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CITY OF LETTERS.
TEXTBOOKS, MEMORY AND EXPERIENCES (RIO DE JANEIRO, 1870-1920)

CITTÀ DELLE LETTERE.
LIBRI DI TESTO, MEMORIA E ESPERIENZA (RIO DE JANEIRO, 1870-1920)

This piece analyzes articulations between the expansion of teaching and the publishing industry in Rio de Janeiro from 1870 to 1920, through Brazilian History textbooks. Using various sources, including the textbooks themselves, publishing houses' catalogues and almanacs, teaching programs, advertising, newspapers and memoirs, this study attempts to understand what changed and what stayed the same in the production of Brazilian History textbooks during the growth of literate culture and literate audiences in the city. It attempts to follow the actions of those involved in this process – authors, booksellers, editors and teachers – in search of their motivations and of the various meanings involved in the experiences of the vulgarization of historical knowledge through teaching manuals. The expansion of teaching must be understood as part of the discussions regarding the ideas of citizenship and civic duty in Brazil, particularly in the relation between education and citizen formation, defended by many, where subjects fought through various strategies. Literacy and access to learning was one of them. The existence and access to textbooks was one of the paths, which would be impossible if there wasn't an expanding publishing market.

Questo articolo analizza le articolazioni tra l'espansione dell'insegnamento e l'industria editoriale a Rio de Janeiro dal 1870 al 1920, attraverso i libri di testo di storia brasiliana. Utilizzando varie fonti, inclusi i libri di testo, i cataloghi e gli almanacchi delle case editrici, i programmi di insegnamento, la pubblicità, i giornali e le memorie, questo studio cerca di capire cosa è cambiato e cosa è rimasto nella produzione dei libri di storia della storia brasiliana durante la crescita della cultura letteraria e pubblico alfabetizzato in città. Cerca di seguire le azioni di coloro che sono coinvolti in questo processo – autori, librai, editori e insegnanti – alla ricerca delle loro motivazioni e dei vari significati coinvolti nelle esperienze di volgarizzazione della conoscenza storica attraverso i manuali di insegnamento. L'espansione dell'insegnamento deve essere intesa come parte delle discussioni riguardanti le idee di cittadinanza e dovere civico in Brasile, in particolare nella relazione tra educazione e formazione dei cittadini, difesa da molti, dove i soggetti hanno combattuto attraverso varie strategie. L'alfabetizzazione e l'accesso all'apprendimento erano uno di questi. L'esistenza e l'accesso ai libri di testo era uno dei percorsi, il che sarebbe impossibile se non ci fosse un mercato editoriale in espansione.

Key words: literate culture, textbooks, Brazilian history, Rio de Janeiro.

Parole chiave: cultura letteraria, libri di testo, storia brasiliana, Rio de Janeiro.

This paper analyzes the articulations between literate culture and history teaching in Rio de Janeiro, understanding reading and writing as dimension of the social experience and as a field of tension between groups (Thompson 2002, 31). In what way did the expansion of the offer of formal instruction represented an

expansion of readers in the city of Rio de Janeiro, considering the various experiences around education, publishing and distribution of textbooks in 1870-1920 Rio de Janeiro?

The analysis spans the time period from the mid-19th century to the first few decades of the 20th century, where it will defend the fact that textbook production wasn't 'artisanal', as claimed by many, and where paying attention to the existence of subjects involved in textbook production is crucial to understanding the dynamics and transformations in publishing in Brazil. Apparently, the book business was of wide interest, not only restrained to three important booksellers, as defended by many studies. The fact that a significant part of studies concentrate their analyses in 'established' publishers, among them the brothers Laemmert, the brothers Garnier and Francisco Alves, explains why they often ignore 'booksellers' seen as 'smaller', as well as silencing other historical subjects involved in this activity, who are fundamental to the existence of bookseller-editors themselves. That's the case of Laurence Hallewell's study, which, despite bringing important information regarding the Brazilian publishing market, doesn't give visibility to many booksellers and subjects involved in the activity of editing and selling books (Hallewell 1985).

Various studies have been characterized by multidisciplinary approaches, incorporating to the perspective of an editorial history the concern with a 'reading history', with the intent of reconstructing the relationship of men and books and reading styles of various social groups. An important reference in this sense is the book *Impresso no Brasil: dois séculos de livros brasileiros*, edited by Márcia Abreu and Aníbal Bragança (Bragança; Abreu 2010). The historical constitution of a publishing market in Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century, with intense production, circulation and reception of printed material has also been considered, as indicated by studies about publishing houses (El Far 2004; Dutra 2005).

