

# European Pioneers of São Paulo City Letterpress Printing

## German, Italian, Portuguese and French Contributions to Brazilian Print Culture

**JADE SAMARA PIAIA**

University of São Paulo

Orcid ID 0000-0003-0191-5141

**FABIO MARIANO CRUZ PEREIRA**

University of São Paulo

Orcid ID 0000-0003-0757-072X

**PRISCILA LENA FARIAS**

University of São Paulo

Orcid ID 0000-0002-2540-770X

*Printing in São Paulo started in 1827, and expanded, in the turn of the 20th century, with the massive arrival of European immigrants, setting the city as an important editorial and printing centre. Names and nationalities of those who produced graphic artifacts during the first 100 years of printing in São Paulo were identified, aiming at a better understanding of the foreign influences in the city's early printing industry. From which countries São Paulo printers imported their printing supplies? What kind of network existed between immigrant printers and their countries of origin? What aesthetic influences can be observed in the typefaces circulating in São Paulo during this period? The research methods applied for answering those questions involved data collection from primary sources and the development of a database. Most of the owners of the companies identified were of German, Italian, Portuguese, or French origin, or descended from immigrants from these countries.*

### KEYWORDS

International Exchange

Design History

Printing Culture

Transnational Influences

Industrialisation

### 1. Introduction

Due to restrictions imposed by the Portuguese Crown (Semeraro & Ayrosa 1979, p. 6-7), the first letterpress print shop was established in Brazil only in 1808, after the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family to Rio de Janeiro. The same delay did not occur in Spanish-American colonies, such as Mexico and Peru, where letterpress printing was established as early as in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Gordinho, 1991, p. 14). With the declaration of independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil left its condition of a colony, setting up its own imperial administration. The first Brazilian constitution, established in 1824, provided for the free dissemination of ideas through the press, as long as someone was responsible for the contents published (Bandecchi, 1966, p. 64).

In São Paulo city, the first letterpress print shop was established in 1827, aiming at printing the newspaper *O Farol Paulistano*. This was an initiative of jurist José da Costa Carvalho, who, in the following decade, would become director of the São Paulo Law School – founded in the same year as his print shop (Amaral, 1977, p. 367). This was followed by a period of gradual opening

of new print shops, which accompanied the movement of expansion of the city (Cruz, 2000, p. 77).

Between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century São Paulo witnessed not only the development of printing but also by a dramatic growth in immigrant population size. The most critical immigration period occurred between 1870 and 1930 (Gomes 2007, p. 162). According to American historian Michael Hall, the majority of those immigrants were Italians, who arrived in São Paulo especially between 1880 and 1902, stimulated by immigration policy agreements between Brazilian and Italian governments established after Italian unification (Hall, 2004, pp. 124-125).

In 1889, the republican regime in Brazil was proclaimed, decentralizing political decisions. São Paulo's so far slow industrialization process went through a first boom at the dawn of the Republic. According to Brazilian geographer Pasquale Petrone, immigrants played a decisive role in this, contributing with the growth of different sectors, such as weaving, furniture, clothing and beverage (Petrone, 1953, p. 27).

As demonstrated by Brazilian historian Marisa Deaecto, during this period the number of printing shops increased progressively in the city of São Paulo, as well as the number of bookstores and the import of foreign books, changing consumer and reading practices (Deaecto, 2011, p. 269-280). The firsts letterpress print shops installed in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the 19<sup>th</sup> century served political purposes, while the printing industry developed towards the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by an effort for meeting new communication needs and literary demands (Vitorino, 2000).

The presence of immigrant communities in Brazil led to the establishment of printing shops and publications in foreign languages, often dedicated to welcoming and representing such communities (Cintra, 2010, p. 31). Printing shops and publications dedicated to Italian immigrant communities in Brazil have been extensively studied by Italian historian Angelo Trento (2013) who highlighted the difficulties faced by the social actors dedicated to the production and circulation of newspapers supporting anarcho-syndicalist movements.

