

Primary sources research in Pará state Amazon / A pesquisa em fontes primárias na Amazônia paraense

Germana Sales* ¹

Portuguese Literature Professor at the Faculty of Letters and at the Graduate Program in Letters of UFPA.

 <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2120-7364>

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the cultural movement in the city of Belém, state of Pará in line with the broader national cultural movement underway during the nineteenth century. The adopted approach is grounded in the analysis of primary sources and reading circulation spaces, represented either by the announcement of works for sale in newspapers, book trading practices, the inauguration of the Reading Room, later known as Grêmio Literário Português or by the different educational institutions of research and teaching constituted in that century. Encouraged by a post-colonization movement, the introduction of foreign literature in the city of Belém was rather meaningful and pointed to the existence of a readership, steadily updated on the news coming from Europe and available for sale or rent in the Reading Room. The access to this information allowed us to demonstrate the effusive scenery of this province at the time, illustrated by the various cultural activities, which were in tune with the other large centers of reference in the country, where cultural effervescence prevailed.

KEYWORDS: primary sources; History of Reading; Cultural History

RESUMO

O presente texto apresenta o movimento cultural na cidade de Belém do Pará consoante ao movimento cultural existente no Brasil durante o século XIX. A abordagem parte da análise em fontes primárias e espaços de circulação de leituras, quer seja pelos anúncios de obras à venda em jornais, a presença de comércio de livros, a inauguração do Gabinete de leitura, posteriormente denominado Grêmio Literário Português ou as diferentes instituições de pesquisa e ensino constituídas nesse século. Fomentada a partir de um movimento pós colonização, a introdução da literatura estrangeira na cidade foi significativa e aponta a existência de um público leitor, constantemente atualizado das novidades chegadas do território europeu e disponíveis para venda ou aluguel, no gabinete. A partir da recuperação dessas informações é possível demonstrar o cenário efusivo dessa província, ilustrado pelas diversas atividades culturais e que estava harmonizado com os demais centros do país, cuja efervescência cultural também ocorria.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Fontes primárias, História da leitura, História cultural.

*  gmaa.sales@gmail.com

¹ Traduzido para o inglês por Sílvia Helena Benchimol Barros (UFPA); silviabenchimol@hotmail.com.

1 Introduction

The constitution of a territory occurs as the result of the congregation of different factors, which include the population, the vegetation, the geography, the commerce, the political and economic constitution, and also the educational and cultural institutions that support the intellectual development of the population. Antonio Ladislau Monteiro Baena refers, in his *Ensaio corográfico sobre a província do Pará*, to the six schools of First Letters existing in the city of Belém do Pará during the first half of the 19th century, when there were still Latin-language schools, “one in *bairro da Sé* and the other in *bairro da Campina*”, a school of rhetoric, a school of rational and moral Philosophy, and regarding the First Letters schools there was a specific non-state one, strictly for girls, paid by the twenty-two students themselves. In what concerns the existence of libraries, the author points out: “There is no library inherent to the established schools which, as an essential part of the realm of public education, offers among its books a ready, perennial and suitable support to the studies of the youth segment, and that desires these faithful records of knowledge pertaining to the men who composed them” (BAENA, 2004). According to the author of the essay *Das livrarias, que foram dos Jesuítas e dos Mercedários, já nada remanesce*, in this period, the bookstores were bankrupt. The work describes an empty scenario, where there were no book tradesmen, or sellers, but only three merchant shops that used to commercialize books.