Generally, research about books become more intense starting with Lucien Febvre's and Henri Jean Martin's 1958 work, which understands books as 'baking powder', a conduit for deep transformation in human relations (Febvre and Martin, 1992). The French historiography of the last few decades expanded titles regarding letters, reading and readers in Europe and the Western world, in a field of study called Cultural History. Chartier's studies propose 'a perspective change' regarding the book, because his studies relate reading to the reader's social universe, considering reading practices and suggesting three crucial elements for understanding the reading universe: «text, object and practice» (Chartier 1988). In Brazilian historiography, those studies resonated deeply, particularly with approaches identified with Cultural History and New Cultural History. As well as Roger Chartier's theoretical perspective, other researchers dedicated themselves to books as a subject. American historian Robert Darnton studied the role of reading, media and Illuminism, paying attention to what could be 'behind' reading in the past, what people thought about 'what' they read, 'how' they read and the 'meaning' of those readings in people's lives (Darnton 1990). Italian Carlo Ginzburg, on the other hand, studied particularly the miller Menocchio's self-learning practices, analyzing reading practices and learn-

ing in the scope of 'popular culture' in the 16th century (Ginzburg 1987). In the last few decades, after being neglected both by historians and bibliographers, textbooks have been eliciting interest from researchers (Choppin 2004). In the scope of education historiography, there are my paths and approaches to explore the universe of books, in their many nuances and possibilities. Specifically in relation to works regarding History textbooks, there are many perspectives and theoretical frameworks that propose to research them, in a process where there is new work daily, bringing important contributions to the debate. Among this production, there are some particular works which are closer to the object presented in this paper.

Circe Bittencourt analyzed the construction of school knowledge in History textbooks referring to the period spanning the creation of the first elementary and secondary public schools and the initial years of the Republic. Alluding to the entire national production, her work is an important contribution, especially due to realizing the object in its multiple dimensions, pointing towards articulations between State and publishing and to the complexity of the domains involving the book: commodity/ teaching instrument/ conduit for ideas and pedagogical values (Bittencourt 1993). Recently, the author took stock of the trajectories of research projects about textbook production, evidencing a growth in investigations of the theme, indicating the different institutional places where these researches are produced (Bittencourt 2011). In 2012, Kazumi Munakata also took stock of researches on textbooks, highlighting the growth of these studies in the last few decades (Munakata 2012). Arlete Gasparello's work followed the configuration of the school subject in Brazilian institutional secondary schools, focusing on Colégio Pedro II and Brazilian History teaching programs (Gasparello 2002). On another hand, Giselle Baptista Teixeira analyzed literature books for primary school during the Empire, understanding the book as a vehicle for circulating determined knowledges, but also as a form of population control and domination. The author indicates that many History textbooks were used as literature in imperial schools (Teixeira 2008). In the master's theses *Ensino e mercado editorial de livros didáticos de História do Brasil Rio de Janeiro (1870-1924)*, the expansion of the publishing market in Rio de Janeiro was analyzed, based on the publication of teaching materials focused on the vulgarization of historical knowledge (Silva 2008). On another hand, there are specific analysis of History textbook authors, such as Rocha Pombo (Luchesi 2004; Silva 2018), João Ribeiro (Hansen 2000; Melo 1997; Rodrigues 2015), Joaquim Manuel de Macedo (Matos 1993), Maria Guilhermina Loureiro de Andrade (Chamon 2008), Joaquim Maria de Lacerda (Freitas 2007) and others.

After mapping some academic works leaned on History textbooks, we now propose the analysis of some aspects regarding the production of textbooks: how were they created? Where did the initiative come from? Were there public incentives to writing textbooks? What were they? For whom? What were the strategies undertaken by textbook publishers?

In this way, it's possible to think about the access to textbooks and to the universe of literate culture as a possibility to broaden citizenship rights, seen through

school enrollment, among others, as manifestations of fighting and the expression of conflicts around education “for the people”. At this point, we analyze the expansion of education offers and textbook production as a result of pressure by subjects who claimed a broader political and social participation, seen as literacy meant a lot in this sense. Therefore, we don’t interpret these achievements as spontaneous donations from “above” or as the result of a material and technical progress which also expanded the offer of books and information. The social demands which led to the expansion of public education also represented a fight for better study conditions, whether it be in constructing new schools or in sending quality textbooks for schools in less “noble” city neighborhoods (Schueler 2002).

