The Palace* [...] Coleção família de Octales Macrondes Ferreira”).

³³ Ibidem, p. 199, n° 1052 (“Sítio de Braganza, do General Sir Sidney Smith”, watercolour, signed “Henry Chamberlain”), n° 1053 (“Boa Viagem”, watercolour, unsigned). These were acquired by Gastão Nothmann (together with Ferrez n° 1051 – see previous note) from the Chamberlains in 1949, and sold by him to Livraria Kosmos in Rio, which then sold them to unknown private collectors.

board”.³⁴ Later that day, Macquarie noted that the consul was accompanied by his wife (Anne Eugenia) and “Lieut. Chamberlain R. Artillery”.³⁵ The *Nocton* had left England on 15 February, also stopping at Lisbon, Gibraltar, Malta, Corfu and Madeira en route to Brazil.³⁶

Mr and Mrs Chamberlain’s temporary return to England is explained by a statement in the House of Commons in 1822:

After residing eight years abroad, Mr Chamberlain returned home in a very bad state of health, and though his situation [in Rio] was considered so very emolumentary [well-paid], yet he would have been glad to have accepted the situation of consul-general any where in Europe, rather than return to the Brazils. He did, however, as no opening was made for him in Europe, return.³⁷

The consul was already back in England by January 1821, when he attended a *levée* of King George IV.³⁸ Clearly, when he and Anne Eugenia sailed back to Brazil the following year, the lieutenant decided to accompany them. As soon as they arrived in Salvador, he made more watercolours. There is a little-known panorama of the city which was auctioned in London in 1994 by a Chamberlain family descendant [Fig. 9].³⁹ The inscription on it reads: “The City of San Salvador, Bahia, taken in May 1822 from the Nocton Packet”, which corresponds to Macquarie’s diary. On 11 May, Macquarie and his wife left Salvador for Rio,

Fig. 9. Henry Chamberlain, *The City of San Salvador, Bahia, taken in May 1822 from the Nocton Packet*, 1822, watercolour, 21.8 x 99 cm, private collection.



Source: Sales catalogue, Christie’s, London, “Topographical Pictures”, 15 July 1994, lot 44.

³⁴ MACQUARIE, Lachlan. “Journal of a Voyage to England, 1822”. Available at: <https://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/lema/1822/1822may.html#may5> (accessed 19 January 2024). The original manuscript is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

³⁵ Macquarie, *Journal*.

³⁶ See *Caledonian Mercury* (21 February 1822), p. 4: “Packet Boats, Falmouth Station”, which also states that the *Nocton* would make stops at “Pernambuco, and Bahia, on her way out to Rio Janeiro”.

³⁷ House of Commons, 7 May 1822, *The Parliamentary Debates*, new series, v. 7 (April–August 1822), p. 370.

³⁸ *Morning Herald (London)* (27 January 1821), p. 4.

³⁹ Christie’s, London, “Topographical Pictures” sale, 15 July 1994, lot 44; it was described as having passed “By descent from the artist to the present owner”. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

so personal contact between them and the Chamberlains ceased. Still, his diary gives us the valuable information that the lieutenant returned to Brazil, painting more watercolours. They probably sailed in the *Nocton* down to Rio; it arrived there on 31 May.⁴⁰

The date of the lieutenant's eventual departure for England is also known: he left Rio aboard the HMS *Alacrity* on 28 May 1823, bound for Plymouth, and arrived there on 19 July.⁴¹ We therefore know that he stayed in Brazil for almost exactly one year, from May 1822 until May 1823. This means that he witnessed the Independence, a seismic event in Brazilian history with which his father was closely involved. The consul corresponded frequently with José Bonifácio, especially after the latter became Brazil's first chancellor.⁴² A letter by Consul Chamberlain was among those which Pedro I received on 7 September 1822, partially inspiring the emperor to decisively declare Brazil's independence from Portugal, according to Belchior Pinheiro de Oliveira's eyewitness account of the event.⁴³ The consul's letter to Pedro has not survived, but it apparently contained news that Lisboan politicians had openly declared Pedro's disinheritance in favour of Dom Miguel as King of Portugal. Oliveira even stated that Consul Chamberlain was Pedro's "secret agent", while others refer to him as simply a close friend of the emperor. There can be no doubt that Lt. Chamberlain was also aware of these events, although this awareness did not translate into any artworks.