Data compiled in the *Tipografia Paulistana* digital platform confirms that there has been an increase in the number of printing workshops in São Paulo city throughout the nineteenth century, a phenomenon that started gradually and became dramatically pronounced in the last decades (Farias et al., 2018).

Between 1827 and 1927 more than 370 companies dedicated to letterpress printing were active in the city, not all of them at the same time, and most of them created after 1880. Data already collected about those printing shops was the starting point for the research reported here, whose main objective

was to better understand the role of immigrants in the process of establishing and operating such companies. An effort was made to survey the names and nationalities of people involved in São Paulo city printing trade during the first 100 years of printing. This survey revealed the names of a few women, most of them so far ignored by historiography. A list of countries from which foundry type was imported was compiled. The relationships some of those immigrants had with their countries of origin, and the aesthetic influences of those relationships to their graphic work was examined in more detail.

## 2. Method

The main database in which the research reported here was based on started to be organized in 2011, by a research team dedicated to studies on graphic memory, the history of typography and print culture in São Paulo city, at Lab-Visual (the University of São Paulo Visual Design Research Lab), coordinated by Priscila Farias (Aragão, Farias, & Lima, 2012; Farias, Hanns, Aragão, & Dixon, 2018). Data previously collected was revised and expanded.

The database includes information gathered from the *Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira* (Brazilian Periodicals Archive Digital Collection), hosted by *Fundação Biblioteca Nacional* (National Library Foundation) in Rio de Janeiro, and from different São Paulo collections: *Arquivo Histórico Municipal* (Municipal Historical Archive), *Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo State Public Archive), *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* (Historical and Geographical Institute of São Paulo), *Arquivo Histórico da Escola Politécnica de São Paulo* (Historical Archive of the Polytechnic School of São Paulo), *Instituto Martius Staden* (Martius Staden Institut), *Museu Paulista* (Paulista Museum), *Museu da Imigração* (Immigration Museum), *Museu da Cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo City Museum), *Sindigraf - Sindicato das Indústrias Gráficas no Estado de São Paulo* - (São Paulo State Graphic Industries Union), *Biblioteca Digital Unesp - Universidade do Estado de São Paulo* - (São Paulo State University Digital Library), *Biblioteca Brasiliiana Guita e José Mindlin* (Guita and José Mindlin Brasiliiana Library), and *Cartório Santa Cecília* (Santa Cecília Notary's Office).

It also includes data coming from articles and books that compiled information on the first newspapers and periodicals published in São Paulo, such as those written by Brazilian memorialists Lafayette de Toledo (1898) and Afonso de Freitas (1915), and from commercial almanacs and newspapers. Commercial almanacs from which information was gathered includes those published by the Laemmert brothers in Rio de Janeiro and by Jorge Seckler in São Paulo. The main newspaper where relevant data was found is *Correio Paulistano*. Other printed artifacts, such as printers' stationary (invoices,

duplicates, forms) and binder's labels (Pereira & Farias, 2019) were used as primary sources of data on printing trade. A manuscript book from São Paulo State Graphic Industries Union, Sindigraf (n.d), was examined in search for the names of owners and employees of print shops, their nationalities and addresses.

Data on foundry type imports, found in statistical reports published by the *Secretaria da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas do Estado de São Paulo* (Secretariat of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works of the State of São Paulo)<sup>1</sup> during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was compiled. The origin and quantity (in kilograms) of the so-called *Tipos para Impressão - de chumbo* (Types for printing - of lead) imported to Brazil between 1903 and 1930, was organized in a table for comparison.

Data treatment procedures included organizing a spreadsheet focused on information regarding the printing shops' names, years of establishment and closure, owners and staff. Data obtained from different sources was combined and compared. It was a real challenge to find the full names of owners and staff members. Some of those names were found only in genealogy websites. This service is normally paid, but for the research reported here only results available for free were used.