Rio de Janeiro, city of letters: plural subjects

One of this paper’s guiding principles was trying to seize the production of textbooks through articulating subjects and institutions: authors, booksellers, editors, printers, typographers, schools (including teachers, students and principals), thinking about it as an expansion of education and publishing in the city of Rio de Janeiro from the second half of the 19th century.

In this process, chances haven’t only happened through laws and statutes, so it’s important to consider the subjects’ various movements, in their actions, fights and various strategies, such as rapprochements, contacts, associations and others. I consider an articulated network around the production of textbooks and how it represented a diffusion in their uses and reach and the flourishing of a publishing market in Rio de Janeiro. I then propose to analyze the relationship between city and literate culture, since Rio de Janeiro in the mid-19th century already presented a series of specificities if compared to the rest of the country, with a growing expansion of the school network and a constant decrease in illiteracy.

According to the 1870 census, over half of the Rio de Janeiro population was considered illiterate. In 1890, there were around half a million people in the city, twice as much as in 1870. Of these half a million, 57.9% of men and 43.8% of women were registered as literate, which represented, in absolute terms, around 270 thousand people who could read and write. In 1924, from 1,157,141 people, 61.1% were literate, surpassing the number of illiterate people in the city (Damazio 1996). These were the lowest illiteracy rates in the country, showing the continuous growth in Rio de Janeiro’s literate population (Silva 2008).

Teaching in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 19th century was composed by public and private schools, as well as an experience with schools kept by class associations, aimed at a diversified audience. However, despite the growth in formal teaching institutions, attendance continued to be low, an «only around 60% of enrolled students showed up for class» (Damazio 1996, 128). The private school network also offered schools “for girls”, directed by “dignified and respected” women, of the highest competence and safe for parents, as explained in the advertising for schools

for girls published in the Laemmert *Almanak*¹.

Regarding to the number of enrolled students, according to the 1872 census, there were 10,100 individuals enrolled in public and private schools, representing 20% of free children. In 1876, the recorded number of enrolled students was 14,257. In the early 1880s, there were 18,804 regularly enrolled students, 8,740 in public schools and 10,064 in private schools (Schueler 2002). The investment in opening elementary schools was higher than the investment in secondary education. In 1869 there were 230 secondary schools and 3,723 elementary schools, and in 1889 there are more elementary schools, now 266,084, and only 138 secondary schools (Almeida 1989).

There were also projects and initiatives for popular instruction, particularly referring to adult literacy and primary education, which were gradually instituted due to the growing demands and pressures for more rights (Martinez 1997). In this aspect, we have various night classes for adults created by the initiative of institutions kept by “philanthropic citizens” worried about “educating” poor people in general and workers in particular, as that of the Rio de Janeiro School of Arts and Crafts, created in 1856, instituted to «minister elementary education allied to vocational and trade education for adults and young people», but which continued to expand its audience and attributions.

Starting in the 1870s, advertising for night classes for specific audiences became more recurrent, as the one offered by Bacharel Mata de Araújo specifically for «first letters teachers and audience», or schools created by various initiatives in different parts of town, offering free schooling for the “deprived classes”, including enslaved and freed people:

Cancella Free Night School. This school has existed for over 2 years. It is of popular character, since it teaches neighborhood classes more deprived of fortune. In its heart it accepts people from all nationalities and walks of life (*Almanak Laemmert* 1882, 1761).

The day before yesterday, in the halls of the Cancella Free Night School, the society celebrated its third year celebratory solemn session, in honor of the writer in whose name it took shelter. At 8pm, after the associates went to José do Patrocínio’s house to fetch him, gathered with a great number of guests, a freedman, Israel Soares, declared the session to be open. The speech given by the former enslaved man was sublime and eloquent, huge due to the enthusiasm it provoked (*Gazeta da Tarde* 1884, 2).

Kept by the José do Patrocínio Abolitionist Group with a freedman president, Israel Soares, the Cancella School was one of the night schools for freedmen and enslaved people created by Abolitionist Groups in the city of Rio de Janeiro and its surroundings. The fight for the creation of day care centers for the children of

¹ The *Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial da Corte e Província do Rio de Janeiro* (Administrative, Mercantile and Industrial Almanac of the Court and Province of Rio de Janeiro) offered various information to the “courtesan audience”, considered a very useful resource for all, informing general city data, commercial establishments information, etc.

enslaved and freed people was one of the actions took, for example, by the Niterói Freedman Group (Villela 2013). In Rio de Janeiro, Roseane Torres and Flávia Souza studied the projects of abolitionist groups around popular education in Rio de Janeiro (Torres & Souza 2013). In Pernambuco, in 1874, Capuchin missionaries founded the Isabel Orphan Colony, with the objective of giving shelter to orphans and freeborn children (named “ingenues”, including black, white and indigenous boys (Arantes 2005). The problem of “ingenue” education, starting with the 1871 Law of Free Birth, has been studied by many researchers (Barros 2013; Martinez & Pessanha 2012; Silva and Mignot 2017).