Anne Eugenia Chamberlain and her children returned to England permanently in mid-1826.⁴⁴ In the same year, Lt. Chamberlain married Harriet Mullen, the daughter of a major in the 1st Regiment of Foot.⁴⁵ Consul Chamberlain arrived back in England in March 1827, for the last time.⁴⁶ He received a baronetcy for his services in February 1828, becoming

⁴⁰ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, n. 68 (6 June 1822), p. 378, "Notícias marítimas – entradas".

⁴¹ *Império do Brasil: Diário do Governo*, v. 1, n. 122 (3 June 1823), p. 618: "Dia 28 de Maio [de 1823] [...] Falmouth; B. de guerra Ing. *Alacrity*, Com. Thomaz Porter; passageiro o Tenente Henry Chauberlain [*sic*]". *Morning Advertiser* (21 July 1823), p. 3.

⁴² ANJOS, João Alfredo de. *José Bonifácio, primeiro Chanceler do Brasil*. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2007, frequently cites Chamberlain's correspondence with Bonifácio.

⁴³ CINTRA, F. Assis (org.). *D. Pedro I e o Grito da Independência*. São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1921, p. 213, quoting Oliveira's account: "O Príncipe mandou-me ler alto as cartas trazidas por Paulo Bregaro e Antonio Cordeiro. Eram elas: uma instrução das Cortes, uma carte de D. Joao, outra da Princesa, outro de José Bonifácio e ainda outra de Chamberlain, agente secreto do Príncipe". Oliveira was present at the occasion of Pedro's declaration. See also MENCK, José Theodoro Mascarenhas. *D. Pedro I: entre o voluntarismo e o constitucionalismo*. Brasília: Edições Câmara, 2022, v. 1, p. 191.

⁴⁴ *Hampshire Chronicle* (21 August 1826), p. 1, reports the arrival of the HMS *Briton* on 14 August: "Mrs Chamberlain, wife of the Consul-General at the Brazils, came passenger in the *Briton*". The ship had left Rio on 15 June. Anne gave birth to her last child, Charles Francis Falcon Chamberlain, in London in October 1826.

⁴⁵ There is a photograph of Harriet in the National Portrait Gallery, NPG Ax55696. The couple had four children: Henry Orlando Robert, later 3rd Baronet (b. 1828), Annabella Anne (1835), Edward Augustus Frederick (1842) and Ursula Jane Eliza.

⁴⁶ *Evening Mail* (2 March 1827), p. 4: "Henry Chamberlain, Consul-General at Rio Janeiro, [...] arrived in the

Sir Henry Chamberlain, 1st Baronet; later that year, he was appointed Britain's consul-general to Portugal and planned to go to Lisbon, but he died in London on 31 July 1829.⁴⁷ Consequently, the lieutenant became the second Chamberlain baronet. He did travel to other countries later in his life, in service to the Royal Artillery. After being appointed Second Captain of his regiment in 1835, he was stationed primarily at Ceylon for five years, returning to England in 1840.⁴⁸ He was eventually promoted to First Captain in April 1842, before taking command of the Artillery in Bermuda in August 1843.⁴⁹ He died one month later, on 8 September, having caught yellow fever during an epidemic of the infection on the islands; he was buried in the Royal Naval Cemetery on Ireland Island, Bermuda, where his grave still stands.⁵⁰ He was survived by Harriet, who died in 1866. His artistic productions seem to have been limited to his Brazilian travels as a young man, and *Views and Costumes* remains his only published work.

Looking afresh at Chamberlain's watercolours

Knowing that Lt. Chamberlain returned to Brazil challenges previous assumptions about his artistic practices. Clearly, his watercolours were not all painted in 1819–20, but several were done during his second trip. During the intervening period, he had become a published artist, and when he returned to Brazil, he continued to make visual records of it, perhaps even with an eye to a follow-up publication. This may explain why he travelled farther afield than on his first visit, and thus why his *Views and Costumes* focuses solely on Rio – perhaps he never even left Rio the first time around.

Camden packet from Rio Janeiro”.

⁴⁷ Chamberlain's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, v. 99 (July–December 1829), p. 274: “He had been appointed Consul at Lisbon, to which place he would have proceeded some time since but for his illness”.

⁴⁸ “Correspondence [...] October 21, 1835”, *The United Service Journal* (November 1835), p. 402: “The *Jupiter* [...] conveyed a company of the Royal Artillery, under the command of Captain Sir H. Chamberlain, to relieve a similar party at Ceylon”. “Naval and Military Intelligence. Woolwich, Sept. 15”, *The Times* (16 September 1840), p. 5, notes the recent arrival at Woolwich of Chamberlain and ninety men of the Royal Artillery, “recently at Ceylon”. There are mentions of Capt. Sir Henry Chamberlain at Ceylon in sources from 1837–8, such as *Saint James's Chronicle* (1 November 1838), p. 2, which states that he was made commander of the Artillery there. Martins and Silva, *Vistas e panoramas*, states that Chamberlain became a navy captain, which is untrue.