The country of origin or descent of each person was searched for in two main databases: the *Arquivo Nacional* (Brazilian National Archive) and the São Paulo State Public Archive.

The Brazilian National Archive *Entrada de Estrangeiros no Brasil* database (Arquivo Nacional, 2020) includes registers for 1.3 million passengers who disembarked at the Rio de Janeiro port (the largest in the country at that time) between 1875 and 1900, covering the period of the first massive immigration to Brazil. This database provides personal data such as name, birth (year, month), religion, nationality, education, and profession; and travel data such as shipment port, ship, origin, destination, and arrival date.

The São Paulo State Public Archive *Livros de Registros da Hospedaria de Imigrantes* database (Immigrants' Hostel Logbooks, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, 2020) offers information on more than 2 million people who disembarked at Santos port (São Paulo state main port), and on those who entered the Hospedaria de Imigrantes do Brás, a hostel for foreigners established in São Paulo city, active between 1887 and 1978. The *Hospedaria de Imigrantes do Brás* logbook transcriptions provided information for the period between years 1887 and 1958, and records from the old *Hospedaria do Bom Retiro* (predecessor of *Hospedaria do Brás*), for years 1882 to 1886. These records were literally transcribed as they appear in the books, and therefore problems with spelling of names and surnames are common. The records

were made in the name of the “head of family” (the older member of the group, usually a male). Only those immigrants who didn’t have a place to stay or a family member waiting for them would go to the hostels. The records, therefore, do not include new members of families already established in the city, nor children’s names.

Junta Comercial de São Paulo online database (Commercial Register of São Paulo, Jucesp, 2020) was also examined. This is a body responsible for the registration of documents filed by entrepreneurs and companies operating in São Paulo since 1890. Searches in the Jucesp database are available by company name. Not all companies, however, were registered, and, among the registered companies, few documents are available online. When the search is successful, scanned copies of archived documents are provided, such as images of contracts, including the full names of the companies owners and successors, as well as their nationalities.

Fig. 1 — Number of new letterpress print shops established in São Paulo between 1827 and 1927, counted by periods of 10 years. Source: Tipografia Paulistana (2020) online platform database.



### 3. Results

The survey on the first 100 years of printing in São Paulo so far revealed that 377 letterpress printing shops were created in the city between 1827 and 1927.<sup>2</sup> When letterpress printing first started in São Paulo, towards the end of the 1820’s, the city had around 14.000 inhabitants, including a few foreigners, almost all of them coming from Portugal (Bourroul, 1908). The number of letterpress printing shops increased considerably in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 1), coinciding with the years around the proclamation of the Brazilian republic (1889) and a period of strong increase in immigration. While 56 new letterpress printing shops were established in the first 60 years of printing in the city, more than two hundred appeared in the next twenty years (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020). The population of the city also went

through a dramatic growth, getting to 240.000 in 1900 (Prefeitura, 2020). The decrease in the number of new letterpress print shops from 1907 on was accompanied by an increased relevance of a few companies, which started to announce being able to manufacture printed artifacts in industrial scale, counting with steam-powered, and later electricity-powered machinery. Between 1827 and 1927, a large volume of printing resources, such as foundry type, paper, inks and presses also entered São Paulo State through Santos port. Reports published annually by the Secretariat of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works of São Paulo State (Secretaria da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Publicas do Estado de São Paulo 1904-1909, 1911-1913, 1915-1924, and 1926-1932) show that, in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, São Paulo maintained commercial relations with Argentina, Austria, Austro-Hungarian Empire, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Spain, United States, among other countries. Data gathered from those reports show that, between 1903 and 1930, the largest suppliers of foundry type were Germany (responsible for more than 70% of the imports), Italy, Spain, and France (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1 — Exports of foundry type to Brazil between 1903 and 1930.  
Source: Secretariat of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works of São Paulo State statistical reports.