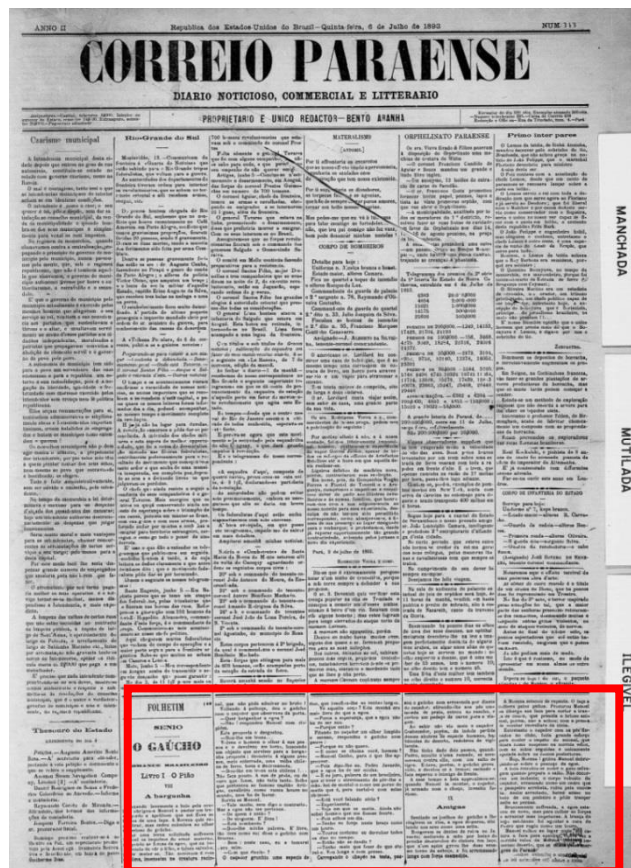
Alphabet books, and small pieces for kids, the classical Latin Grammar, Rhetoric and Philosophy books as well as those on mystical and devotion matters. *Agiológicos* and novels devoid of philosophy and morality, that please ordinary passions, and other ones in which good manners and common sense are not respected (BAENA, 2004).

Although the scene reported by the Portuguese António Ladislau Monteiro Baena, a military and historian expert is not a very promising one, in terms of the cultural history, we can still draw some favorable circumstances to infer about the circulation of *writing* and *reading* in the ‘then’ province of Grão-Pará. There were three private and voluntary schools, which, although sparse, served an audience of approximately one hundred and eighty boys, and “this number, added to that of the preceding schools, totaled three hundred and seventy-one individuals dedicated to the study of Letters” (BAENA, 2004). In a population constituted markedly by whites and slaves, the portion with access to education was conceivably reduced. However, the context points to a more constructive perspective when references to books – especially the novel genre – emerge, complying, obviously with the taste of the public, even though in the author's view novels did not correspond to good reading.

Likewise, the work data refer to the press with a certain tone of mediocrity as exemplified by the quote “floating sheets and half sheets, which they call periodicals, and on which they throw with fearless pens, impertinent engravings” (BAENA, 2004).

2 Recovered fonts

Historical data do not always correspond to reality, thus they leave us the chance to read the information between the lines or to see much more than what is effectively presented. From the information contained in the Essay, I went on to search on the periodicals of the time, which fostered the identification of references to the publication of a feuilleton novel entitled *O Gaúcho*, in the newspaper *Correio Paraense*, 1839.



The circulation of one feuilleton novel in 1839 – the year when the this genre first came up – in *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, bringing the serial publication of the story *Edmundo e sua prima* from Paul de Kock, demonstrates how much the province was updated and aligned with the recent information coming from Europe, including those related to book sales, judging by the news published in *Treze de Maio* newspaper in November, 29th, 1845:

— Em casa de Viuva Colares & C.^a se achão a venda as obras seguintes a saber.
O Judeu Errante em 10 Tomos.
Memorias de Minha Capella, Viuva de Lafforge 2 Tomos.
Escarções Poéticas 1 Volume, por Antonio Feliciano de Castilho.
Metamorphozes d' Ovidio, 1 Volume pelo mesmo.
Palavras de hum Crente 1 Volume, pelo mesmo.
As vinte cinco Prizões, 1 Volume, por Adriano Ernesto de Castilho Barreto.
Collecções da Livraria classica Portugueza, por Castilhos, Antonio e José, de 1 ate 12.
Collecções dos Quadros Historicos de Portugal. Em casa dos mesmos, se recebem assignaturas para a Historia do Conçulado, e do Imperio de Napoleão, por Thiers. Editores Joaquim da Costa e Silva & C.^a de Lisboa, deve conter 10 Volumes e cada volume com 6 Estampas, achando-se já em Casa dos annunciantes algumas estampas para amostras.

In November 29, 1845, *Treze de Maio* newspaper brought an announcement about the book sales to take place at *casa de Viúva Colares & C.* – one sales house also evidenced in other commercial announcements on the news pages. Among the listed titles is the volume of *O Judeu Errante*, by Eugène Sue, one of the most propagated novels in Brasil, during century XIX².

