

ARTICLE

AN ESCAFANDRISTA AMONG THE ANATOLIANS: THE WRITINGS OF PRIMITIVO MOACYR¹

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ABSTRACT: *O ensino público no Congresso Nacional. Breve Notícia*, an inaugural book by Primitivo Moacyr, was published in 1916. Our work consisted of investigating the conditions of production of this book, following the trajectory that started with the chronicles printed in *Jornal do Commercio* in 1915. An employee of the Chamber of Deputies and responsible for the organization of the Parliamentary Documents, Moacyr used this position to place himself in the Brazilian press scenario and the intellectual environment from the production of a topic that was gaining prominence and which there was little or no study until then: public education present in parliamentary documentation. The analyses were developed under the framework of readings present in the history of education works in the interface with the history of print, press, book, and reading produced by international and national historiography and theoretical-methodological contributions of Sirinelli's political history (2003). Among the conditions presented here, we highlight Moacyr's work as editor of parliamentary debates and the relationship between men in the Chamber and Brazilian journalism. The sociability networks in which he was inserted ensured productive social and professional ties and the political tension surrounding the Hermes da Fonseca government fueled criticism of the reforms, in particular the Rivadavia Reform, one of the subjects covered in the book. We conclude with some motivations that would have led Moacyr to choose public education as the theme for his works.

Keywords: Primitivo Moacyr, public education, *Jornal do Commercio*, Parliamentary Documents, sociabilities.

UM ESCAFANDRISTA ENTRE OS ANATOLIANOS: OS ESCRITOS DE PRIMITIVO MOACYR

RESUMO: *O ensino público no Congresso Nacional. Breve Notícia*, livro inaugural de Primitivo Moacyr, foi publicado em 1916. Nosso trabalho investiga as condições de produção deste livro, seguindo a trajetória

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iniciada com as crônicas no *Jornal do Commercio* em 1915. Funcionário da Câmara dos Deputados e responsável pela organização dos Documentos Parlamentares, Moacyr lançou mão dessa posição para se colocar no cenário da imprensa brasileira e no ambiente intelectual tratando de um tema que ganhava projeção e sobre o qual pouco ou quase nada havia de estudos: o debate sobre o ensino público entre os parlamentares. As análises foram desenvolvidas sob o arcabouço dos trabalhos da história da educação na interface com a história dos impressos, da imprensa, do livro e da leitura, produzidas pela historiografia internacional e nacional, e de contribuições teórico-metodológicas da história política de Sirinelli (2003). Dentre as condições aqui apresentadas, destacamos o trabalho de Moacyr como redator dos debates parlamentares e a relação entre os homens da Câmara e do jornalismo brasileiro. As redes de sociabilidades nas quais estava inserido garantiram produtivos vínculos sociais e profissionais, e a tensão política em torno do governo Hermes da Fonseca alimentava as críticas às reformas, em especial a Reforma Rivadávia, um dos assuntos abordados no livro. Concluimos com algumas motivações que teriam levado Moacyr à escolha da instrução pública como tema para os seus trabalhos.

Palavras-chave: Primitivo Moacyr, ensino público, *Jornal do Commercio*, Documentos Parlamentares, sociabilidades.

UNA ESCAFANDRISTA ENTRE LOS ANATOLIANOS: LOS ESCRITOS DEL PRIMITIVO MOACYR

RESUMEN: *O ensino público no Congresso Nacional. Breve Notícia*, libro inaugural de Primitivo Moacyr, fue publicado en 1916. Nuestro trabajo consistió en investigar las condiciones de producción de este libro, siguiendo la trayectoria iniciada con las crónicas impresas en *Jornal do Commercio* en 1915. Empleado de la Cámara de Diputados y responsable Para la organización de los Documentos Parlamentarios, Moacyr aprovechó este cargo para ubicarse en el escenario de la prensa brasileña y en el ámbito intelectual a partir de la producción de un tema que ganaba protagonismo y que hasta entonces había poco o ningún estudio: la educación pública presente en documentación parlamentaria. Los análisis se desarrollaron en el marco de lecturas presentes en las obras de historia de la educación en la interfaz con la historia de la imprenta, la prensa, el libro y la lectura producidas por la historiografía internacional y nacional y los aportes teórico-metodológicos de la historia política de Sirinelli (2003). Entre las condiciones aquí presentadas, destacamos el trabajo de Moacyr como editor de debates parlamentarios y la relación entre hombres en la Cámara y en el periodismo brasileño. Las redes de sociabilidad en las que se insertó aseguraron lazos sociales y profesionales productivos y la tensión política en torno al gobierno de Hermes da Fonseca alimentó las críticas a las reformas, en particular la Reforma de Rivadavia, uno de los temas tratados en el libro. Concluimos con algunas motivaciones que habrían llevado a Moacyr a elegir la educación pública como tema de sus obras.

Palabras clave: Primitivo Moacyr, educación pública, *Jornal do Commercio*, Documentos Parlamentarios, sociabilidades.

THE CHRONICLES OF PRIMITIVE MOACYR

Understanding the authorship of a book becomes complex as we understand that this process is not linear and uniform. As a cultural product, the book is part of the historical process in which it is inserted, such as the economic specificities surrounding the production of materiality, the places of manufacture, sale, and the possible financial return or not of this work. Therefore, the act of writing a text and the act of producing a book are distinct. This argument is made by Roger Chartier (1997a) in his studies on the history of books and literate culture. With the focus on studies of authors and not just on the content of the text, authorship and what gives them this condition have become central objects for understanding the production, circulation, reception, and appropriation of the works produced.

Authorship establishes immediate relationships and links between the writers and their work when they give it a proper name, implying legal responsibilities that are immersed in the logic of criminal sanctions. This relationship can establish, legitimize, construct, or reconstruct the identities of both the author and readers. In some cases, the content can also represent new ways of seeing oneself and others, legitimizing or deconstructing already-established identities. Chartier (1997) warns about the legal issues of ownership of the work to examine the production from the perspective of different discourses at different times. Conflicts between author and publisher, the commercial value of the work, and property rights indicate the need to insert new documents to understand the author and the work.

This is the case of the book by Primitivo Moacyr, entitled *O ensino público no Congresso Nacional. Breve Notícia*. July 1916. Without information on edition or typography in its materiality, its identification as a factory part of such editorial logic was only possible when we located an article published in the *Livros Novos* section of *Jornal do Commercio* (RJ)², dated 26 December July of that year (ENSINO..., 1916, n. 207, p. 3). In it, we find information about the publication by Typographia of the *Jornal do Commercio*. In this century-old page of the national press, Primitivo Moacyr published 15 chronicles in 1915, which were brought together with occasional changes in the 1916 book.

Primitivo Moacyr, from Salvador, Bahia, arrived in Rio de Janeiro in the early years of the 1890s. He graduated in Law and Social Sciences and soon took up a position in the Chamber of Deputies, in the parliamentary writing and documentation section, retiring in 1933. In 1915, he began his collaboration with *Jornal do Commercio*, having an interregnum of just over a decade, returning to publication at the end of the 1920s.

The chronicle is a textual genre enshrined in the pages of Brazilian print media to this day. According to the Cândido Figueiredo dictionary, published in 1913³, the chronicle (Lat. *chronica*, pl. of *chronicum*) is a historical narration, present in journal news or regularly occupying a section of the newspaper. This is a style also used in scientific or literary magazines. With an everyday narrative and simple writing, it usually has argumentative and opinionated content. In the final decades of the 19th century, writers such as Machado de Assis, Olavo Bilac, and Euclides da Cunha had assured space in journalistic columns and began their writing lives there, getting drunk on the literary genre. The chronicles marked an era, without being pure fiction, with a format more focused on everyday life, with poetic traits, and less rigid than other texts present in print at the time.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the context of Primitivo Moacyr's publication, some traces of writing from previous decades, tones linked to legal rhetoric, and a baccalaureate connotation remained. Writers such as João do Rio (Paulo Barreto) and Lima Barreto undertook something new in their chronicles, a study of urban social facts with a more accessible and engaging language, marking, and determining the direction of this genre and its space in newspapers. Moacyr's chronicle is closer to the common characteristics of 19th-century newspaper editions. With a certain formality in writing, its content is focused on laws, procedures, and debates occurring at the state level. He describes the daily life of the State and discussions in the restricted space of the Legislature.

When reading Moacyr's texts, we consider that the journal press “selects, orders, structures and narrates, in a certain way, what has been chosen as worthy of reaching the people.” (LUCA, 2015, p. 139). The chronicles went through this process, and their publication order is in the hands of the author and the newspaper editor. There is a linearity in the writing aimed at a specific theme, focusing on the organization proposed by Moacyr and endorsed by the editors of the journal, acting on the reading of those who purchased the newspaper. This series, published in drops over two months, shows us a dynamic production that reading the book alone would not inform. The reunion of these chronicles, a year after their launch, highlights, on the one hand, their good reception by peers. On the other hand, it favors the creation of new support that would be the object of intellectual insertion, being able to reach different audiences and other reading spaces, and the very logic of profit in the sale of books, if it occurred.

In this text, we will discuss the production conditions of Moacyr's inaugural book. We divide the analysis into three parts: first, we present the material conditions of the writing, and the organization of the content compared to previous publications on the pages of *Jornal do Commercio* connected to

² We chose to maintain the original spelling found on the newspaper pages and in the book.