COUNTRY	FOUNDRY TYPE (AMOUNT IN KILOS)
GERMANY	861.443
ITALY	103.877
OTHER COUNTRIES <sup>3</sup>	102.131
SPAIN	19.570
FRANCE	18.883
JAPAN	9.765
PORTUGAL	8.406
UNITED STATES	4.110
GREAT BRITAIN	3.978
HOLLAND	1.466
AUSTRIA	289
ARGENTINA	132
AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE	16

The names of 632 persons, working in 318 of those 377 letterpress printing shops, were found and listed. Some of these persons had different roles in different companies or in the same company at different times. The roles played by these persons were accounted for: 379 of them acted as owners; 86 acted as employees responsible for print-related activities (such as typographers, compositors, and printers); and 75 of them were identified as writers, journalists or editors. It was not possible to ascertain the exact role played by 171 of the persons identified. For 60 companies, no names of people involved have been so far identified.

Fig. 2 — Number of immigrants working in São Paulo city letterpress printing shops between 1827 and 1927, by country of origin. Source: Data gathered from Brazilian National Archive, São Paulo State Public Archive and Jucesp databases.

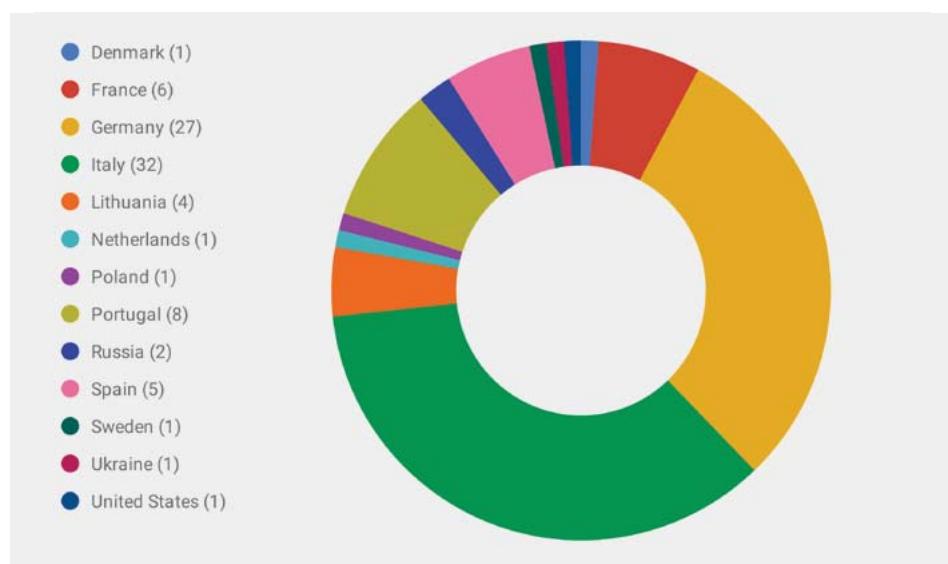
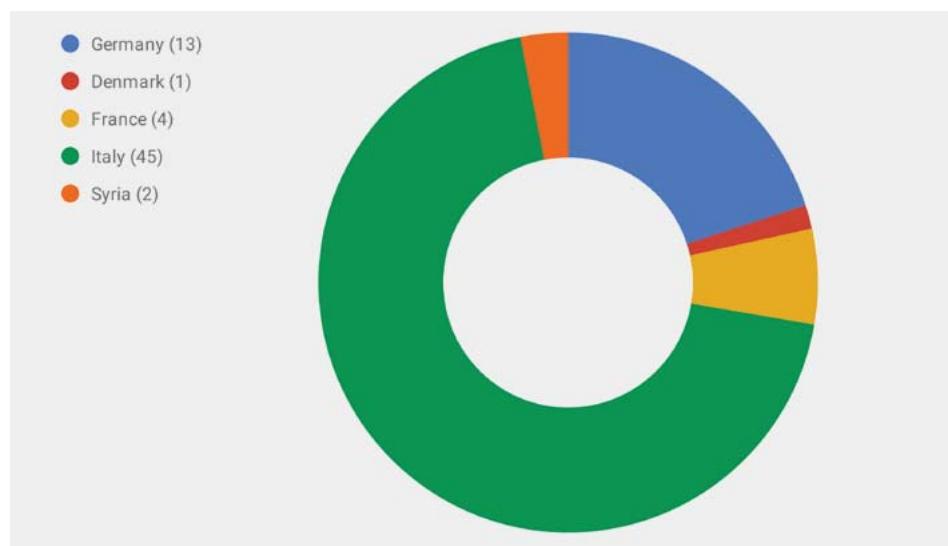