In the next year, precisely on October 3rd, the same newspaper – *Treze de Maio* – presents another announcement in the section *NOTICES*, informing about the receiving of *Revista Universal Lisbonense* and the novel *Viagens na Minha Terra*, by Almeida Garrett, published, in two volumes, in the same year of its publication in Portugal by typography *Gazeta dos Tribunais*.

AVISOS.

—Vende-se o verdadeiro Rapé Areia preta da Fabrica de Meuron & C.^a, de Pernambuco. Este rapé é bastante conhecido, por sua superioridade, nas Provincias do Sul, e algumas pessoas preferem-no ao de Lisboa; no Maranhão já bastante é acreditado, onde se consome uma boa quantidade. Na rua do assougue casa de Manoel José Antunes, confronto ao Trem e na dos mercadores, lojas dos Srs. A. C. da Cunha Coimbra & C.^a, e na do Sr. Francisco José d' Araujo.

—Chegarão os n.^{os} 2 a 9 do 6.^o volume da Revista Universal Lisbonense e 3.^o volume da Historia do Consulado e do Imperio de Napoleão; os Srs. assignantes terão abundade receber os seus exemplares no Armazem de Viuva Colares & C.^a Os mesmos recebem assignaturas para as Viagens na minha Terra, por Almeida Garrett que constará de 2 volumes, tendo-se já publicado o 1.^o

—Manoel Ferreira da Silva, Subdito Portuguez, retira-se com sua familia para Maranhão. Pará 3 de Outubro de 1846.

² *Correio Mercantil, e Instrutivo, Político, Universal* (1848-1868). The announcement of these work also appears in auctions https://www.snh2017.anpuh.org/resources/anais/54/1502817259_ARQUIVO_ResumocompletoAnpuh-Versaofinal.pdf

The book *O Judeu Errante* was published between 1844 and 1845, in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*.

Besides Garrett's novel, the newspaper notice also released information about *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, weekly published in Lisbon in the period ranging from 1841 to 1853. Among its editors, was António Feliciano Castilho, who also had his work announced and promoted in the same periodical, along with other volumes offered at book selling places, such as *José da Costa Velozo Faria & C.* store located at *Rua dos Mercadores* no. 16. (Newspaper *A Epocha*, 1859) and in other several newspapers at the time.

The book trading market and the existence of book sellers revealed the cultural effervescence of the city, that was indisputably updated and refreshed in terms of arrivals of book consignments in the second half of century XIX, when the cultural movement phenomenon was effectively powered. In 1854, *Treze de Maio* newspaper notified the existence of important bookstores:



The announcement referring to both *Livraria Popular e Histórica* and to *Loja de Godinho, Tavares & C.*, located at *Ver-o-peso* advertises an edition of the Holy Bible, but at the end of the advertisement, other titles of novels are also announced for sale, among which, is *Saint Clair das ilhas*, one of the most widely read books at the time and object of different critical narratives of the Brazilian literature³. This announcement dates from June 6th and reproduces the same

³ The romance entitled *Saint Clair das ilhas* is mentioned in different moments in the works of the Brazilian Literature, namely in "Ayres e Vergueiro" the short story by Machado de Assis from 1871, published in the newspaper *Jornal das Famílias*: "...talked to him for long hours, taught him some games, read the *Saint Clair das Ilhas* to him, that old story of some refugees from ilha da Barra" (ASSIS, p. 22). It is also mentioned in the novel *Quincas Borba* (1891): "AS SON AS RUBIÃO turned the corner of *Rua das Mangueiras*, D. Tonica came in and walked towards dad who lay on the couch, to read the old *Saint-Clair das Ilhas* or the *Desterrados da ilha da Barra*. It was the first novel she ever read; the book had more than twenty years; it was the whole library of dad and daughter. Siqueira opened up the first chapter, and glanced at the beginning of the second chapter, which brought colors. Now, it felt more attractive to her, due to her recent grieves." (ASSIS, 1994. p. 123E in the notorious autobiographical narrative of José de Alencar, *Como e porque sou romancista* (written in 1873 and published in 1893): "Our romantic repertoire was minor; it was

advertisement publicized on June 4th of the same month. It signals the beginning of a series of sequenced announcements in the newspaper. These, and other advertisements underscore the book market dynamics in Belém in the 19th century and represent accurate data sources, fostering the retrieval of information on the local 'lettered culture' notably promoted by the circulation of titles received for the purpose of commercialization.