³ <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/31552/31552-pdf.pdf>

Moacyr's works in the Parliamentary Documents collection. In the second, we deal with the context of the production of Moacyr's writing in which we find the writer in the scenario outlined by the networks of sociability. In the end, we present some explanatory hypotheses for Moacyr's action in seeking to position himself in the intellectual scene – composed of Anatolians and dandies⁴ –, dealing with a topic that was gaining prominence and in which there was little or almost nothing studied: the debate on public education among parliamentarians.

For this purpose, we used the database of the national press digitized and displayed by the Virtual Hemeroteca of the National Library⁵ and the studies of historiography that prioritize printed material, especially books and newspapers, and the history of intellectuals, whose theme of sociability is very expensive for us.

FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENTS COLLECTION TO NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

In January 1915, Moacyr began his activity as a contributor to *Jornal do Commercio*, publishing the *Intervenção nos Estados* series, with four texts⁶. Between June and July, he published 15 articles categorized as chronicles in the same newspaper, on the topic of national public education. We question why Moacyr changed his focus of interest. Why in June of the same year did he start writing about public instruction? Was it an invitation? Self-interest? Commissioned work? Were the articles published on public instruction so well received that they merited publication in a book? Or was it just a mere adaptation to the intellectual practice of investing in book productions, with new printing and typography technologies, envisioning a permanence that the newspaper does not have?

An indication of the thematic change can be read in the newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias*, on the front page, in February 1915, after the publication of the first texts. The subscriber to the *A Peteca* column, Mr. /Mrs. “X” makes an interesting invitation to Primitivo Moacyr in a critical text about the reforms of national public education:

A PETECA

The news that Dr. Carlos Maximiliano had a teaching reform in the works should not have caused the slightest surprise. It did not cause any sensation to know: 1st – That the Superior Council had already approved it; 2nd – That Dr. Frontin was the main author of this new modification. The Superior Council would have to approve it and as for the consultant, if it weren't Mr. Frontin, it would be someone else. For those who follow the real game of badminton organized by politicians, with public education as badminton – the amazing thing is that there are still young boys with the resistance to leave schools knowing something. Mr. Carlos Maximiliano throws the ball higher, waiting for his successor who will also carry out another reform. No one ignores the fact that Mr. Herculano de Freitas was the only minister who did not carry out reforms – not because he lacked the will, but because before taking office, in the Morro da Graça oath, he swore first and foremost not to touch the Rivadavia Law. Maximiliano, despite being a faithful soldier of General Pinheiro (what will the general understand about pedagogy?) and being from Rio Grande do Sul, could not contain himself and joined the current of eternal reformists. What's wrong with this? Yet another reform will not hinder students much more – especially because they are all convinced that no one else understands each other in the successive transformations. It is sadly curious how the capital problem of education has been dealt with throughout Brazil to this day. In the Chamber, this problem serves to bring out pernicious deputies and create the funniest projects. If Mr. Agenor de Roure or Mr. Primitivo Moacyr wanted to publish a sobering volume with the draft opinions of our parliamentarians on the problem of education in these twenty-odd years of the Republic – we would have the pleasure of being able to easily understand the unconscious “humor” national in the most serious cases – cases in which people always talk a lot and always act badly. (...), But it is a fatality. The one with the shuttlecock in his hand is Mr. Maximiliano. Let's see how many meters high he throws

⁴ Anatolians refer to those followers of the writer Anatole France, complemented by an outstanding sense of aesthetics and chivalry. Dandies, in this scenario, say of those elegant, dapper, showy guys.

⁵ <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>

⁶ The texts form the first series of texts by Moacyr and were published on the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th of January, corresponding to editions 14, 15, 16 and 17, Anno 89, respectively..

it until his successor arrives. And students who want to study – may they be able to take a course with these annual reforms. X. (X, February 26, 1915, edition no. 57, p. 1.)

Would Primitivo Moacyr have accepted the task of producing “a disheartening volume” with the work of parliamentarians on the topic of national public education? Everything indicates that he produced a volume, but without reason to laugh. Who would be better suited to writing on the subject than him, who had been involved in organizing the Parliamentary Documents since 1911?

According to Guaracy Melo (2018), using the documentation present in Almanac n. 1 of the Secretariat of the Chamber of Deputies, a book of notes “with 250 sheets duly initialed for recording notes relating to the Secretariat's functionality”, Moacyr worked in the “3rd Section of the Secretariat of the Chamber of Deputies (Stenographia and Writing of Debates)” under “the title of debate writer for the same Chamber [...]”, from 1911. On December 29 of the same year, he was already working as a writer of parliamentary documents (Almanaque da Secretaria da Câmara dos Deputados, n. 1, p. 15 apud MELO, 2018, p. 22-25).

Moacyr had direct access to the texts written by parliamentarians and the committees' opinions in their various versions before the final drafting and allocation in the archives of the national legislative house. Melo (2018, p. 25) understands that in this role he “accumulated and maintained a private archive with the intention of the future monumental publication”. He stated this taking into account Section X of the regulation of December 6, 1920, present in the Documentation and Information Center of the Library of the Federal Chamber, which contains information on the production of copies of parliamentary documents (MELO, 2018, p. 26).

The regulation dates to the beginning of the organization of the Parliamentary Documents, which dates back to 1911, and/or to the beginning of Moacyr's writing in 1915. Whether he did what Melo pointed out, we don't know. The fact is that the work in organizing and publishing this collection would be a sufficient collection for the development of writings such as those that would come in 1915 in the chronicles, in the 1916 book, and subsequent writings in the decades from 1920 to 1940. Who would have better access to this documentation than the organizer? Would he need to make copies for a personal file?

In 1915, as stated in the Chamber's Internal Regulations, in Chapter 17, which deals with Stenography and Debate Writing Services, in article 241, the debate writing section of the Chamber of Deputies was under immediate supervision and direction of the Board, formed by

[...] a section with two subsections and the following personnel: Stenography – one chief, one deputy chief, eight 1st class stenographers, two 2nd class, two 3rd class, and two substitutes; Debate Writing – a superintendent, a chief, an Annaes writer, a parliamentary document writer, six debate writers, two substitutes, a section head of the Secretariat and an official, an employee of the Secretariat. Single §. (Chamber of Deputies: Internal Regulations 1915, p. 92 apud MELO, 2018, p. 25-26).

The professionals and their respective functions were maintained by the Board of Directors if they were necessary, with the documentation produced in the Chamber of Deputies passing through many hands. Moacyr remained linked to this section of the Chamber for at least thirty years. In the meantime, he began his writing journey using, in due course, research on parliamentary documentation.

The chronicles published in 1915 in the *Journal do Commercio* were gathered, edited, and printed in book format by the typography of the same newspaper, in 1916, as we can see in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1 – Moacyr's chronicles published in 1915 and the chapter titles of the 1916 book

Título da Crônica:	Data	Número da edição	Página	Título do capítulo	Página
O ensino público no congresso nacional					
Desofficialização	06 de junho	Nº156	p. 3	Desofficialização	p.5
Regimem universitário	09 de junho	Nº159	p. 2-3	Regimem universitário	p.17
Cursos jurídicos	17 de junho	Nº167	p. 3-4	Cursos jurídicos	p.31
Ensino Médico	22 de junho	Nº172	p. 3	Ensino Médico	p.47
Curso polytechnico	23 de junho	Nº173	p. 2	Curso polytechnico	p.55
Escolas agrícolas e commerciaes	27 de junho	Nº177	p. 4	Escolas agrícolas e commerciaes	p.65
Ensino Secundário	04 de julho	Nº184	p. 2-3	Ensino Secundário	p.73
Ainda o Ensino Secundário	08 de julho	Nº188	p. 3	Ainda o Ensino Secundário	p.91
Curso Integral Projecto Tavares Lyra	14 de julho	Nº194	p. 2	Curso Integral Projecto Tavares Lyra	p.109
A criação do Ministério da Instrução publica	22 de julho	Nº202	p. 3	A criação do Ministério da Instrução publica	p.127
A instrução primaria: accordos e subvenções	24 de julho	Nº204	p. 2-3	A instrução primaria: accordos e subvenções	p.145
Instrução popular - Escolas Normaes	27 de julho	Nº210	p. 4-5	Instrução popular - Escolas Normaes	p.155
Códigos de Ensino - A situação constitucional dos institutos de Ensino dos Estados - Fiscalização	05 de agosto	Nº216	p. 3	Códigos de Ensino - A situação constitucional dos institutos de Ensino dos Estados - Fiscalização	p.167
Reforma Rivadavia	07 de agosto	Nº218	p. 2	Reforma Rivadavia	p.181
Ainda a Reforma Rivadavia	12 de agosto	Nº223	p. 3	Ainda a Reforma Rivadávia	p.191

Source: Prepared by the authors based on editions of *Jornal do Commercio* and Moacyr's book.

When comparing chronicles and chapters, we verified that the organicity present in the publication in the newspaper was maintained. If there was any tension in this regard between the author and the editor, the former seems to have prevailed, assuming that the writing and publication of the chronicles were guided by the logic he constructed. Furthermore, if the work was printed under private auspices, the editor may have been Moacyr.