⁴⁹ “Office of Ordnance, 11 April 1822”, *The London Gazette*, n. 20090 (12 April 1842), p. 1017.

⁵⁰ “Sir Henry Chamberlain, Bart.”, *The Gentleman's Magazine* (August 1844), p. 207.

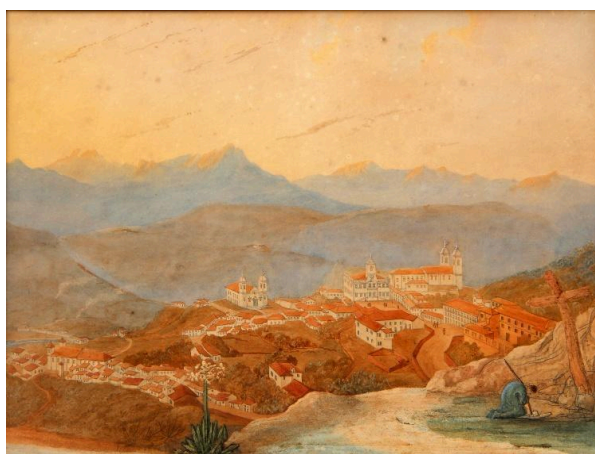
Fig. 10. Henry Chamberlain, *View near São Paulo*, ca. 1822–3, watercolour, 18.8 x 26.9 cm, collection of Ney Castro Alves, São Paulo



Source: Enciclopédia ItaúCultural

Evidence of Chamberlain's wider travels during the second trip is provided by an album of watercolours which was sold by his descendants in 1925.⁵¹ It contained many views of Rio, some with dates of 1819 and 1820, but also landscapes in São Paulo and Minas Gerais – crucially, there were three coastal views of São Sebastião and Santos dated 17 and 18 February 1823.⁵² This is confirmed by a report of departures from the port of Rio, which states that “Henry Chamberland [*sic*]” left aboard the *Aurora* on 16 February 1823, bound for Santos.⁵³ If he sailed up to the coast of São Paulo, would he not also have visited the state capital and thus painted the watercolour of the Jaraguá Peak, now in a Brazilian private collection [Fig. 10]? This work was originally part of the 1925 album and was always

Fig. 11. Henry Chamberlain, *View of Ouro Preto*, ca. 1822–3, watercolour, 56.5 x 66.3 cm.



Source: Museu da Inconfidência, Ouro Preto

⁵¹ See note 13. See also Ferrez, *Iconografia*, p. 196.

⁵² See note 13.

⁵³ *Império do Brasil: Diário do Governo*, n. 39 (18 February 1823), p. 160.

assumed to have been painted in 1819–20. Similarly, could Chamberlain’s views of Ouro Preto [Fig. 11] and Barbacena [Fig. 12] also date from 1822–3 instead?

Fig. 12. Henry Chamberlain, *Barbacena*, ca. 1819–23, watercolour, 19 x 27.5 cm.



Source: Coleção Brasileira, Itaú Cultural, São Paulo

In the Coleção Brasileira of the Pinacoteca de São Paulo is a watercolour of previously unknown authorship, but there is substantial evidence that it is in fact a work by Lt. Chamberlain dating from his second trip to Brazil [Fig. 13]. It once belonged to Joaquim de Sousa-Leão, who appears to have been given it by a female descendant of the Chamberlains, taken from what he described as a “family album”; he also speculated that the landscape depicts the Agulhas Negras mountain range, in the Itatiaia National Park.⁵⁴ Our examination of the original watercolour revealed a watermark which, although partially cut off by the edge of the sheet, was identifiable as: “WHATMAN / TURKEY MILL / 1821”. The wove papers originally developed by James Whatman at Turkey Mill in Kent in the 1750s were frequently used by watercolourists in the early nineteenth century.

⁵⁴ According to annotation by Sousa-Leão inside the copy of *Views and Costumes* in the Pinacoteca de São Paulo, n° PINA07452: “uma née Chamberlain, de cujo álbum de família provêm duas aquarelas coladas atrás de Botafogo e das Agulhas Negras (viagem a São Paulo)”. Further on in the book, beside the plate *A Pleasure Cart*, Sousa-Leão wrote: “o original para esta prancha estava no álbum da S^{ra} ? née Chamberlain que me deu a vista de uma cidade mineira ou paulista, juntada a este (possivelmente as Agulhas Negras)”. This description fits Fig. 13. The watercolour of Botafogo referred to in the first quotation is difficult to identify with certainty, but it is probably either n°s PINA07445 or PINA07444 – both views of Botafogo Bay.