The sites for book sales dissemination did not commit to any exclusivity, thus advertised from religious works and missal to dictionaries, medical handbooks, lawyers' forms, general content pocket printings, encyclopedic manuals and novels. In October 23rd, 1856, the same newspaper – *Treze de Maio* – took the charge of broadly displaying the list of works recently arrived from Lisbon for sale at *Livraria Santos & Irmãos*. The advertisement featured nineteen newly received pieces and, complying with the traditions of the time, merged narratives and dictionaries with catechism books. However, the aspect, which stands out as really important, is the advertising of work pieces commonly commercialized in other locations at the same time they were diffused for sale in Belém. Among the most projected titles are: *O Judeu errante*, *Gil Blás*, *Ivanhoé*, not to mention the other works we have no information about, nowadays: *Carlota Corday*, by Eugênia Foa⁴ and *Beatriz e o Aventureiro* by Guilherme Centazzi⁵. Other titles were not possible to be identified, due to the adulterated writing. In reference to the identifiable works, titles as *O Judeu errante*, *Gil Blás* and *Ivanhoé* were found to often circulate among readers from the 19th century. The book *A História de Gil Blás* figured as one of the most frequently imported books from Europe to Brazil between 1810 and 1843, it also held the status of one of the most advertised titles in *Jornal do Commercio* between 1827 and 1844, with eighty nine announcements (ABREU, 2013). Still about *A História de Gil Blás*, William Tognolo (2015) informs:

The trajectory of Gil Blás shows it has always been among the three most requested books to the censorship from Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro by the end of XVIII and beginning of XIX centuries. It produced 20 editions in France in the first half of century XIX, and was broadly announced in *Jornal do Commercio* during the first half of the 20th century. It also occupied the two

composed of a dozen works, among which, stood out *Amanda e Oscar*, *Saint-Clair das Ilhas*, *Celestina* and others I cannot recollect at the moment." (ALENCAR, 1893. p. 21)

⁴ The reference to the novel *Carlota Corday D'Armans ou os perigos da exaltação* is explored in the doctoral dissertation *Jornais-romance: uma história não contada da circulação de romances no Brasil* (2016), written by Izenete Garcia Nobre, as published in the newspaper *Espelho Fluminense* between 26/08/1843 and 01/09/1843.

⁵ *Beatriz e o Aventureiro*, by Guilherme Centazzi, published for the first time in 1848 in two volumes, is among Centazzi's novels that initiate the genre long historical fiction and the novel "saga" that happens in a temporal context prior too the author.

first positions in the rank of the most searched novels at *Biblioteca Nacional e Pública* between 1833 and 1856. (TOGNOLO, 2015, p. 44; our translation)

Likewise, *O Judeu errante* was a frequent reading option among those offered to the population during the 19th century in Brazil. Collected data point to this work being offered in an auction session promoted by H. Cannell, in Rio de Janeiro, and advertised in *Correio Mercantil, e Instrutivo, Político Universal*, in August 4th, 1857 (TOGNOLO, 2015). In addition, it was published in the form of feuilleton from 1844 to 1845, in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (ABREU, 2013). These two works confirmedly met the popular taste in the context of the nineteenth century in Brazil and simultaneously nurtured the imagination of readers and inhabited the pages produced by authors who reaffirmed their literary experience in books of memories and narratives. Taunay has read *Ivanhoé*, as alleged by Hebe da Silva (2009):

For me, this reading furor started by the end of 1852, when I was presented to the first novel, which genuinely provoked my enchantment – *Ivanhoé*, by Valter Scott. Those pages revealed to me stupendous, sublime inspiration and, as I had the chance to bring books with me from *Engenho Novo*, whenever I went there with my father, I just could not have enough of that experience. Thereby, I picked from the library of uncle Beaurepaire the book *O Judeu Errante*, eight thick little volumes, Brussels edition, which I restlessly devoured. Moreover, I highly appreciated the counterfeiting by Valter Scott – Aymé Verd – these three novels were the first ones I had contact with in those years of 1852 and 1853. (SILVA, 2009. p. 5)