The chronicles published in *Jornal do Commercio* can be found between pages 2 and 4, indicating a certain notoriety of the author since the distribution of content in a newspaper follows a hierarchy, and this printed material circulated with 14 to 20 pages. In general, the front pages featured international news; in the footer, the serials; other news, chronicles, and economic reports occupied the rest of the pages. Nelson Werneck Sodré (1999, p. 292) informs us that a collaborator could receive, at the time, between 30 and 60 thousand réis: “Men of letters sought to find in the newspaper what they could not find in the book: notoriety, firstly; a little money if possible.” However, it is reasonable to

consider that Primitivo Moacyr, being an employee of the Chamber and a sporadic collaborator, was not seeking remuneration for the publication of his chronicles, but rather notoriety.

The book *Ensino publico no Congresso Nacional. Breve Notícia* is made up of 206 pages divided into 15 items. This is a peculiar work: the author talks about projects involving education – reforms, financial resources, institutional restructuring, etc. –, presented to the Chamber of Deputies between 1889 and 1914, adding to the debates the destination of the projects. Very rarely is the project exposed in full, as well as the speeches and other statements. There is no presentation, no introduction, or reference to sources or other documents used, as currently instructed by ABNT standards. However, in several passages we find the indication “not included in the Annals of the Chamber of Deputies”, denouncing the main source used.

We should not escape Primitivo Moacyr's unique condition: spectator and reporter of the debates that took place in the Chamber's sessions, eye, and ear witness. In some passages, he refers to the national political context; and there is no evidence of dialogues with other scholars in the field. It is an endogenous text, limited to the legislative environment. Not by chance recognized as a parliamentary historian (ENSINO..., 1916, n° 207, p. 3), the content of the chronicles/chapters is closely related to the collection Parliamentary Documents, with which Primitivo Moacyr was involved, given his role occupied in the Chamber of Deputies.

Moacyr's participation in the production of the collection of Parliamentary Documents deserves some consideration. Not presenting direct authorship, Primitivo Moacyr was attributed, by his peers, with the proposal and execution of this work.

The publication of the Parliamentary Documents can first be found in 1912, as stated in the Various News section of the *Jornal do Commercio* of December 16, 1914 (VÁRIAS NOTÍCIAS, 1914, p. 4). Of the volumes published between the first year and the following, we find “*Intervenção nos estados*” (Intervention in the states) and “*Estado de sítio*” (State of siege), with five volumes each; and “*Mensagens presidenciais*” (Presidential messages), with a volume containing messages from 1891 to 1910. In January 1915, Moacyr published his first articles precisely on the topic of intervention in the states. By January 1, 1916, the Parliamentary Documents already had 41 volumes, with one volume on the “*Defesa da borracha*” (Rubber defense) and two volumes on the “*Valorização do café*” (Coffee appreciation) published in that year (VÁRIAS NOTÍCIAS, 1916, p. 3).

In 1916, in the Vida Carioca section of the *Jornal do Commercio: Evening Edition*, about the birthdays of June 8th of the current year, we find the reference to “Mr. Dr. Lawyer and editor of the ‘Parliamentary Documents’ in the Chamber” (ANIVERSARIANTES, 1916, p. 3). This and other information found in the national press endorse, under the figure of the intellectual, the direct work with the production of the monumental series of official documents of the Brazilian legislature⁷.

On the front page of *Jornal do Commercio: Afternoon edition*, of May 15, 1914, in the Topics of the day section, we find an article praising the production of the Parliamentary Documents and the work of Primitivo Moacyr:

It was undoubtedly an excellent idea to extricate from the Congressional Announcements everything that was not exactly rubbish and record in a more orderly, more summarized, and manageable collection all the debates and opinions on issues of real interest. Everyone knows what the Annaes are and how difficult it is to study any subject through so many mixed things. The Parliamentary Documents filled a gap and there is no doubt that this service will remain one of the best provided by Mr. Sabino Barroso.

The publication to be made was not a task that could be carried out by anyone. Only a persistent and active man, served by a great general culture, patient and knowledgeable about parliamentary life could carry out this great commitment of indisputable usefulness for our political letters and for our constitutional and legislative history. The Board of the Chamber found in Dr. Primitivo Moacyr the man suited for this difficult mission. The works already published confirm the correctness of this choice. The 30th volume of the collection will soon appear. (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, May 15, 1914, p. 1, emphasis added.)

⁷ Between 1910 and 1919, we found 229 occurrences in 899 collections researched in the Hemeroteca Virtual. The data were found in 25 different forms, with one hundred occurrences in the Annals of the Chamber of Deputies alone. The other occurrences are distributed in daily journals, such as *Correio da Manhã* (RJ), with 23 occurrences; *Correio Paulistano* (SP), with 22 occurrences; and in the *Relatório do Ministério da Justiça*, with 9 occurrences.

Therefore, the source used by the author in publishing the brief news about the educational debate is the same as that used in the parliamentary collection. Furthermore, the praise for Moacyr and his work highlights a prominent role in that endeavor for future readers. Being “knowledgeable about parliamentary life”, “patient”, and bearer of “general culture” are adjectives that define the man Primitivo Moacyr and the professional who would carry out such work. With these qualifications published on the pages of the newspaper that hosted his chronicles, owned by Rodrigues & Co., also the owner of the printing press that published his first book, we understand how that institution viewed the subject who produced the collection of Parliamentary Documents⁸.

This view of Moacyr and his work can also be found in other sources on the volumes relating to public instruction in the Parliamentary Documents collection. Andrade Bezerra (Antônio Vicente de Andrade Bezerra), in the text entitled “*Pelos Estudos das Humanidades* (For the Studies of Humanities)”, published on October 2, 1919, on the second page of *Correio da Manhã*, comments on Moacyr’s work in the Parliamentary Documents when speaking about the Sources for studies on the subject:

In the very useful systematization of parliamentary work, which the erudite patience of Primitivo Moacyr brings together in the Parliamentary Documents, the organization of public education (more accurate would be to say the disorganization of education) already comprises four large volumes in type six, a rushed composition, in which vastly pours out the dead goodwill of our reformers. (BEZERRA, 1919, p. 2).

Similar and complementary information can be read in the section Others of the *Diário de Pernambuco* (PE), of June 14, 1919, on the third page, making it known that the Parliamentary Documents organized by “Dr. Primitivo Moacyr and related to public instruction, seven volumes have already been published: the first three last year and the other four this year”, and presents the themes of the volumes:

The 1st volume deals with the Union’s intervention in primary education; the 2nd with a comprehensive teaching plan (Tavares de Lyra project); the 3rd with Organic Law (Rivadavia reform); the 4th with modification of the organic law (Carlos Maximiliano reform); the 5th with High school; the 6th on the university regime and deofficialization of teaching, and the 7th on the teaching codes. The 8th volume (higher courses) and the 9th (spread of primary education) are still missing. (PARTIDAS E CHEGADAS, 1919, p. 3).

The titles of the volumes suggest Moacyr’s use of legislative documentation to systematize his production on Brazilian education. Also, the tone of the presentation of the chronicles published in *Jornal do Commercio* and, later, as chapters in the 1916 book, is present in the arrangements of themes and volumes referring to the object privileged by the intellectual in his studies. Thus, it proves a logic production that had in the Annals of the Legislative Congress the set of sources that the researcher used in these three works, giving meaning to his work.

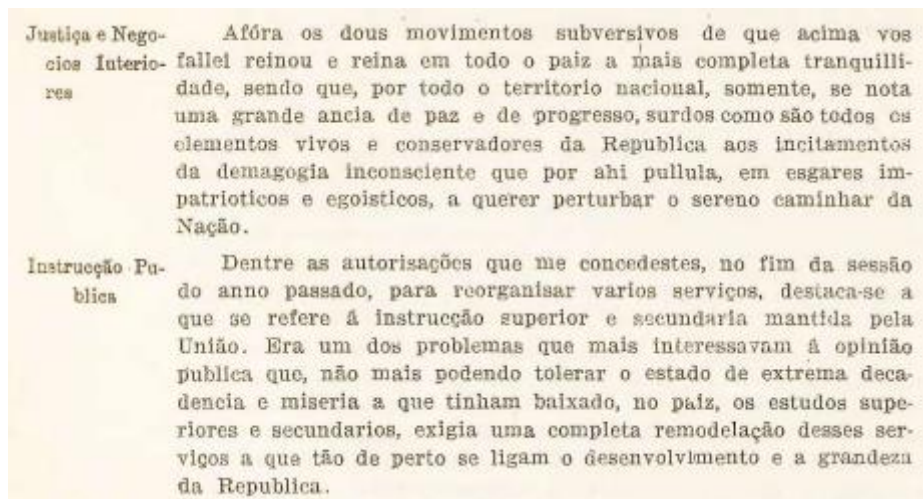
The Public Instruction series, in Parliamentary Documents, is made up of 13 volumes, printed by Typographia of *Jornal do Commercio* throughout the 1890s and 1920s (SCHELBAUER; MACHADO, 2003). Each volume contained information from the next volume. Volume 13 announced the fourteenth volume: Public Instruction (university regime), but we were unable to locate it. At the end of the 1930s, Moacyr published a series of texts in the Sunday editions of *Jornal do Commercio* on the theme of the “university regime”. The articles alluding to the republican period were brought together in a collection of seven volumes published by *Imprensa Nacional – A instrução e a República* – between 1936 and 1942 when the author died. In volume 7 of the collection, the theme “university regime” is also announced, which was not made public. Seven articles on this topic can be found in the Monthly of *Jornal*

⁸ In 1916, Primitivo Moacyr simultaneously performed another task, together with Agenor de Roure, Otto Prazeres, Eugenio Padilha, João Pedro de Carvalho Vieira, and Ernesto da Costa Alecrim, in the commission chaired by Prudente de Moraes Filho, bringing together all the work relating to the Brazilian Civil Code. In the collection of Parliamentary Documents, the Civil Code occupied 16 volumes.

do *Commercio*, with the title “*Evolução do Regime Universitário no Brasil* (Evolution of the University Regime in Brazil)”⁹.