It should be taken into consideration that, although the growth in schools and classes for formal education is fundamental to understand the rise in literacy among social groups, it hasn't been the only factor in expanding reading audiences, which has also been impacted by other experiences such as the diffusion of newspapers and magazines, the creation of libraries, etc. It's also worth noting that the textbooks analyzed in this paper are those destined to the teaching of Brazilian History, which leads us to assume that the audience to which they were destined were already literate, even if they weren't always enrolled in school or regular classes.

I could also observe that many authors of History textbooks meant to reach people who didn't necessarily frequent classrooms, because they included among their recipients “simple men of the people”, maybe expressing the endless possibilities opened by self-learning in the lower economic classes.

Regarding private schools, we observed that many school owners and principals were also textbook authors, which suggests an important articulation which could serve as an acknowledgement of the excellence of private schools. For example, we have: «Primary education day and boarding school for boys, directed by Antonio Maria Barker, author and owner of a collection of textbooks [...]» (*Almanak Laemmert* 1882, 226). As well as Luíza Carolina de Araújo Lopes, principal of the Santa Luzia School for Girls and author of *Lições de geografia particular do Brasil* (1877), among other examples.

If, on one hand, statistical data helps to understand the growth in numbers of existing schools, it doesn't take into account the voices and cries of teachers for better teaching, life and work conditions. In this sense, the existence of spelling and textbooks in this reality could not only help students to learn, but might also help teachers with their practice. With the expansion of public schools, the concern over a lack of teaching manuals and textbooks in schools motivated frequent complaints in the various reports sent to the General Inspectorate of Education. Despite the growth in formal teaching networks, we noted that the biggest and better schools were concentrated in particular areas, the most “noble” in town. In other areas, education was under the responsibility of small private or public establishments, often in the teacher's own house. The “master”, often a layman, also used textbooks to help in their own education.

Brazilian History textbook authors

Why write textbooks? What did writing manuals mean for their authors? Was being a textbook *author* the same for everyone? Analyzing more closely the trajectory of some authors, although they often belonged to the same circles, I realized that the meaning of writing Brazilian History textbooks was different for each one. Therefore, I only chose here a few authors, which I consider more emblematic to portray these differences, mainly in regards to their social stature.

Sílvio Romero was born in Sergipe in 1851, having graduated from Recife Law School. He was a combative journalist, highly featured in the press, as well as a literary critic, sociologist and historian. In 1880 he becomes a teacher at Colégio Pedro II, chosen among intense competition, after defending the thesis: «On the philosophical interpretation of the evolution of human facts». With a vast bibliographical production and already notorious and prestigious in the court, he writes a textbook aimed at elementary classes (Romero 1890).

For men such as Sílvio Romero, writing textbooks didn't only represent an opportunity to diffuse their ideas to a school-aged audience, but also a way to get closer to "the people", since they defended an alliance between "the people" and the "men of letters" in Brazil (Romero 1898, 25). For Sílvio Romero, the mission of the country's "men of letters" was to regenerate the nation, being responsible for the intellectual and cultural formation of the "people", a way of «taking them out of backwardness and ignorance, integrating them to the civilization's march» (Mota 2000, 18). Therefore he defended activism as «a development of his actions as writer and teacher» (Ibidem).

Like Sílvio Romero, Felisbelo Firmo de Oliveira Freire (1858-1916) was born in Sergipe. After graduating from medical school, he dedicated his time to politics and history, working as medical doctor, journalist, member of parliament and politician (he was a minister in the Floriano Peixoto administration). A partner in the Historical and Geographical Institute as well as a member of the Sergipe Academy of Letters, he had his textbook *História do Brasil*, published by Livraria Clássica Alves in 1896, adopted by the federal capital's Education Council for use in public schools.

Also a prolific writer who worked in various areas, including medicine and forensics, Afrânio Peixoto (1876-1947) defended in his textbook for elementary classes the need for "civic education" when forming a nation, which couldn't be constituted without the "education of the people", because: «Ignorant and therefore careless people renounce themselves for others and turn to servitude and disappearance» (Peixoto 1916). Therefore, writing books would be an investment against the people's backwardness and lack of instruction. For this author, knowing a country's origins and traditions was the only possibility for overcoming ignorance, and the path to be followed was singular: "knowledge".