Figure 13. Attributed to Henry Chamberlain, *View of the Agulhas Negras(?)*, ca. 1821–3, watercolour, 18.8 x 26.9 cm.



Fig. 14. T. Hunt after Henry Chamberlain, *S. W. View of the City of Rio de Janeiro*, 1821, aquatint.



Source: Coleção Brasileira, Itaú Cultural, São Paulo

This date of 1821 means that the picture could not have been painted during Chamberlain's first Brazilian trip. Still, comparing it with his views of the family home in Catete [Figs. 3 and 4] and of Ouro Preto [Fig. 11] and Barbacena [Fig. 12], we can see several stylistic parallels. For example, the trees on the left of the Pinacoteca watercolour resemble those in the Barbacena view, while the careful rendering of the colonial houses and the tiny human figures drawn in black ink are comparable to the houses and figures in the Ouro Preto and Catete pictures. The mountain range in the background of the Pinacoteca picture is painted in a similar manner to the Corcovado and Sugarloaf in the views of Catete. The watercolour's overall composition is also very reminiscent of some of the prints in *Views and*

Costumes, such as *S. W. View of the City of Rio de Janeiro* [Fig. 14]. As the Agulhas Negras Peak straddles the Rio–Minas border, it would have been seen by Chamberlain on his way between the two states. Looking closely at the immediate foreground, we can also see a figure dressed in blue and holding a tall staff, who bears a striking resemblance to the figure in the foreground of the view of Ouro Preto, who is shown clutching his staff as he kneels before a wayside cross. With all these elements considered, it is reasonable to identify the previously overlooked watercolour in the Pinacoteca as a work by Lt. Chamberlain, dating from 1822–3.

Models and panoramas: the Brazilian landscape in three dimensions

Although Chamberlain’s second trip to Brazil did not lead to any more prints, it did result in a very different creation: a large topographical model of Guanabara Bay, which he made in 1824. This was unknown until the copy of *Views and Costumes* that once belonged to Chamberlain’s stepmother came to light in 2021.⁵⁵ On the title page, Anne Eugenia wrote that her stepson “has also made a very perfect model of Rio Janeiro which is in the Model Room at Woolwich”. She was referring to the Rotunda of the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich. The Royal Artillery’s headquarters were then located in the large garrison overlooking Woolwich Common. The Rotunda had been built in 1814 in the grounds of Carlton House but was moved to Woolwich Common in 1820 and repurposed as a public display of the Royal Artillery’s collections. Besides topographical and fortification models, various historic arms

Fig. 15. George Scharf, *The Rotunda of the Royal Artillery Museum, Woolwich, 1828*, watercolour, 27.4 x 44.6 cm.



Source: British Museum

⁵⁵ See note 3.

and weapons were on display. A copy of the *Views and Costumes* was also donated to the regiment's library, presumably by Chamberlain, but it is no longer in the collection.⁵⁶



Fig. 16. Detail of Fig. 15, showing the topographical model of Rio de Janeiro by Lt. Henry Chamberlain

Unfortunately, Chamberlain's model is now also untraced. However, it appears in a watercolour by George Scharf depicting the interior of the Rotunda in 1828 [Figs. 15 and 16]. This gives a good idea of its size and appearance, with miniature ships and fortifications. Chamberlain seems to have used a mirrored base to mimic water, as inverted reflections of the hills are visible. Scharf included a sailor pointing out the city's natural landmarks to his female companion, demonstrating the model's function as an educational tool that could convey to its viewers the majesty of the Brazilian landscape in three dimensions. Indeed, in January 1828 it was reported that Dom Miguel I of Portugal "seemed peculiarly interested" in the model during a visit to the Royal Artillery and "pointed out several places which appeared to be quite familiar to him".⁵⁷ The model was still in the museum's collection forty years later, as listed in the 1864 catalogue: "The City of St. Sebastian, and Harbour of Rio de Janeiro. By Lieut. Chamberlain, R.A. [Royal Artillery], 1824. Scale, 264 feet to an inch".⁵⁸ Several London guidebooks and newspapers highlighted the model as a notable exhibit in the Rotunda, as late as 1868.⁵⁹ By 1874, it had left the museum's collection.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *A Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Artillery at Woolwich*. Woolwich: M. Coleman, 1825, p. 225. I am grateful to Siân Mogridge of the Royal Artillery Museum for her help with this information.