Observing the materiality of the first volume of the Parliamentary Documents collection and Moacyr's 1916 book, we noticed certain similarities in the editorial and graphic composition of the printed materials. The initial volume of this collection, named “*Documentos Parlamentares. Mensagens e Pareceres*” (Parliamentary Documents. Messages and Opinions) (1912), presents the identification of the theme developed throughout the paragraphs on the sides of the pages.

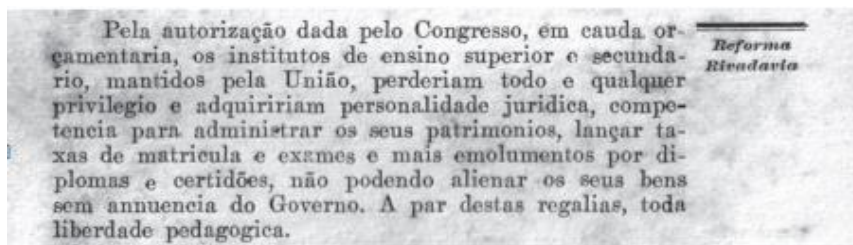
Figure 2 – Thematic identification on the side of volume 1 – Parliamentary Documents



Source: *Documentos Parlamentares. Mensagens e Pareceres* (1912, p. 16).

The same layout is present in Moacyr's book, sometimes presenting the themes, sometimes the parliamentarians proposing the projects or participating in the debate.

Figure 3 – Thematic identification on the side of the book by Primitivo Moacyr from 1916



Source: MOACYR, Primitivo. *O Ensino Publico no Congresso Nacional. Breve Notícia*, 1916. p. 9.

Observing this information, we can consider the importance of *Jornal do Commercio's* typography in the composition of the different volumes, assuming that they were part of a common editorial logic and that such graphic elements, together, formed a set of texts that explained national parliamentary production on various themes. If the materials organized by Moacyr in the Parliamentary Documents collection are taken as privileged sources for the researcher's writing, the company Rodrigues & Co., owner of *Jornal do Commercio* and the typography, is responsible for materializing the subject's textual authorship. It is therefore necessary to understand the intellectual context of the production of Moacyr's chronicles and the relationships between the subjects who permeated his daily life to understand his writings. By this, we mean that an accurate analysis of the conditions of production of a text permeates the understanding of the possible conditions of the existence of the subject.

⁹ Monthly of *Jornal do Commercio*, 1938. Tome I, Volumes I, II and III, Numbers 1, 2 and 3, referring to the months of January, February, and March. Tome II, Volumes I and II, Numbers 4 and 5, April and May. Volume III, Volumes I and II, Numbers 7 and 8, July and August.

THE ANATOLIAN, THE DANDIS AND THE SCAPHANDRIST: PRIMITIVE MOACYR'S SOCIABLE NETWORKS AND THE PERFORMANCE IN THE NATIONAL PRESS

Marialva Barbosa informs that the typography of *Jornal do Commercio*, under the command of José Carlos Rodrigues when it launched the construction of its new headquarters on Avenida Central, in 1906, had 12 printers and 9 type foundries.

It employed 429 people, 220 typographers in the workshops and 66 people in the editorial office, 20 of whom were permanent employees and 46 were collaborators. It had 349 workers in its workshops, including typographers, machine staff, delivery drivers, and folders. There are also two-page planners and 50 reviewers, while 12 people take turns in administration. These numbers do not include substitutes, apprentices, and servants. (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1908 apud BARBOSA, 2007, p. 44-45).

Hallewel (2005) indicates that the previous information was maintained in the first decades of the 20th century, which seems to be the case with Moacyr's book, as we did not find any information on the production or sales value and, therefore, we cannot go further in this regard.

In 1916, it had twelve linotypes and three monotypes, used exclusively in the production of the newspaper. The Typographia brand of “Jornal do Commercio” by Rodrigues e Cia. appears very frequently, from 1890 onwards, in countless books, but these were printed, mostly by the authors. (HALLEWELL, 2005, p. 162).

The editorial and typography of *Jornal do Commercio* were the constant locus of experience for Moacyr, who, in the 1910s, projected himself as a member of a social group that saw writing and intellectual production as a condition of existence. To do so, it was necessary to be connected to people who could open doors, as Agenor de Roure did at the beginning of Primitivo Moacyr's literary life. They worked together on the Drafting Committee of the National Congress, and their children had studied during the same period in Switzerland, at the College Chateau de Lancy, in Geneva¹⁰. Agenor de Roure's work in the field of academic writing¹¹ and newspapers, responsible for the parliamentary page of *Jornal do Commercio* between 1904 and 1919, established upon himself the role of facilitator of Moacyr's entry into the world of chronicles. In 1914, while participating in the production of one of the theses of the National History Congress of the Brazilian Historical Geographic Institute – IHGB, he published, also through the *Jornal do Commercio* typography, *Formação constitucional do Brasil* (Constitutional Formation of Brazil), with 309 pages. De Roure was one of the Anatolians, having revered the French writer Anatole France in the speech given on a festive lunch celebrating his journalistic jubilee¹².

Some of the guests present at this lunch were:

Mr. Carlos Peixoto, Felix Pacheco, João Neiva, Pedro Lago, Floriano de Brito, Leonidas Rezende, Marques Pinheiro, Mozart Lago, Mario Alvez, Joaquim de Salles, Sebastião Sampaio, Primitivo Moacyr, José Spinola, Heitor Modesto, Oséas Motta, Raphael Pinheiro, Estacio Coimbra, Jacy Monteiro, Eugenio Pinto, Otto Prazeres, José Maria Bello, Costa Rego, Mauricio de Lacerda e Nicanor do Nascimento. (ROURE, 1916, n. 2.059, p. 6).

¹⁰ We found news of their trips in 1909, via Hamburg, Germany, as reported by the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* on January 16, 1909, on the Paquete all Captain Roca of the Community Hannecker, which had, among the passengers, Carlos Moacyr Primitivo and the Dr. Primitivo Moacyr (MOVIMENTOS do Porto, 1909, p. 7). The children of Primitivo Moacyr and Agenor de Roure studied at that school.

¹¹ He published essays in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, conferences and the entry “Economic and financial history” in the Historical, Geographical and Ethnographic Dictionary of Brazil. He also wrote: *Concurso literário* (short stories, 1894); *Formação constitucional do Brasil* (1914); *Formação do direito orçamentário brasileiro* (1916); *A Constituinte republicana* (2v, 1918–1920); *Epitáfio Pessoa no juízo de seus contemporâneos* (1925); and *Orçamento: comentários ao Código de Contabilidade* (1926).

Ver: <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/sites/default/files/verbetes/primeira-republica/ROURE,%20Agenor%20de.pdf>.

¹² Cf. Vida Carioca section of *Jornal do Commercio: Edição da tarde*, July 3, 1916 (n. 2.059, p. 5); and *Diário da Manhã*, Constructor Party printout, on July 9, 1916 (n. 273, p. 1).

This audience highlights the relationship between the men of the Chamber and Brazilian journalism. Networks of sociability guaranteed productive intellectual and professional relationships. On July 28, 1916, Agenor de Roure, in the text “*Ensino no Brasil*” (Education in Brazil), published in *Jornal do Commercio*, indicated Primitivo Moacyr as the author of the Parliamentary Documents, citing his works. Occupying two entire columns, Roure was dedicated to scrutinizing the collection under construction, based on the author's values, who, that year, had already produced 44 volumes and which

[...] having put into practice an idea that was born in his brain and that he cherished for a long time until it deserved the support of those entitled to it. With his insistent daily propaganda victorious, it was very natural that the Board of the Chamber nominated him for this work of historical recapitulation and systematized organization of the republican legislative work, by subject. And it was in his capacity as editor of the Parliamentary Documents that he became the Annals' escaphand expert, extracting from oblivion interesting pages, notable speeches, and important projects, classifying them by subject and maintaining, in their publication, the chronological order. This methodical, intelligent, and useful work appears in public and private libraries without the author's name, despite exclusively representing the great individual effort and the unsurpassable dedication of Dr. Primitivo Moacyr, who modestly concealed his name in this work of intelligent systematization of the work legislative, pioneering and preparing the ground for scholars of the major political and economic problems in Brazil. (ROURE, 1916, n. 209, p. 2, emphasis added).