Also graduating from law school, Joaquim Maria de Lacerda (1838-1886) was born in Rio de Janeiro and was a member of the Roman Arcadia. He also dedicated his time to education and his book *Pequena história do Brasil*, for elementary classes,

was a best-seller, reedited for eighty years (Blake 1895, 195).

Trajectories analyzed so far have in common the fact that they are experiences shared by “men of letters”. But were all textbook authors necessarily part of prestige institutions and environments? Were them all “men of letters”?

Locating information regarding other textbook authors allowed me to further broaden the array of meanings for this experience, which wasn't the same for everyone, considering that authoring textbooks wasn't an exclusivity of subjects from influential and prestigious means (such as politicians) in institutions such as Colégio Pedro II, the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute and the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Many textbook authors stood out exactly due to their teaching.

João Ribeiro was the author of various Brazilian History and Grammar textbooks. João Baptista Ribeiro de Andrade Fernandes was born in Laranjeiras, Sergipe, in 1860. At the age of 21 he came to Rio de Janeiro, where he graduated in Legal and Social Sciences in 1894. He acted as a journalist, writing various critical pieces for the press, as well as editing the Garnier almanac and working as a critic for the newspaper *O Imparcial*. However, he became truly known for his work as a teacher, given his large experience in private and public schools as well as a tutor at Ginásio Nacional (Colégio Pedro II) in Brazilian History and Civilization History, which led him to write approximately 15 textbooks in History and Grammar, for which he received a number of awards (Gasparello 2002, 220).

In João Ribeiro's trajectory, writing textbooks was both part and result of his renowned experience as a History teacher, which included elaborating teaching programs for schools, perfecting teaching and exposition methods, critiquing and analyzing “good textbooks” for the press, as he often did for *O Imparcial* and *Almanaque Garnier*.

As well as João Ribeiro, other textbook authors were also teachers at Colégio Pedro II, such as Luís de Queirós Mattoso Maia and Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, both medical doctors who wrote textbooks titled *Lições de História do Brasil* based on their experience teaching.

On the other hand, some authors stood out in religious education, among which I highlight the work of Canon Fernandes. Joaquim Caetano Fernandes Pinheiro was born in 1825 in Rio de Janeiro and, as well as teaching at São José Episcopal Seminary, was named a teacher of Oratory, Poetry and National Literature at Colégio Pedro II in 1857, where he stayed until his death in 1876. His bibliographic production was composed mainly of textbooks, due to his teaching work.

There were also many authors who wrote textbooks as a complement for their teaching activities in preparatory classes, such as Raul Vila-Lobos (1862-1899) and Alfredo Moreira Pinto (1848-1903) (Blake 1895, 103). The first was «certified by the Superior Council of Public Education as apt to teach every subject in preparatory classes» (Blake 1895, 103) and the second, who graduated Colégio Pedro II with a concentration in Literature, was a «History and Geography teacher at the preparatory course attached to the military school, who also tutors privately», having written various manuals and smaller books to help with public instruction exams (Blake 1895, 60).

There were also teachers in neighborhoods farther from “noble areas” of the city who often asked for help to fund the printing of textbooks and other teaching materials from public organs, requests which were sometimes granted:

From acting General Inspector: Communicating that the teacher from the third School of Freguesia de Santana requests authorization to use [...] up to the amount of 300\$ for printing a thousand copies of the cards in the ba-ca-da-fa system. (*Segunda Diretoria de Impressões Autorizadas*, Rio de Janeiro 1875, 27).

It’s worth noting that the teacher’s name is ignored by the report, which doesn’t happen with a teacher from well-renowned institutions such as Colégio Pedro II.

I could also realize that authoring textbooks wasn’t only a male privilege, because I found textbooks written by women, such as Guilhermina de Azambuja Neves, who was a teacher as well as the owner of Colégio Azambuja Neves and the author of various textbooks.

I also found women authors of History textbooks, such as Maria Emília Leal, who published *Pequena história sagrada para a infância*, an award-winning elementary education book, and *Rudimentos de história universal* (Blake 1895, 231), as well as Maria Guilhermina Loureiro de Andrade, born in Minas Gerais, who authored *Resumo da História do Brasil para uso das escolas primárias*, which was published in Boston in 1888, and was also the owner of a school for girls in Rio de Janeiro (Chamon 2005).