Fig. 3 — Possible countries of origin of immigrants who worked in São Paulo city letterpress printing shops between 1827 and 1927. Source: Data gathered from Brazilian National Archive, São Paulo State Public Archive and Jucesp databases.



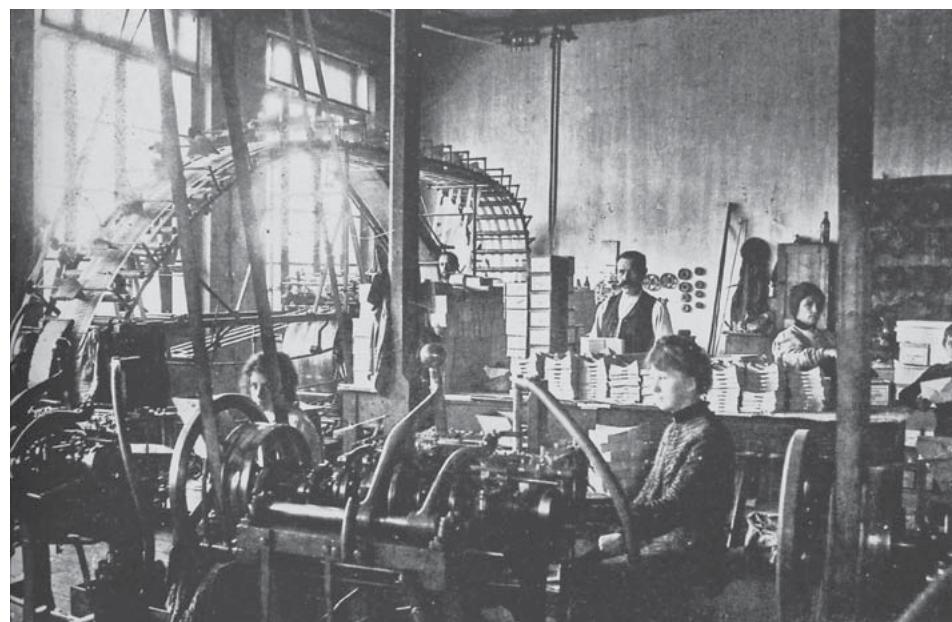
It was not possible to establish the origin or descent of 411 of the 632 persons identified. It was, however, possible to ascertain that 66 of them were Brazilian (16 of them of German, Dutch, Italian or Portuguese descent) and that 155 were immigrants themselves.

The country of origin of 90 of these 155 immigrants, was identified (Fig. 2). Italy, with 35% (32 persons) and Germany with 30% (27 persons) are the most relevant countries, accounting for almost 65% of the immigrants. They are followed by Portugal with eight and France with six immigrants. Other countries include Spain, Lithuania and Russia (respectively counting for five, four

and two immigrants); and Denmark, Sweden, Ukraine, Poland, Netherlands and the United States (countries of origin of 1 person each).

The country of origin of the remaining 65 immigrants was estimated based on their family names (Fig. 3). The estimate based on family names once more resulted in a predominance of immigrants coming from Italy (45 of them), and Germany (13 of them), totalling 89%. Other potential countries of origin are France (for four persons), Syria (for two persons), and Denmark (for one person).