Values such as patience, intelligence, culture, and humility are included in Roure's rhetoric to endorse the author and the work. As an “Annals escaphand expert”, Moacyr is projected as one who delved into the documentation and removed from it, through methodical selection, what would be useful to solve Brazil's problems. If the idea of organizing such a collection came from Primitivo Moacyr, Agenor de Roure's action in claiming it in favor of his friend can be understood as a need to value the figure of Moacyr, as creator and executor of the proposal, withdrawing from the National Congress and those who would use the material produced in their research the intellectual property.

De Roure also seeks to praise the product because it is not a mere compilation. There is objectivity, as in the case of “keeping the chronology of facts”, as it establishes a systematization by subject and the choice of what deserves to be kept. Likewise, such a movement can be found in the 1916 book as an effect, including, the “expert act of the escaphandrist”. Regarding the issue of authorship, the book analyzed, with the writer's name on the cover, repositions the intellectual in the scenario under the idea that now he is, in addition to the writer, the author of the work, without the need for a direct defense for this, as done with the Parliamentary Documents.

The title of the 1916 book points to the central theme of the public education proposals in the debates of deputies and senators of the federal legislature between 1891 and 1914, to be “brief news”. This is also what the editor of the New Books section of *Jornal do Commercio* reads:

Mr. Primitivo Moacyr is a cultured and fine spirit. Seeking to give a brief overview of what the Republican Congress has been dealing with in public education, he did an excellent and useful job – so well done, so intelligently selected, with such a fair sense of the proportion that a book of documentation, of parliamentary history, is not heavy and bulky: it is elegant and attractive. (TEACHING..., 1916, n. 207, p. 3).

It is worth noting that the book was the first to be scrutinized by the section's editor, who, in that edition, presented only two critical comments. In a column and a half dedicated to the subject of released books, Primitivo Moacyr occupied almost all the space. The criticism of Moacyr's book in this newspaper must be understood from the perspective of the place he occupied, the founder of the public debate in which he had published his chronicles, and the owner of the printing press he produced. Thus, praising the work and the writer was also a commercial propaganda proposition.

In the obituary, section Record of *Jornal do Commercio* of October 3, 1942, without direct authorship, probably produced by the newspaper's editors the day after Moacyr's death, it was announced: “illustrious historian and former and brilliant collaborator of this newspaper” (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1942, p. 5). These two classifications given to the intellectual at the end of his life are also present in other texts and small notes found in the Brazilian press and other printed matter. They

result from the effort in working with historical documentation over three decades as well as the main place of publication and visibility of Moacyr's historiographical operation. These are not exaggerated adjectives if we take, for example, the 199 articles published in the pages of *Jornal do Commercio* between 1915 and 1942, with almost all texts about Brazilian education.

The status of historian given to his figure, by the passage above, resides in the themes he chose to write: the history of Brazilian education in the Empire and the Republic. Its object of scrutiny over the next three decades was education. It also lies in the novelty of the task of delving into documents about the instruction postponed by other historians and the criticism received. Instead, we must pay attention to how critics see the writing: as a book of documentation and parliamentary history, and not necessarily as a book on the history of education.

In that context, teaching and education had no defined space among historians, especially those linked to the rites and forms of the IHGB. A sample of this are the productions of the *National History Congress* organized by the institute in 1914 which can be widely read in the press¹³. At this event, there were no texts or article proposals that had the theme of education or the history of education. Therefore, classifying the work as parliamentary history is important to understand its place among contemporary intellectuals, as well as the space occupied by Brazilian education in its studies and publications. Finally, it is also worth highlighting the seal that Primitivo Moacyr received: documentation organizer and parliamentary historian. These two qualities will be a constant part of his intellectual trajectory that began at that time, guaranteeing his place among writers.

The authorship of the review in the New Books section is unknown to us, but we have some traces, because, when a section does not have authorial credit, we can consider it as written by the editorial staff. *Jornal do Commercio* and its derivatives, such as typography, according to an entry published by the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil – *Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil* - CPDOC¹⁴, in the context of the publication of articles and Primitivo Moacyr's book, underwent reformulations. In 1915, at the age of 71, José Carlos Rodrigues, owner of the company since the end of the 19th century, transferred his share in the firm Rodrigues & Cia. to a former employee of the house, Antônio Ferreira Botelho, Portuguese by birth, employed at the newspaper since he was young, which, from then on, would remain under his direction until 1923. The editor-in-chief at that time was Felix Pacheco, who was also a federal deputy for Piauí since 1909, being re-elected successively. Member of the Brazilian Academy of Arts – *Academia Brasileira de Letras* ABL – since 1912, due to his prestige as a politician and journalist and his poetic work halfway between symbolism and Parnassianism, Pacheco helped to strengthen ties between *Jornal do Commercio* and the house of Machado assisted in such a way that the Academy's meetings and speeches occupied a permanent space on the pages of this periodical, as well as many immortals working directly in its editorial office.

The building that housed the meetings of the IHGB, the ABL, the Academy of Medicine, and the Brazilian Lawyers Institute was named Syllogeu¹⁵. In addition to Syllogeu carioca, the *Jornal do Commercio* hall hosted several events for individuals who participated in these institutions, configuring these places as spaces for sociability. In these, the exchange of ideas, the affirmation of friendships, enmities, rivalries, and social positions prevailed; intellectuals who produced representations about themselves, others, and the world to the point of establishing groups that could determine what should or should not be published, read, and defined as valid as scientific and literary power for that society. It is worth remembering that men and women of arts and immortals from the Academy and the IHGB – graduated from higher institutes, mainly from Law, Medicine, and Social Sciences – worked directly in the national press, such as Olavo Bilac, in the newspapers *O Fluminense*, in Niterói, and at *Gazeta de*

¹³ As a suggestion, we indicate number 122, p. 3, from the newspaper A Federação (RS), of May 26, 1914. Available at: <http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=388653&pasta=ano%201914&pesq=%22Primitivo%20Moacyr%22&pagfis=29606>. Accessed on: 19 Aug. 2021.

¹⁴ See: DICIONÁRIO DA ELITE REPUBLICANA (1889–1930). Verbete *Jornal do Commercio*. Available at: <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/sites/default/files/verbetes/primeira-republica/JORNAL%20DO%20COM%20C3%89RCIO.pdf>. Accessed on: 19 Aug. 2021.

¹⁵ House where literary and scientific associations meet. Available at: <https://academia.org.br/galeria/fundacao/predio-do-silogeou>. Acesso em: 19 ago. 2021. Além de Syllogeu, encontramos grafias como Silogeo e Silogeu.

Notícias, in the federal capital, which also received Aluísio de Azevedo, Coelho Netto, Machado de Assis and Julia Lopes de Almeida, among other novelists and chroniclers, in its editorial office. Other names appeared as editors, such as Ferreira de Araújo, Manuel Carneiro, Elísio Mendes, and Henrique Chaves, which announced the changes and new characteristics of the Brazilian press (SODRÉ, 1999, p. 224-245). In another important newspaper that had its origins at the beginning of the 20th century, *Correio da Manhã*, we find among its best-known contributors Lima Barreto, Vicente Piragibe, Manuel Victorino, Carlos de Laet, Affonso Celso, Coelho Netto, Medeiros e Albuquerque, Souza Bandeira and José Veríssimo, members of ABL.

Primitivo Moacyr's writing debut is inserted at this moment in Brazilian history marked by discussions around the construction of the republican State, federalism, the limits of each of the three powers, the economic dependence of the rural world, and exports. In addition to these, other no less important issues were present in the power games, such as the heated debates in the press and in public spaces about the need to reform education in its various forms, disseminate literacy, and the role of the State in education.

Tânia de Luca (2015, p. 137) indicates that the growth of urban centers and the service sector, notably Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the coffee bonanza, and the extension of the railway network, which played important roles in the entry of large waves of immigrants and at the beginning of a first industrial boom, they acted directly in the proposition and circulation of information. Directly responsible for creating the conditions for the existence of new means of travel through urban and rural spaces as well as communication – such as cars, electric trams, cinema, portable cameras, typewriters, phonographs, and the increase in advertising –, modernized the connection supports between individuals and social relationships, reducing distances and expanding the possibilities of access to information and knowledge.

A new relationship with time, space, and subjects was constituted in the national reality marked by the logic of speed, effectiveness, and displacement¹⁶, which were present in the representations produced by politicians, journalists, and intellectuals about education, primary, secondary, professional and higher education, both public and private, in addition to teacher training. Therefore, they produced diagnoses and ways of being and seeing the world that affected society, the school, students, and teachers, as well as the forms of sociability and governance considered the most suitable for the Brazilian context.

As a public space, the press offered a privileged environment for these debates in the 1910s, forming sociability that was active in proposing ways of organizing society. Attending the Syllogeu, as a member or spectator of those institutions that gravitated in the same building and other places of the Rio press, could guarantee strategic positions for entering the gallery of authors to be published – just as writing for newspapers at the beginning of the 20th century was a craft compatible with the status of writer. In this context, for many of these men of letters, the work of collaboration and direct action in newspaper and magazine editorial offices became a regular activity, which could provide them with an increasingly indispensable supplementary income. The central activity of what Sérgio Micelli (2001, p. 54) called the group of “Anatolians”¹⁷, is about the presence of “redemptive irony”, a stylistic mark of the French writer Anatole France, in which the narrator reflexively dialogues with his time using the irony as a resource and shifting the action to the word. This becomes a mark of the production of the subjects who faced with the depressing social reality, practiced adjustments to the lyrics. Rhetoric gains prominence in the face of human action in the development of the narrative.