⁵⁷ "Woolwich, Jan. 3", *New Times (London)* (5 January 1828), p. 3.

⁵⁸ LEFROY, J. H. *Official Catalogue of the Museum of Artillery in the Rotunda, Woolwich*. London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1864, p. 165, no. 11.

⁵⁹ GRANT, John. *A Guide to Woolwich*. London: John Grant and E. Jones, 1841, p. 39. *The Visitor's Guide to the Sights of London, including the National Exhibitions*. London: W. Strange, 1844, p. 34. *Bradshaw's Railway, &c., through Route and Overland Guide to India, Egypt, and China*. London: W. J. Adams, 1860, p. 276 ("here notice the models, especially that of Rio de Janeiro"). "The Rotunda at Woolwich", *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* (11 July 1868), p. 447.

⁶⁰ The model is not listed in the next catalogue of 1874. I am grateful to Joanne Thomson of the Royal Artillery Museum for confirming this; email to the author, 26 September 2022.

There is a relationship between Chamberlain's model and another type of landscape representation which interested him: the panorama. As scholars have demonstrated, this was one of the most popular pictorial modes by which European travelling artists depicted Brazil's landscapes, particularly Guanabara Bay, as the wide format enabled artists to incorporate its many geological marvels into the same scene.⁶¹ Six of the aquatints published in *Views and Costumes* are large, panoramic foldout plates which show the bay and its topography from different viewpoints [Fig. 6].⁶² There is a metre-long watercolour in the Fadel collection in Rio de Janeiro, signed by Chamberlain, which begins with the Pão de Açúcar on the far left and finishes at the Ilha das Cobras on the right, with the city centre unfurling across the mid-section.⁶³ It does not exactly match the published panoramas, but its viewpoint is approximate to the one entitled *View of the City of Rio de Janeiro*.

These prints and watercolours would have served as *aides-memoires* for Chamberlain when he constructed his topographical model in 1824. The model would have been a three-dimensional equivalent of the panoramas, enabling the visitor to take in the full extent of Rio's geography – a visual representation in lieu of an in-person experience. Although there were different senses of scale at play, the sensation of encountering Chamberlain's model must have been akin to unfolding the panoramic plates to reveal the city's magnificent scenery, in turn reflecting the awestruck descriptions of English travellers' first sights of the bay, too numerous to include here.⁶⁴ Chamberlain's own words suffice: "The eye is never satiated with beholding".⁶⁵ The frequent mentions of his topographical model in the guidebooks echo Thomas McLean's declaration, in the preface to the book version of the *Views and Costumes*, that "The beautiful Scenery of Rio de Janeiro" had "excited the attention of the Public in general", which justified the publication. The panoramas and model thus provided a form of visual knowledge for the British public, most of whom would never visit Brazil.

⁶¹ For example, HERMAN, Carla Guimarães. "O Rio de Janeiro para inglês ver: o panorama de Robert Burford em Londres". PhD thesis, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2016.

⁶² These are: *Approach to Rio de Janeiro, from the Westward Sugar Loaf, about four leagues distant and Entrance to the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro. Sugar Loaf about two miles distant* (printed on the same sheet); *View of the City of Rio de Janeiro taken from the Anchorage; Point of the Calhabouço from the Gloria; View of the Western Side of the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro; Eastern Side of the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro*.

⁶³ Watercolour on paper, 11 x 116.5 cm, signed but undated. Reproduced in BRUNO, Alexei. *O Brasil do Século XIX na Coleção Fadel*. Rio de Janeiro: Fadel, 2004, pp. 68–9, and is the only known original panorama of the city by Chamberlain. Its provenance is unknown, and it is not recorded in Ferrez, *Iconografia*.

⁶⁴ See: MARTINS, Luciana. "A Bay to be Dreamed Of: British Visions of Rio de Janeiro". *Portuguese Studies*, v. 22, n. 1 (2006), pp. 19–38.

⁶⁵ Chamberlain, *Views and Costumes*, commentary for the plate *View of the City of Rio de Janeiro*.

The discoveries presented in this article demonstrate Chamberlain's close connection with, and clear interest in, Brazil and its landscapes. After publishing his print series in 1821, he decided to pay another visit to the country, accompanying his father and stepmother. This second trip resulted in the rediscovered topographical model, whose public exhibition in the Royal Artillery Museum caught the attention of numerous observers. Therefore, the lieutenant found another outlet by which to express his creative response to Brazil and its landscapes, besides the more popular medium of the print.

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