The number of women writers might be bigger due to the fact that there were many women working in public teaching, a number that grew significantly in the second half of the 19th century. In 1871 women were 1/3 of primary teachers, but they became the majority by the late 1880s (Schueler 2002, 60). This is a result of women fighting to get political rights and participation. Authors such as Nísia Floresta used literature, education and the press to criticize women’s position in society, as well as speaking in favor of disseminating women’s education. Although we can’t say she was the rule, we also can’t say she represented an exception (Bernardes 1988).

During the research, I found clues for a significant and growing number of women occupying offices in public education and owning education establishments, usually aimed at educating women, as previously indicated in this paper. Many of them also dedicated themselves to the production of reading and geography textbooks as well as writing regarding teaching itself.

Another interesting aspect when analyzing authors was their dates of birth, considering that they weren’t all from mid- or late 19th century. There were authors born in the early 19th century, such as José Maria Velho da Silva (1811) and Antônio Álvares Pereira Coruja (1806-1889).

Antonio Coruja was born in Porto Alegre from poor parents, and he supported himself as a first letters teacher, teaching in a public school as his first job, while acting as a private tutor at night. He was also the IHGB treasurer and, in 1840, founded his first school, Liceu Minerva (Lazzari 2004; Porto-Alegre 1917). As well as publishing various textbooks (Coruja 1855; 1857; 1896; 1873; 1877; 1854), he acted as president of the Imperial Society of Education Lovers and was also a politician.

From the first few decades of the 20th century, the profile of the textbook author changes, since there are “specialists” in this sort of publication. That was the case of Mario da Veiga Cabral², whose textbook production dwarfed his other publications, which might be an evidence that writing textbooks was more important for him than for other well-known and important “men of letters” such as Afrânio Peixoto and Sílvio Romero.

Having lived until 1969, Mario da Veiga Cabral is the author of many History, Geography, Chorography textbooks and even reading books for elementary classes, with many new editions. He wrote his first textbook at a very young age, 21, and never stopped. Many of his books were edited 30 times, with thousands of printings. In 1942, he had already published over 22 textbook titles, among them 5 focused on Brazilian History (Cabral 1942).

For authors such as Mario da Veiga Cabral, writing textbooks seems to have been its own profession, not one of many “literary specialties”. His specialty was exactly this one, writing textbooks, and that’s why he was well-known as a teacher, not the other way around, such as João Ribeiro, Luis Queirós de Mattoso Maia and others.

Just as authoring textbooks (and Brazilian History textbooks) wasn’t limited anymore to men or “people of letters”, writing and publishing textbooks didn’t have the same meaning for all.

In this perspective, we can perceive the writing of textbooks inside of a social universe of conflicts and disputes in various instances: political, social and market, because, for many, writing a book was an arduous task, whether it be due to the author’s few “qualifications”, since they weren’t often a “specialist” in the subject, or due to little available writing time. The paths and fights to get a book published were also different and, when it came to the first work by a still “anonymous” writer with few references, it was an arduous task and not everyone could get funding from the Authorized Printing Department. Many authors even paid for the first publication, directly from the printer’s.

Those who were part of public institutions received restitution for the payment of their textbook publications:

Solicitation for 10:300\$ credit, to the Ministry of Justice, to restitute a teacher at Ginásio Nacional João Ribeiro for their expenses with publication their works – História do Brasil and História do Oriente e da Grécia. (*Anais da Câmara dos Deputados* 1902, vol. 10, 48).

It’s worth noting how in these instances the authors, both already recognized and with stable and well-paid professional activities, fronted the payment for editing and printing the textbooks and were only later ‘restituted’ by the federal government.

The need for references through author qualifications can be evaluated through the presentation of lists of awards, successive re-edited works, circulation in the main newspapers of note and in catalogues, which filled pages of textbooks with

² Mario da Veiga Cabral was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1894 and died in 1969. He was a geographer and land surveyor, as well as a teacher at Ginásio 28 de Setembro, Liceu Rio Branco and Instituto de Educação (Cabral 1957).

each new edition. These were the main strategies for marketing the books and also indicate the institutional spaces which served to give social recognition to a good textbook author. We can point towards the concern with distinction garnered by authors in the limit demarcation between authoring textbooks and teaching, seeing as this wasn't a common reality for all teachers.

Writing textbooks evidenced, to a certain extent, the space their authors occupied in this circuit. This space, as I see it, required negotiation and a game of prestige and social distinction, since what allowed an author to publish their books in "big publishing houses" was exactly their "resumé", their activities and "status", which would guarantee a certain credibility and, therefore, more possibility of acceptance by audience and critics. The reinforcement of author circles can also be interpreted as another sign that not every textbook author came from influential means.