Augusto Meyer (1956), an important writer and spectator of the 1940s and 1950s, indicates, in his words, the Anatolian fashion:

I can say that Anatolism was a spell, a whooping cough, a delicious plague. Everyone then wore an ironic grandpa's cap in the concourse of ideas; as soon as the clean-shaven friend opened his mouth to speak, a faun's beard grew from his chin, and every sentence passed with the cute caution of slippers stepping on the carpet.

¹⁶ See: NEVES, Margarida de Souza. Os cenários da República. O Brasil na virada do século XIX para o século XX; e ver também: NETO, José Miguel Arias. Primeira República: economia cafeeira, urbanização e industrialização. In: FERREIRA, Jorge; DELGADO, Lucília (Orgs.). O Brasil Republicano. 5. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011.

¹⁷ Sérgio Miceli states that the Anatolians were the writers active between 1900 and 1922 who produced to satisfy all types of writing demands, in the field of politics, the State, newspapers and magazines, in the form of speeches, praise, feature articles, editorials, footnotes and chronicles.

Fifteen-year-old boys, still smelling of swaddling clothes, cast a disillusioned look at the vast world and, between two careless gestures, quoted Pyrrho; Respectable ladies, putting a serpentine twist on their mature graces, discreetly alluded to the Garden of Epicurus, that gospel of irony and piety. (MEYER, 1956, p. 98).

Ironically, Meyer satirizes the dominant practice among writers in the first republican decades. Anatole France was mandatory reading for a generation of dandies, as Miceli (1977) suggested, highlighting an aesthetic relationship that suggests the existence of a particular ethics expressed in critical journalistic activity, with the use of irony, satire, and lyricism.

In his first book, Moacyr also identifies with the Anatolian group using refined irony. This was present in the criticism of the abundance of projects processed in the Legislature, even when approved, without execution. For example: “The project, since December 1908, has been in the Senate archives” (MOACYR, 1916, p. 9.); “The project was only printed.” (MOACYR, 1916, p. 43); “The substitute is, at the request of the author, sent to the Commission, which has kept it to this date...” (MOACYR, 1916, p. 50).

As Luca (2015, p. 124) informs us, “the various tasks performed by these intellectuals were often subordinated to the political demands of the oligarchic factions that owned the newspapers and also held the keys that controlled access to the political scene.” The articles published by *Jornal do Commercio* in 1915 and which gave rise to the book in 1916 fall within this logic. It was in the interest of the Brazilian press, closely linked to the institutions that gravitated towards the Rio de Janeiro Syllogeu, to publicize and read a work that, at that time, brought something new: a story with abundant documentation about the proposition of teaching in republican Brazil.

For Moacyr, having his texts on those pages of the old Rio daily newspaper and, later, the publication of his book, became a condition of affirmation in an environment in which he had lived since his arrival in the federal capital in the 1890s. He experienced his daily life with highly qualified individuals who participated vividly in the meetings at the Syllogeu in Rio, such as the immortal Afrânio Peixoto, a close friend and, in that context, active in public education management positions in the federal capital; and the also immortal J. Goulart de Andrade, member of the Debate Commission of the National Congress and poet. These were joined by Agenor de Roure, editor of *Jornal do Commercio*, Otto Prazeres, contributor to the newspaper *O Paiz*, and other members of the aforementioned commission and active on the pages of Rio newspapers. In addition to the journalistic circuit, we have Carlos Peixoto Filho and the members of the so-called “Kindergarten-*Jardim da infância*”¹⁸ of Brazilian politics, who were constantly seen at cafes, lunches, and social events, in friendly relationships reported by the press.

The coexistence with politicians and intellectuals went beyond lunches, coffees, and religious celebrations. In the “*Academia de Letras*” section of the newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias*, in 1907, which reported the reception of Admiral Jaceguay as the newest immortal of the house, we found Primitivo Moacyr, Frederico Russel – a fellow student at the Free Faculty of Law of the Rio de Janeiro –, who represented the Bar Association, Deputy Medeiros e Albuquerque, President Afonso Penna, and Machado de Assis. In addition to them, the newspaper highlights the presence of the immortals Graça Aranha, Filinto de Almeida, Silva Ramos, Oliveira Lima, José Veríssimo (RECEPAÇÃO..., n. 314, p. 7).

At the reception for João do Rio – Paulo Barreto, on August 13, 1910, Primitivo Moacyr was once again present, observing the event while Coelho Netto officially spoke about the entry of the important Brazilian author (UMA FESTA..., n. 225, p. 1). A month later, on September 7, *Gazeta de Notícias*, in its *Academia de Letras* section, reported a new reception for the immortal, Pedro Lessa, which Primitivo once again went to honor (RECEPAÇÃO, n. 250, p. 3). On August 6, 1911, Moacyr, Medeiros

¹⁸ Miguel Calmon was one of the members of this group, along with ministers Davi Campista (Finance) and Augusto Tavares de Lira (Justice), Minas Gerais deputy Carlos Peixoto de Melo Filho, elected president of the Chamber in May 1907, Rio Grande do Sul deputy James Fitzgerald Darcy, majority leader, and other parliamentarians. In addition to the President of the Republic, the group had strong support from Minas Gerais governor João Pinheiro. They were the ones who carried out the so-called Civilist Campaign, under the leadership of Rui Barbosa in 1909. Afonso Pena, with the aim of limiting the role of Pinheiro Machado, who had been his ally in the elections, in the national political scenario as well as in the power of politicians from São Paulo, even under the Taubaté Agreement, brought to power a young ministerial and parliamentary front, known as a “*kindergarten-jardim de infância*”, with an early insertion into national public life. Available at: <https://ihgb.org.br/perfil/userprofile/MCduPAAlmeida.html>. Accessed on: May 4, 2021.

e Albuquerque, Tobias Monteiro, Carlos Peixoto, Conde Affonso Celso, Manuel Vitorino de Oliveira, Eduardo Marques da Silva, Eloy de Sousa, and others went to visit the academic, journalist and businessman Paulo Barreto (GAZETA OF NEWS, B0212, p. 5). This sociability¹⁹ established the necessary conditions for action in the social sphere:

[...] newsrooms, such as salons, cafes, bookstores, publishers, literary and academic associations, can be seen as spaces that bring together different political and aesthetic lineages, composing networks that give structure to the intellectual field and allow reflection on the formation, structuring, and dynamics of this. (LUCA, 2015, p. 141).

The places of action were full of “aesthetic proposals and the production of a national and modernizing narrative thought”, as the historian adds (LUCA, 2015, p. 124), in such a way that being in these spaces, interacting with these subjects and producing under a certain worldview delimits the work of Primitivo Moacyr, marked by plurality and social positioning, as well as presenting a common understanding about society, education, and the State. Thus, we give these subjects the status of intellectuals, as outlined by Jean-François Sirinelli when presenting the categorization under two biases: “one broad and sociocultural, encompassing cultural creators and mediators, and the other narrower, based on the notion of engagement [...] in city life as an actor.” (SIRINELLI, 2003, p. 242). In the first theoretical premise about what an intellectual would be, we identify social actors as teachers, journalists, writers, and students. The second is the actions of actors who have the greatest impact on others in society, whose functions, not excepting the previous ones, and which are often the same, act directly in the construction or legitimization of cultural productions that affect the public sphere. Such productions can also be understood as representations of the world, or better, they can be seen within the logic of observing the world as a representation²⁰, because, as historians, we must not forget that “intellectuals are always, in a society, the repositories of the meaning of words and that they therefore have a power of enunciation that gives them a separate place about the historian’s other objects.” (RODRIGUES; CLAVEL, 2015, p. 323).

The constitution of the intellectual and the group to which he belongs is directly linked to the contextual conditions of his historical moment and the society in which both are immersed. Situating them temporally, we can understand the field of possibilities created by the members of that context as well as the definition of the choices that acted in the establishment of intellectual priorities and rules and the very ways of interacting between its components, as we understand how the group dynamics worked and established positions. Being in the newspapers, among the various ways presented, was to be incorporated into society's intellectual groups, exemplifying the existence of microclimates present in the production of a group identity.

Regarding printed materials, the idea was established that journals, especially newspapers, fulfilled the noble function of informing the reader of what was happening, with strict respect for the truth of the facts. What was in the newspaper was read as truth. The narrative of reality and impartiality gave periodicals dominance over the public sphere. Less than conquering the public through the production of knowledge and more through the business sphere, giving publicity, while making it public. This possible relationship of domination between the newspaper and the literati was exposed by Sérgio Miceli (2001, p. 15) when he said that, in that context, intellectual positions were directly linked to public power and that recruitment, possible trajectories, mechanisms of consecration, as well as the other conditions necessary for intellectual production under its different modalities, depended on the institutions and groups that exercised control over strategic locations in society. Professional writers, and

¹⁹ For Sirinelli (2003), intellectual sociability can be constituted by networks and as microclimates. The first acts as a subsidy to the intellectual field through the forces of adhesion, such as friendships and enmities, loyalties and belongings, influences and exclusion arising from decisions and positions taken, from which we can perceive certain cultural similarities and forms of represent the world that led to perpetuation or change within the group. Microclimates present the specific conduct of action of a certain group of intellectuals, providing the appearance of a kind of microcosm that would serve to identify that group.