In addition to the memories records, the literary work – *Ivanhoé* – is part of the catalogue produced in Rio de Janeiro at the British Subscription Library, inaugurated in 1826 and integrates the collection of the *Real Gabinete Português de Leitura do Rio de Janeiro* (VASCONCELOS, 2008)⁶

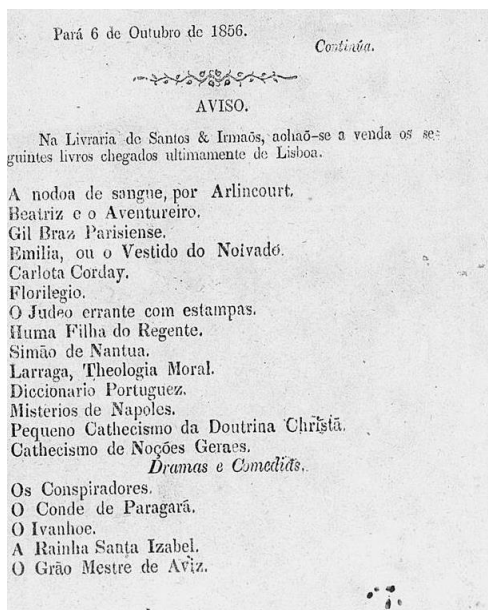
⁶ Sandra Vasconcelos has located the romance in the following sites: *Ivanhoe*, novel 1819 - Rio de Janeiro Subscription Library.

Ivanhoe. Translated by al castellano. Nueva York, Behr y Kahl, 1827 - *Gabinete Português de Leitura RJ*

Ivanhoé - B.L. Garnier, *Gabinete de Leitura Sorocabano*.

Ivanhoé. Translated by Antonio José Ramalho, Lisboa, 1836 - *Gabinete Português de Leitura RJ*.

Ivanhoé, ou o regresso do cruzado. Translated to Portuguese by E. P. da Camera, Paris, J.P. Aillaud, 1837 - Mongie, *Biblioteca Fluminense, Gabinete Português de Leitura RJ, Biblioteca Municipal RJ, Laemmert* (1841).



All this comparative information is useful to recollect the prominence of the city of Belém in the XIX century and also to recover data related to those works we do not have information about nowadays, as their circulation constituted novelty at the time. Such is the case of *Beatriz e o Aventureiro*, constantly announced in several newspapers of the country between the years 1849 and 1887. In November 22, 1849, the *Jornal do Commercio* publicizes the selling of the two volumes of the this work at *Livraria Garnier*, along with other volumes of famous and widely read authors such as Paul de Kock, Soulier, Eugène Sue, Alexandre Dumas, among others. *Beatriz e o Aventureiro* is also fully referred to in the newspaper *Diário de Pernambuco*, in August 26th, 1850 in store possessed by José Joaquim Maya Ramos & Companhia, located at rua Nova, n. 6, showing the headline “New Books”, and “sold at very reasonable prices”. Besides the titles aforementioned in this study, the book written by the Portuguese author Guilherme Centazzi – regarded as the precursor of the Portuguese novel – was notified in different newspapers circulating in Belém and in Brazil, namely: *O Constitucional do Rio de Janeiro*, in 1851; *O Constitucional da Bahia*, in 1852; *Correio Mercantil do Rio de Janeiro*, in 1852; *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, in 1854, and advertised in seven announcements of *Livraria Garnier*. Still in 1854, the *Anuario Administrativo e Literario do Gabinete Portuguez* in Pernambuco, publicizes the two volumes of the novel; the *Treze de Maio* newspaper, in 1856, in Belém, as well as the *Gazeta Official* and *A Epocha: Folha Politica, Commercial e Noticiosa*, in 1859, notify the titles that are available for their associates in the Reading Room. Similarly, the *Folhinha: Para o Anno de 1862* and the *1ª Lei: Estabelecendo o Modo e as Condições do Recrutamento para o Exército e a Armada* (RJ), 1875 also advertised the book. In 1886, the *Gazeta de Notícias* from Rio de Janeiro