Regarding the need for author "references", it's worth noting that covers and back covers highlight the author's *origin*, their teaching experience, particularly in Colégio Pedro II, Escola Normal or Escola Militar, and eventual ownership of schools. Attention was also given to the author's other productions, as well as institutions in which they acted as researchers, such as IGHB, National Library, National Archive and other institutions considered to be the standard at the time. Teaching experience was also important for some publishers.

Even though many authors claimed to create their manuals based on classroom needs and requests, not every teacher had their material published. The practice of authoring textbooks didn't reach every teaching reality, considering that textbooks often came back to the process of teaching and helping teachers in classrooms.

Therefore, I suppose that uses and production processes for books aimed at teaching were modified throughout the time, due to transformations in the social relations which produced them. Writing textbooks, according to the trajectory analysis of some authors, was part of a broader process of transformations in education and literate culture. Being a textbook writer didn't mean the same thing for all of them: for a teacher from a suburban neighborhood it meant one thing, for an university graduate teaching in the urban center, it meant another, and both of them were different, in many ways, from a primary school female teacher.

For some, writing textbooks was the result of social distinction, one of the many professional activities practiced to get more prestige and projection; while, for others, it was an instrument in the fight for better teaching conditions and more education; it could also be another source of income, or even represent an improvement in working and life conditions.

The textbook market in the city of Rio de Janeiro

Based on the analysis of advertising for private schools in the *Almanak Laemmer* of the 1880s, I could observe signs of the close contact between school own-

ers and editors/bookstores. Those signs further reinforced the idea of an articulation between education/textbook publishing market, which, in turn, led me to look for clues regarding their owners and a “business” in the midst of its expansion in the city: editing and selling books.

“Book traders” were a panel of many nationalities in Rio de Janeiro from the late 19th century to the early 20th century. They were Portuguese, such as Nicolau Alves, from Livraria Clássica, and Luiz Ernesto Martin, from Livraria Portuguesa; French, such as Garnier and Villeneuve; German, such as J. H. Auller, from Livraria Alemão; as well as Brazilian, such as Pedro da Silva Quaresma, from Livraria Quaresma. They composed a heterogeneous group, showing the existence of an intense book trade in the main streets of the city center, particularly in the famous Rua do Ouvidor and its surroundings (Macedo 1988).

But who were these “book traders”? What do these significant numbers explain? Why take a chance on the book business if “the people didn’t read”? What were the social and financial gains involved in this “business”?

Studies about the Brazilian publishing market point towards Rio de Janeiro as the starting point for the editorial expansion in the country (Macedo 1988). Even though some researchers continue to stress the predominance of only two bookseller-editors throughout the entire 19th century, brothers Laemmert and brothers Garnier, without considering the meanings of the existence of other important booksellers and editors at the time, it isn’t possible to continue to diminish the indications of a growing number of publishers and booksellers in the city (Hallewell 1985). Following the *Almanak Laemmert’s* ads, it was possible to map out establishments for the sale and publication of books in Rio de Janeiro, with various offers of products and services. From 1870 to 1900, we confirmed the existence of at least 121 companies dedicated to the book trade (El Far 2004).

Paying attention to the bookstores’ addresses – Rua São José, Rua a Quitanda, Rua do Sabão, Rua Uruguiana, Rua Gonçalves Dias, Rua do Rosário, Rua de São Pero, Rua dos Ourives, Rua da Alfândega, Rua Sete de Setembro, Rua Santo Amaro, Rua da Assembleia, Rua da Passagem – we can notice that it went beyond the famous Rua do Ouvidor. Those who established themselves in this street seemed to either be richer or have been in the business for longer. We might say that the “luxury” publishing houses were placed at Rua do Ouvidor, but only after migrating through other streets.

The surrounding area was filled with competition, frequently changing addresses to be better placed to reach new consumer markets, spreading their “name” in the market, as we can notice by following the *Almanak Laemmert* ads. Portuguese bookseller Nicolau A. Alves, owner of Livraria Clássica, for example, in 1860 was at Rua dos Laboteiros, 54; in 1870, at Rua Gonçalves Dias, 54; and in 1880, at Rua Gonçalves Dias, 46; in 1889 he opened new locations at Rua Gonçalves Dias, 46-48, and Ladeira do Senado, 25A. It’s worth noting that this bookstore specialized in textbooks.

Another specificity of editorial production at the time was the division in the pro-

duction process, with different limited functions, such as typographer, bookbinder, editor, bookseller. Many were just “booksellers”, i.e., bookstore owners involved with the book trade; some were “bookseller-editors”, working with the production of books, taking an additional intermediary role between author and audience beside selling books; and there were those who sold, edited and printed books at the same time, concentrating practically the entire production process (Lima 1985, 27).