Fig. 4 — Women working in the finishing department of Weiszflog Irmãos & Cia. (reproduced from Cavalcanti & Chagas 2006, p.79).



### 3.1. Immigrant women in São Paulo printing trade

As expected, the vast majority of São Paulo city print shop owners and staff, immigrant or not, so far identified, are men.

Women names were found in social contracts and in print shops names, but little or no information has been found about them. The presence of women among print shop staff is frequently evidenced in photographic records, but information about them is even harder to find. In the photographic record shown in Figure 4, for instance, women are pictured working in the finishing sector of Weiszflog Irmãos & Cia. printing shop, sometime between 1905 and 1922.

One of the few women involved in early São Paulo print trade is Philippina Lichtenberger, a German immigrant who took over her late husband's, Francisco Lichtenberger, lithographic print shop in 1888, and eventually added to it a letterpress print shop. The announcement of a company called Litographia à vapor de PHa. Lichtenberger (PHa. Lichtenberger's steam-powerer litho-

graphic printing shop), published in 1890, describes the company, founded in 1878, as a specialist in printing labels, maps, blueprints, posters, bank letters, invoices, and business cards (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020). The services provided by Philippina Lichtenberger's company, as described in a commercial register filed in 1921 (Jucesp, 2020), included letterpress, lithographic and offset printing.

Information on three other immigrant women involved with letterpress printing in São Paulo in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was found. Emilia Jensen Wilhelmsen, possibly a Danish immigrant, and her husband, the Danish Niels Holger Wilhelmsen, were the owners of a print shop known as *Typographia de Jensen F. Wilhelmsen* (Jensen F. Wilhelmsen's letterpress printing shop) (Livro de registro, 1899-1907, p. 45). Albina Silvi, possibly an Italian immigrant, was the owner of 'Typographia de Dona Albina Silvi' (Ms. Albina Silvi letterpress printing shop) in 1905 (Correio Paulistano, 1905), a company known for printing newspapers for the Italian immigrant community, such as *Il Prugnolo*, edited by Vincenzo di Martino, and *Esperia Sport*, edited by Gennaro Rondano (Livro de registro, 1899-1907, p. 73, 76). Amelia Pozzi Sarcinelli, widow of printer Primo Sarcinelli, both of them Italian immigrants, took over the lithographic and letterpress printing shop company owned by her husband, established in 1913, in 1925 (Jucesp, 2020). The company run by Sarcinelli was active until 2004.

### **3.2. José da Costa Carvalho, and the O Farol Paulistano print shop**

The very first letterpress printing shop established in São Paulo is best known by the name of the newspaper it was set up to publish, *O Farol Paulistano* (The São Paulo Lighthouse). The print shop, however, identified itself, in the pages of the newspaper, as Tipografia Paulistana (São Paulo city letterpress printing shop, in the first issue, published in 1827), as Imprensa de Roa e C. (Roa and Company's press, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 74<sup>th</sup> issue, published in 1827), and as *Typographia de Roa e C.a* (Roa and Company's letterpress printing shop, from the 75<sup>th</sup> issue, published in 1827, to 125<sup>th</sup>, published in 1828).

The owner and founder of this print shop was José da Costa Carvalho, a Brazilian born in Salvador (northeastern Brazil) in 1796, with Portuguese descent (his parents Ignez Maria da Piedade Costa and José da Costa Carvalho were born in São João da Foz, Portugal, Genealogie, 2020), who studied law in Coimbra (Portugal). Costa Carvalho, later entitled the Marquis of Monte Alegre, became an influential politician, judge, and magistrate.