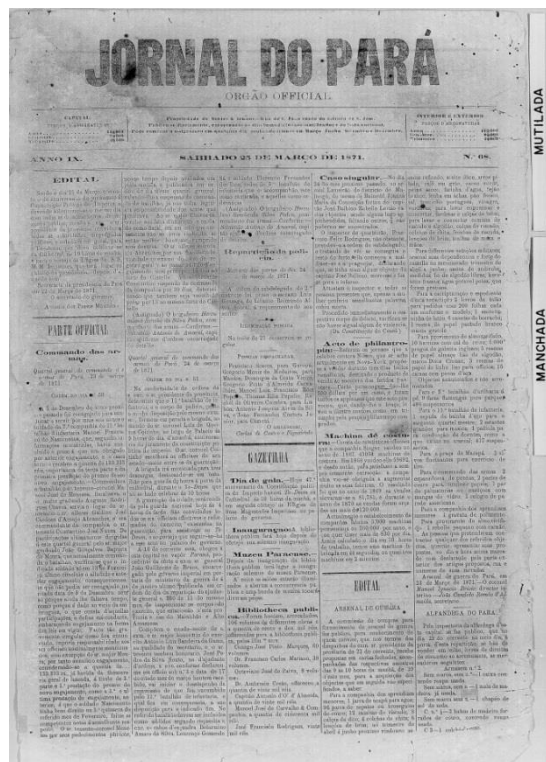
produces three sales advertisements in diversified places: on July 14th it was released in José Martins Ribeiro's bookstore clearance; in September 27th in *Livraria do Povo*, one of the most popular bookstores of the 19th century and on October 11th also in an announcement of *Livraria do Povo*, under the headline “superb bound novels”

The circulation of the novel *Beatriz e o Aventureiro*, and other pieces briefly referenced beforehand in this overview, illustrates the prominent position occupied by the city of Belém in a scenario of cultural history emerging in Brazil at the time, fomented by the import of foreign books and by the inception of a national literature.

Certainly, the most outstanding ingredient, which provided the movement promoted by men and books with essential visibility, was the establishment of *Grêmio Literário Português* in 1867, originally called ‘Reading Room’. Its head office was initially set up in a rented property located at No. 1, Belém Street, first floor, with 140 associate members. Later on, it moved to its current headquarter at Senador Manoel Barata Street, in April 3rd, 1906. The constitution of the Library was a gradual process, enabled and stimulated by voluntary donations and acquisitions from the book trader Antônio Maria Pereira. The Library collection evidenced the most important place, in that century, for the establishment of a readership, whose access to books was granted by means of loans. The consistent, step-by-step constitution of the Library collection was followed up and publicized by contemporary newspapers, which notified the book shipment arrivals and the rout and destinations of the books. The lists show one of the shipment containing large number of novels by Enrique Pérez Escrich, Paul de Féval, Xavier de Montepain, Paul de Kock, Camilo Castelo Branco, Émile Zola, Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho, Almeida Garrett, Júlio Verne, among other authors who suited the public's taste at the time. Furthermore, *Grêmio Literário Português* offered facilities for the delivery of foreign languages classes and professionalizing courses.

Embodied by the substantial European influence, Belém may be considered as one of the cities showing intense intellectual growth during the nineteenth century, not only accounted for the presence of the books – suggesting the existence of readership – but also justified by the

emergence of other institutions in the same century such as *Museu Emilio Goeldi*⁷ and *Biblioteca Pública*, in 1871, *Theatro da Paz*, in 1878⁸ and Bosque Rodrigues Alves, in 1883⁹



The image of *Jornal do Pará*, in 1871 presents the registry of the inauguration of the 'Museum of Pará' as it has been originally named and also of the Public Library inaugurated with 106 volumes, as notified.

The information on the institution of a cultural history within the Pará state Amazon was possible to retrieve, mostly by recovering subsidies found in primary sources¹⁰, namely the

⁷ Originated at the height of naturalistic expeditions and amid the urbanization and development of the city, the *Museu Paraense* was one of the landmarks for the city and its appearance was notified in several newspapers of the country, namely: *Diário de Pernambuco*, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, *Jornal do Recife*, *Correio Paulistano*, *Jornal do Commercio*, *O Cearense*, *Diário de São Paulo*, *Jornal da Tarde* (RJ), *Diário do Maranhão*, among others.