²⁰ See: CHARTIER, Roger. O mundo como representação. In: CHARTIER, Roger. *À Beira da Falésia: a História entre certezas e inquietudes*. Porto Alegre: UFRGS, 2002. p. 61-79.

those who envisaged such a position, found themselves in these games of force adapting to the genres imported from the French press: the report, the interview, the literary inquiry, and the chronicle.

WHAT IS READ ABOUT THE POSSIBLE MOTIVATIONS FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CHRONICLES

The interest expressed by Primitivo Moacyr in Brazilian education was nothing original, but it is an example of the importance of this topic in the first republican decades. Intellectuals and public figures discussed open-air education. Since the 1870s, the subject of instruction has attracted different professionals. However, the publication of books on the subject had an air of novelty. For those interested in Brazilian education, a few major works were circulating in the first years of the 20th century. Two of them, published in the previous century, revered the monarchical regime: the text by Santa-Anna Nery and the book by Pires de Almeida. These authors published several other topics in addition to instruction, and Pires de Almeida's book was the first dedicated exclusively to the history of Brazilian education.

Other works were added to these and give an idea of the current discussion, such as Rui Barbosa's *Opinions*, commissioned as an assessment of the reform proposed by the Minister of the Empire Leôncio de Carvalho in 1883. At the dawn of the Republic, we have *A Educação Nacional*, by José Veríssimo, published for the first time in 1890, still in Pará, and republished in 1906, by Livraria Francisco Alves, in Rio de Janeiro.

Primitivo Moacyr was not a neophyte in the educational field as he brought experiences of varying levels in his career: elementary school teacher in the interior of Bahia and inspector at the Recife High School in the last decade of the Empire; and, finally, a student in Law (1894) and Social Sciences (1898), at the Free Faculty of Law of Rio de Janeiro. This situation allows us to consider that he brought with him some interest in education, which, added to his work as a writer of parliamentary documents, would have inspired him to bring together the burning themes of public education.

Thus, we also understand that his presence between the lines and in the terms that express value judgments diffusely spread throughout his first book indicates that he shared the conviction that education is a unique condition for civilization. Also, he attributed the primary responsibility for offering this service to the State. By this, we mean that his writing is shaped by these many experiences, inserted in the republican debate around education, in addition to the reason that led him to organize the collection. As he tells us, he expresses a discreet criticism of the role of the Brazilian State in the figure of the representatives of the National Congress, who design a lot and make little of the policies for Brazilian public education.

There is no explicit plan that explains the criteria used to define the structure or sequence of themes that make up the book. This allows us to raise some hypotheses. Why did you start with the deofficialization of education? Would it make sense for a book whose title already refers to public education in a country where there is no official education? Why does it end with the end of the Rivadávia Reform (1911–1915)? Or more: would the chronological cut in which the book closes be related to the end of this reform? Would the emphasis on the role of the State about education justify the opening and closing of the book: the deofficialization of education and the Rivadávia Reform?

By starting and ending the book with the theme of the deofficialization of education, Moacyr questions the role of the National Congress and the Executive about what he understands as their place in proposing educational policies. The title of the work is a criticism of deofficialization, as public education is, rhetorically, official. With this, the book's theme around Congress's actions on the subject is shifted to defending the role of the State in public instruction; criticism of the Legislature and its lack of effectiveness in transforming projects into actions; the defense of a shift in national policy efforts from higher and secondary education to primary and professional education. We understand that the author saw this as the initial order of action of Brazilian educational policy to then advance to other levels. From base to top. This would inform us of the existence of a project of society and education in his work, conditioning him as an intellectual.

The defense of public instruction is added to broader political-party motivations, involving the group to which Moacyr was aligned – around Rui Barbosa and the civilist campaign, in opposition to

Hermes da Fonseca's group. His victory in the 1910 presidential race placed Carlos Peixoto Filho's group, which supported Rui Barbosa, in opposition, victimizing some components with political reprisals. Furthermore, Moacyr held two public positions – as editor in the Chamber and as Public Health Attorney – and this situation of duplicity in public positions was severely criticized by hermits. Carlos Peixoto Filho's departure from the National Congress was an aggravating factor for Moacyr's aspirations, which lost important support.

In a letter addressed to Fonseca Hermes, a colleague on the Drafting Committee of the National Congress, Primitivo Moacyr requested his friend's support to maintain this double journey:

Rio. 3.2.911.

Dear Fonseca Hermes. I was warned that my dismissal as Public Health Prosecutor was being planned, a position I have held since 1906. Strictly fulfilling my duty, I only attribute this evil to partisan intervention. It's an injustice because I've never been into politics. Not even as a voter. If it weren't for the precarious situation that this dismissal creates for my two children; If they didn't still need my exclusive assistance, I would receive this injustice with great courage. You know my withdrawn life, and [illegible] the thought of my children leads me to appeal to you as the father that you are. So, my dear Hermes, I ask you to intervene, by telegram to the President or the Minister on my behalf. And I thank you in advance for your act of justice and kindness. My respects to Mrs. Fonseca Hermes.

From a very thankful person, Primitivo Moacyr. 120 106 Russel (MOACYR, 1911).

José Severiano da Fonseca Hermes was the brother of President Hermes da Fonseca and nephew of former president Deodoro da Fonseca. The bonds of friendship between Fonseca Hermes and Primitivo Moacyr extended to their children, as interns at the same school in Switzerland. If there was an intervention by Fonseca Hermes, it was not successful, as Moacyr was dismissed on February 16, 1911, as stated in the pages of *Gazeta de Notícias*, in the *Despacho Coletivo* section (EM RESUMO..., 1911, n. 47, p. 1). The newspapers widely reported the attempts to regain his position and receive, in court, amounts corresponding to his dismissal. Moacyr continued to assert that such dismissal based on the accumulation of duties and salaries as well as the unfavorable outcome for him after several attempts in court to resume his position as a prosecutor was erroneous²¹. There was a suspicion of political persecution in the air.

An indication that supports this suspicion is the imbroglio involving Maurício de Medeiros, brother of Medeiros and Albuquerque (deputy and journalist), and part of the Rio press. The first movement took place in an article in *Diário de Notícias*, linked to Rui Barbosa's political group, attributing to Maurício de Medeiros the position of civilist. Medeiros reacted to this in a letter published by *Gazeta de Notícias*, in which he acted as a collaborator. He reiterated that he did not consider himself as such and that “it is not the first time that the organization of civilism has served as a vehicle for attacks on my humble person.” (MEDEIROS, 1911, n. 125, p. 2). Attributing this political position to him, in addition to being erroneous, could cause some difficulties, he said.

Being a civilist, as it was said, was an offense, according to Maurício de Medeiros, who dismayed, and criticized *Diário*, claiming that the periodical's editor should use civilism as a bastion and not as an attack. Being a civilist was reason enough to suffer direct persecution from the government of Hermes da Fonseca, and to be excluded from the political scene and public service. The governmental attack on civilism was a topic in local journalism:

(...) The day before yesterday, the current President of the Republic said in his message that he was pursuing a strict policy, without revenge or persecution. When reading this excerpt, I remembered the dismissal of Mr. Ruy's son-in-law, Dr. Primitivo Moacyr, that of Dr. Epimacho de Albuquerque, that of Dr. Justo de Moraes, in addition to the small and horrible things that

²¹ A typical case of paid accumulation. Public and deputy prosecutors. A RUA: SEMMANARIO ILUSTRADO. Rio de Janeiro, Anno III, edition n. 216, p. 3, August 8th 1916. Section *Última Hora*. Available at: <http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=236403&pesq=%22Primitivo%20Moacyr%22&pasta=ano%201911&pagfis=2985>. Acesso em: 19 ago. 2021; ACCUMULAÇÕES REMUNERADAS. *O Paiz*. Rio de Janeiro, Anno XXXII, edition n. 11.629, p. 3, August 9th 1916. Available at: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=178691_04&pesq=%22Primitivo%20Moacyr%22&pasta=ano%201911&pagfis=32597. Acesso em: 19 ago. 2021.

are being done here, in the name of hermism and against civilism. (MEDEIROS, 1911, n. 125, p. 2).

Maurício de Medeiros' speech, containing criticism of hermism and civilism, brings to light subjects who would have suffered political retaliation, such as the case of Primitivo Moacyr. In the afternoon edition of the same day, *A Notícia* presented the letter from Maurício de Medeiros added to the replica from *Diário de Notícias* and the rejoinder from the offended party:

Diário de Notícias made a statement today that it has no responsibility whatsoever for what is published in its editorial columns on the Faculty of Medicine epigraph. It is therefore clear that any happy fool can enter the editorial office of that civilist newspaper, attack civilians for being civilists, intrigue them for campaigning against Marshal Hermes, and emphasize that this quality makes them unable to hold scientific positions. I record the statement and here I am waiting for the day when, through these columns, "where the editorial team does not have the slightest responsibility, the attack on counselor Ruy Barbosa – M.Medeiros begins. (MEDEIROS, 1911, n. 105, p. 1).