According to the 1885 *Catálogo do Museu Escolar Nacional*, publishers Laemmert, Garnier and Francisco Alves were responsible for over 44% of the entire Brazilian textbook production. However, who bore the brunt of the other 56%? Through mapping and analyzing Brazilian History textbooks, we noticed the existence of other booksellers, editors and printers dedicated to publishing and printing national history manuals. As well as the three previously mentioned, I found textbooks published by other publishing houses, among them: Domingos Gomes Brandão, Jacinto Cruz Coutinho, Jacinto Ribeiro Editor, Typographia de Gueffier E. C., A. J. Castilho, Tipografia de M. Gomes Ribeiro, Livraria Quaresma, J. G. de Azevedo Editor; as well as printers: Tip. Esperança, Tip. Do Figaro, Tipografia de M. Gomes Ribeiro, Tip. Brasiliense e M. G. Ribeiro, Tip. Aldina and others.

Final considerations

From the second half of the 19th century to the first few years of the 20th century, there was a growth in the publishing market in Rio de Janeiro, with the existence of various editorial strategies and sales. Therefore, it's possible to observe a certain competition among booksellers, which involved various commercial establishments, each one with their specificities and survival strategies, considering the publication of textbooks (and Brazilian History textbooks) a frequent investment at the time, in a process which included a growth in the number of schools, the investment in textbook writing and a flourishing book market in the city, particularly with textbooks. Thus, I circumscribe education in that particular time period as part of the claims made in the fight for citizenship, considering the experience of poor people, black people, women and children.

The emergence of good books “for the people's education” can't be separated from the discussion regarding “education and reading for the people”, where the publication of textbooks gains different meanings, from a business to some to a mean to access civic rights to others. In this way, the publication of textbooks which were accessible (by language and price) to the “common man”, “the simple people”, not only means the expansion of a reading audience in a growing market, but also meant for many the participation in the debate and elaboration of projects for the society of which they were part.

For many intellectuals, the people's lack of education prevented the country for “culturally advancing”, which meant the country's good literature only interested few people, very few of which supported themselves only through “the quill”, and

the writers had the need to practice more than one activity, as «the intellectuals saw themselves compulsorily dragged to journalism, functionalism or politics». Writing textbooks meant, for many authors, a path for progress, since education and reading would be the means for the country to overcome «the near total illiteracy of the population», which, in turn, prevented «the development of a broad publishing market» (Sevcenko 2003, 128).

Among editors, many claimed to invest in textbooks exactly due to the “importance of education” for the people. Francisco Alves, for example, was one of the editors who defended publishing textbooks as “a service” to the nation; not only was he an editor, but he also authored various textbooks under the pseudonyms Francisco de Oliveira, F. de Oliveira and Guilherme do Prado.

As we’ve seen, around 1870 the issue of education was part of the Empire Ministry’s and of the Court’s General Inspectorate of Public Education’s reports, indicating a growth in the number of schools and enrolled students. With the Republic, expectations around more civic rights became more intense. This educational expansion can be understood as part of the discussions regarding citizenship and civic rights in Brazil, particularly in the relation between education and citizen formation, defended by many. The right to vote, for example, continued dependent on literacy, which made the offer of education more urgent (Cury 2001).

In the scope of legislation, the Electoral Reform Law of 1881 (Saraiva Law) represented:

The Brazilian solution to this problem, fought and criticized by abolitionists and intellectuals, such as Joaquim Nabuco and Machado de Assis, was to omit racial criteria for exclusion and start to demand – with rigorous testing – the capacity to read and write to qualify voters (Electoral Reform Law of 1881). In a single stroke of the pen, thousands and thousands of slave descendants saw themselves rejected from formal politics for the following decades (Chalhoub 2007, 221).

This law put barriers to the participation of women, illiterate people and enslaved people’s descendants in the country’s electoral process. However, it didn’t prevent these subjects’ fighting process in the sense of expanding these rights and participating in political life, in search of full citizenship, which only grew the amount of initiatives for popular education, as well as more intense pressure by “excluded” subjects. The subjects’ fight to educate themselves weren’t stopped by the law. There were many initiatives to open schools “for the people”, as well as for enslaved and freed people, starting in 1881, as was the case with abolitionist schools (Silva and Mignot 2017).

These subjects had many fighting strategies. Literacy and access to education was one of them. The existence and accessibility of textbooks was one of the paths, which would be impossible if there wasn’t a growing publishing market in a city becoming literate.

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