⁸ The *Theatro da Paz* received such name from the Bishop of the time, Dom Macedo Costa, in tribute to the end of the Paraguayan war.

The Theater was built with resources obtained from the Rubber Cycle and is considered one of the country's theater-monuments, according to IPHAN. In: SILVEIRA, Rose. *O Theatro da Paz e sua história*. - <http://web.archive.org/web/20081015203521/http://www.theatrodapaz.pa.gov.br/historico3.htm>

⁹ The space shelters more than 80,000 species of flora and fauna of the Amazon region and is an important center for studies, as well as for tourist visitation.

¹⁰ Since 2003, I dedicate myself to research on the history of reading and culture in the city of Belém and surroundings. The projects I coordinated were History of novel in - century XIX (2003-2006); Reading Pará: publication of feuilleton novels in newspapers in Belém do Pará in the second half of the nineteenth century (1850-1890) (2006 - 2009), with funding from CNPq; History of reading in Pará (19th century) (2008 - 2011), with funding from FAPESPA; PROCAD UFPA-UERJ Project - Circulation and Literary Production in Pará: 1850 to 1950 (2009 - 2013), with support from CAPES; Literary trajectory: the constitution of cultural history in Belém in the 19th century

periodicals. There are already a considerable number of academic studies responsible for attesting the existence of a significant cultural movement pulsating in the city of Belém and surroundings in the 19th century. Amidst the academic researches that account for the retrieval of evidences, we highlight the importance of data on the emergence of feuilleton novel genre in the local papers¹¹ - a regular reading genre on the news pages – revealing intense incidence of the most successful French writers in that period, such as Posson du Terrail, Paul de Kock, Eugène Sue, Xavier de Maupassant, among other authors. Having been colonized by the Portuguese, Belém has depicted clear influence of the Portuguese inhabitants, who came here and settled down, thus accounting for the evidence of the Portuguese authors in the local scenario and the frequent news about the trading of their books, reproduction of their works – some of which already published in Lisbon and later on reprinted in the local newspapers¹², and the emphasis given to the rare works of these novel writers¹³. We outline the relevance of the research developed by Izenete Nobre¹⁴ as it outlines the context of the literary system constitution in Belém during the 19th century and refers not only to the reading materials coming by the steamships, but also to the first typographies in town and the constitution of an emerging and growing reading population. Izenete Nobre's investigation finds converging points with the works of Alessandra Gaya Pamplona¹⁵, who recovers the initial production of José Veríssimo – an

(2010 - 2012), sponsored by CNPq; Literary correspondences: the circulation of feuilleton novels in Rio de Janeiro and daily newspapers from Pará in the 19th century (2011 - 2013); Memory in journals: the constitution of a literary collection (2012 - 2016), sponsored by CNPq; Time-Proof Readings: The Critique of Romance in Daily Newspapers in the 19th Century (2014 - 2017) and Good Evening Sir! Good evening ma'am!: stories told and retold in print in the 19th century (underway).

¹¹ The Master's dissertation by Rosana Assef FACIOLA, entitled: The feuilleton novels of Belém do Pará newspapers between 1860 and 1870 (2005) traced the panorama of the feuilleton novels published in the 1860s and 1870s in the newspapers of Pará. Maria Lucilena GONZAGA COSTA, in the Dissertation entitled *Gazeta Oficial: News and Literary Journal* (2008), recovered not only the prose of fiction published in the important newspaper *Gazeta Oficial*, but also the book sales advertisements and reviews. Lady Ândrea Carvalho da CRUZ in her dissertation, *The section 'feuilleton' in Diário de Notícias, from 1881 to 1889* (2012) analyzed that section of the newspaper and the mosaic of writings observed in that space. Edimara Ferreira SANTOS, in the dissertation *Dumas, Montépin and du Terrail: the circulation of French feuilleton novels in Pará from 1871 to 1880* (2011), recovered the production in newspapers of these renowned French writers in the referred decade, which resulted into a critical analysis and into an anthology of aesthetic writings.