In its defense, *Diário* removed its direct authorship of having called Maurício de Medeiros a civilist in the text claimed by the accused, but it did not shy away from naming him as part of that movement. These passages, added to the letter previously presented, show a fragment of the political scenario of the first half of the 1910s and can elucidate Primitivo Moacyr's motivations for publishing his articles and his book, in 1916, about public education in Congress National. We must consider that Hermes da Fonseca's government ended on November 15, 1914. Two months later, Primitivo Moacyr's publications on intervention in the states began, and, eight months later, in June 1915, he began the series with 15 articles around public education in the National Congress, which came to compose the book *O ensino publico no Congresso Nacional. Breve notícia*.

These articles received several comments in the press. In the Rio Grande do Sul Republican Party newspaper *A Federacion*, we found a note in the Telegraphic Service section of *A Federación* commenting on the start of publication of the articles, two days after the first text published by *Jornal do Commercio*. The newspaper from Rio Grande do Sul, without explicit authorship, reports:

Primitivo Moacyr began today with "*Jornal do Commercio*" a series of articles on the issue of public education in the National Congress and deofficialization. It refers to the annual and almost clandestine budget provisions, reforming higher education, and gives the history of several projects. It ends by saying that the substitute that last year authorized the current reform, passed silently in the Senate, on the night of December 30th and that the Chamber, in the last session of the legislature, accepted this vote, which represents a return to public education in Brazil. (NACIONAL, 1915, p. 8).

A newspaper linked directly to the republican political leaders of that southern state, mainly the late Pinheiro Machado and the recently disempowered Hermes da Fonseca, and where the strongest positivist nucleus in the country resided, the newspaper presented the proposal for the series of articles by Primitivo Moacyr that began under the theme of deofficialization of education. In a tone of criticism of the current situation, the editors take Moacyr's speech about the fall of the Rivadávia Reform, accusing Carlos Maximiliano's Reform²² of being a return. Criticism that belongs to the author of the text in the Gaúcho newspaper and not the chronicle, as Moacyr's tone in this and the others that would come later was critical of the deofficialization of teaching and the Rivadávia Reform, composing a set of texts that, taken together, present a strong defense of state action in promoting and offering education in the country. Moacyr, therefore, acted intellectually and politically in different ways than the Hermists. His chronicles can be read producing a narrative criticizing this sociopolitical model.

Still, to understand the context of the publication of the chronicles in both formats, in the newspaper and the book, we can add their promotion in the debate writing committee of the National Congress. On November 24, 1916, on the front page of the newspaper *O Paiz*, in the section dedicated

²² Decree no. 11,530, of March 18, 1915, signed by President Wenceslau Braz and Carlos Maximiliano, Minister of Justice and Interior Affairs, the portfolio in which instruction and public education resided, revoked the Rivadávia Reform of 1911.

to public service procedures, the editorial staff published a text entitled “*Dois pesos e duas medidas* (Two weights and two measures)”, which deals with the retirement of Eugenio Pinto, a former employee of the Commission of Debates and that “for this position, Dr. Primitivo Moacyr will be promoted, a good choice, as he is not only a competent employee but also one of the oldest in his section. His title, which was the collector of parliamentary documents, will be suppressed” (DOIS PESOS..., 1916, p. 1). A competent and senior official busy collecting parliamentary documents and who paid many dividends to Moacyr. The promotion, therefore, can be seen as an award for the role of collecting the writings of the National Congress and for the loss of the status of prosecutor of public health achievements.

The suggestion is given in 1915 by the author of *A Peteca* – “If Mr. Agenor de Roure or Mr. Primitivo Moacyr wanted to publish a sobering volume with the opinions and projects of our parliamentarians on the problem of education in these twenty-odd years of the Republic...” (X, 1915, n. 57, p. 1) – would it have influenced Moacyr’s choice? We consider that the fact that public education was part of Moacyr’s initial trajectory, as a teacher in Bahia and as an inspector in Recife, played a role in the horizon of possible choices and affinities with the theme. Still, the scenario of 1910 and the Rivadávia reform in the Hermes da Fonseca Government, when he lost prestige and the position in the prosecutor’s office, are also traces of this choice for the theme.

Another indication is in the constitutional definitions of public instruction. We know that, theoretically, the 1891 Constitution defined complementary competence between the central power and the state powers in educational matters. However, in practice, the interpretation that came from the Additional Act of 1834 was in force: the Union was responsible for higher and secondary education, and the states were responsible for primary school instruction and technical-professional education. Therefore, what did Primitivo Moacyr want to give visibility when dealing with public education in the National Congress? One possibility is the emphasis on Congress’s actions regarding secondary and higher education instead of prioritizing primary education.

Moacyr shared this ideal with other people in his environment, such as Agenor de Roure, who ratified deofficialization as a project of the positivist apostolate and that the Rivadávia Reform was unconstitutional. The analysis of Moacyr’s 1916 book, carried out by Roure, reinforces the defense of primary education and the opposition to deofficialization which was among the priorities of the Hermes da Fonseca government. About the book, De Roure proclaimed:

Later, Congress, with the Carlos Maximiliano reform, returned to accommodate itself within the Constitution. Dr. Primitivo Moacyr maintains that this last vote represents a return to the tradition of public education in Brazil: but it was not just a return to tradition but also a return to the Constitution and good standards. Good standards, yes, because, as Léon Duguit says in the book “*Les transformations du droit publique*”, what modern consciousness does not admit is precise that the State stops intervening in the service of education. The freedom of teaching that modern consciousness demands is that in which the teacher can teach freely: it is freedom in teaching, as Faguet says, when he maintains that, if the teacher is free in choosing methods and master of the [illegible] we will not need freedom of teaching, because we will have freedom in teaching. (ROURE, 1916, n. 209, p. 2-3).

De Roure expands his vision of the world, education, and criticism of the Rivadávia Reform by reading Moacyr’s book, presenting a solution to the issue of freedom of education. The highlighted passage endorses Moacyr’s work as well as our analysis, presenting an education project that has investments in primary education as its driving force; defending the role of the State in promoting public education; and a writing marked by a way of seeing the world shared by the social and intellectual group of which he was a part. Furthermore, the place of the teacher is questioned – a position also occupied by Moacyr in Lençóis, Bahia – and who could play his role more fruitfully if “true freedom” were granted to him, as suggested by the quote to Émile Faguet for endorse the idea, in a direct criticism of deofficialization.

Finally, by bringing in the also Frenchman and jurist Léon Duguit, he justifies the return to the initial project of the Brazilian State respecting the Constitution of 1891, as well as highlighting the idea that it is the duty of the State, even if it is not explicitly defined how this would happen, intervene in teaching services, and that this is what would be most modern at that time: the return to the republican tradition postulated as a political ideal. What tradition would that be? One that credits the State and the

centralization of actions in its hands with the power to develop society. Therefore, the defense of State intervention in matters of public education is the defense of a project for a modern society that requires state action in favor of popular education.

The final quote from the book, “And with this, we end: modest support to men of goodwill in solving, within our traditions and other people's teaching, the problem of our economic equipment and national integration.”, can also be read from this point of view. This is what the *Jornal do Commercio* reviewer said:

Mr. Primitivo Moacyr made a useful and conscious recapitulation; a recap of someone who understands and assesses the importance of the problems and recaps what has been attempted to be done to address what needs to be done. Therefore, with modesty, he says that his work is “modest support to men of goodwill in solving, within our traditions and other people's teaching, the problem of our economic equipment and national integration.”

Economic equipment and the definitive and victorious consolidation of our nationality depend on solving the problem of comprehensive education for Brazilians. (ENSINO..., 1916, n. 207, p. 3).

The recovery of the final sentence of the book is emblematic in the sense that the work is also seen by the critic as support for solving problems surrounding education. By looking at the near past, by revisiting parliamentary history around the themes of public education, Primitivo Moacyr offers the conditions for the action of “men of goodwill”. A vision of history and documentation as a catalyst for a better future. Knowing it is a sign of preparation to face the vicissitudes of life. In this case, this vision of history projected by Moacyr's work is the conditioner of the solution to Brazil's problems in a rhetoric that places the educational training of Brazilians as a condition for overcoming the country's economic issues, enhancing the formation of the Nation. A representation that remains to this day is that without education there is no future; without education, there is no progress.

Who would be the men capable of solving these problems? Those who pointed out the projects and opinions? The review in the New Books section of *Jornal do Commercio* indicates yes, by valuing some names among the many listed by Primitivo Moacyr throughout his work:

In the cause of popular education, some spirits shine that should not go unnoticed, as authors of projects and opinions or speakers, which the book highlights: Passos de Miranda, Tavares de Lyra, Barbosa Lima, José Bonifácio, Manoel Bomfim, Felix Pacheco, Augusto de Lima, Miguel Calmon, Thomaz Delfino, Monteiro de Souza – to name in the chronological order of their works. (MOACYR, 1916, n. 207, p. 3).

Why did the writer choose these names among the many mentioned by Moacyr? The authors and the others mentioned in the book gravitated towards the institutions that were part of the Rio de Janeiro Syllageu as well as their social spaces, which, despite their political disputes, represented an intellectuality. Moacyr was a regular presence in activities promoted by intellectual associations, despite not having joined any of them. He frequented other debate spaces, including lunches, dinners, and coffees, as we previously reported. A scuba diving artist among Anatolians, dandies, and reformers of Brazilian public education.

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