¹² The production of Portuguese writers is present in the dissertations of Almir Pantoja Rodrigues, *Portuguese feuilleton in Pará newspapers in the second half of the 19th century (1860-1877)* (2008); Sara Vasconcelos Ferreira's, *The Circulation of Eça de Queirós's Fictional Narratives in the Province of Pará* (2017), Neila Mendonça Garcês Lima's, *The Camillian Narratives in the Feuilleton section of the Diário do Grão-Pará in the 1860s* (2014) and in the Doctoral Thesis by Maria Lucilena Gonzaga Costa, *Portuguese-Paraense ties in the nineteenth century press* (2017).

¹³ The Portuguese novels existing in the *Fran Pacheco's library* collection were the objects of study for the dissertations of Cláudia Gizelle Teles Paiva, *Preliminary ideas: a reading of the Camillian prefaces* (2014).

¹⁴ Izenete Garcia Nobre. Master Thesis: *Steam Readings: The Literate Culture in the 19th Century Belém* (2009).

¹⁵ Alessandra Greyce Gaia Pamplona's Master's Dissertation: *José Veríssimo's consecration on periodicals (1877/1884)* (2009).

important literary reviewer from Pará – where she demonstrates the relevance of this contribution to the local culture and with Alan Flor da Silva's studies, as he evinces a local literary production, originally announced in the pages of the periodicals¹⁶.

Final considerations

In a context dominated by male writers, it becomes essential to refer to studies that recover female authorships in the nineteenth-century scenario, to the presence of Brazilian authors on newspaper pages and to studies that resume education and reading institutions and other impacts in the literature of surrounding cities¹⁷. Critical studies were also present to the same extent for the nineteenth-century readers of the city of Belém. Numerous newspapers dealt with a timely issue: the negative appreciation of the novel genre¹⁸, a common theme since the genre's inception, which has spread throughout the western world.

Equally notorious is the research work developed by Valéria Augusti, whose 'Paris in America' project: *site and French novels databank in Grêmio Literário Português do Pará* has managed to recover the collection of French novels in the Biblioteca Fran Pacheco, an extraordinary contribution with the collection of rare works that illustrate primary source research in the region. Therefore, I come to the conclusion that from the moment researchers begin to look at the past with a positive view in order to value and consider places that do not stand among the most substantial references that designate Brazil as a country of readers, the results are likely to be promising and positive as well. Turning researches to the peripheral regions can point to equally positive and surprising paths and possibilities, instead of directing studies only to the Empire Court at that time. The presence of newspapers and the usual publications of fiction

¹⁶ The works of Alan Victor Flor da Silva were able to reintegrate the authors from Pará to the scene of the History of Literature. It is verified in his Master's Dissertation: *Marques de Carvalho in the 19th century periodical press from Belém (1880-1900)* (2014) and in his Doctoral Thesis: *Literary life in Belém in the 19th century: the role of the Diário de Belém (1880 to 1890)* (2018).

¹⁷ The responsible spaces and periodicals for grounding a history of books and reading were not restricted to the city of Belém. The dissertations of Joseane Sousa Araújo, *Archives, Libraries and Periodicals in Vigia from 1870 to 1890* (2011) and Maria Luiza Rodrigues Faleiros Lima's, *The prose of fiction in the newspapers from Cameté in the nineteenth century* (2017), contribute to highlighting this research scope.

¹⁸ The novel as a subversive reading and contradictory to the moral, due to the excessive vices it contains, was object of evaluation in several newspapers of the time. Márcia do Socorro da Silva Pinheiro's dissertation, *Fabiola: Subversion, moralization and rewarded virtue* (2017); Jeniffer Yara Jesus da Silva's graduation final work, *Under the cloak of morals: the novel under claim* (2017) and the working plans for Scientific Initiation by Jeniffer Yara Jesus da Silva, *The Regeneration: Romance as Material and Moral Progress in Masonic Writings* (2016); *A Boa Nova: A journal directed at what is true, honest, just, holy, and lovely* (2016) and *Estrela do Norte and Santo Officio: news sheets for families* (2015); José Aauto Santos Bitencourt Filho, *The Pelican: The Nineteenth Century Religious Positioning in Romance* (2015).

prose; the book trading market; the existence of reading rooms, libraries, research institutions and schools, among other factors, feed and give breath to the studies and researches that reaffirm the primary sources as major supports to recover evidences of the existence of a lettered culture in the Pará state Amazon.

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