The company was established in downtown São Paulo, close to the Law School that opened that same year, and where Costa Carvalho would teach. Immigrants involved in the company included the Spanish printer José Maria

Roa, and the Italian activist Giovanni Battista Líbero Badaró, known for his liberal thoughts, founder of the second newspaper published by the Farol Paulistano letterpress printing shop: *O Observador Constitucional* (The Constitutional Observer).

The first letterpress print shops served Brazilian politician's interests and it was common for them to be involved with the printing trade, acting as publishers, journalists or print shop owners. *O Farol Paulistano* (figure 5) was four pages long, and addressed local and provincial issues. The serif typefaces and small ornaments used in its layout, and in the pages of other newspapers published by the company, have been catalogued in the Tipografia Paulistana (2020) platform.

Fig. 5 — Detail of *O Farol Paulistano* front page, 1827. Brazilian Periodicals Archive Digital Collection, National Library Foundation.



Besides *O Farol Paulistano* and *O Observador Constitucional*, the print shop was also responsible for other eight newspapers: *O Amigo das Letras* (1830), *Correio Paulistano* (1831-1832), *O Novo Farol Paulistano* (1831-1835), *O Paulista* (1832), *O Federalista* (1832), *Revista da Sociedade Philomathica* (1833), *O Justiceiro* (1834), and *O Paulista Official* (1834-1835). In March 1835, the print shop was sold to the provincial government, and became known as Typographia do Governo (the government's letterpress print shop) (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020).

### 3.3. Jorge Seckler, and the Typographia ao Livro Verde / Typographia a Vapor de Jorge Seckler & C.<sup>a</sup>

Little is known about the personal life of Jorge Seckler (Georg Johann Seckler), a German immigrant who started a career in printing working as an apprentice at Typographia Allemã (the German printing shop), in São Paulo, in 1855. He was born in Hamburg (Germany) in 1940, emigrated to Brazil, married to Joaquina Seckler, had five children and passed away in 1909. An ad published in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* 1862 informs that Seckler and an associate would have bought Hermann Knosel's (another German immigrant) bookbinding shop, and would be continuing to offer the same service in the same address. He later opened his own printing shop, published the longest series of commercial almanacs for São Paulo province and state, and

became the President of Sociedade Artística Beneficente (Beneficent Artistic Society) (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020).

In the almanac *Memorial Paulistano Para o Ano de 1866* (Azevedo Marques, 1865) Seckler is mentioned as the owner of a letterpress printing shop by his name, established at São Bento street, downtown São Paulo. Between 1872 and 1878 Seckler presents himself, in his own publications and in announcements made in almanacs published by other printers, as the owner of *Typographia Livro Verde* (Green Book letterpress printing shop), an establishment that, besides bookbinding and letterpress printing services, also offered account books, office supplies, and ruled paper. This company was located at 14/15 Direita street – the same address of Henrique Schroeder's *Typographia Allemã*, which by then was transferred to a nearby address (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020). It is therefore most possible that Seckler took over, in order to start his own business, the printing offices of the company where he worked earlier as an apprentice (Farias & Onoda, 2015).

In 1882, Seckler announced in the pages of his almanac that he now owned five mechanical presses and an office separated from the printing shop. From the following year on, he announced his company as *Typographia a Vapor de Jorge Seckler & C.ª* (Jorge Seckler & Company steam-powered letterpress printing shop). In 1887 he claimed to be the owner of the "first and best-furnished establishment for letterpress, bookbinding, paper ruling and manufacturing of account books in the province [...] a house founded in 1862", and, in 1889, he informed that the company would have been awarded "in various national and foreign exhibitions". In the pages of *São Paulo State Almanach for year 1891*, the Companhia Industrial de S. Paulo (São Paulo Industrial Company) printing shop, which would publish the ninth and tenth volumes of the almanac series started by Seckler, is described as "successor to Jorge Seckler & C. and Baruel & C.", having as their address the "old Seckler house", located at 14 Direita street (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020).

Other people involved with Seckler's companies were the German typesetter Adolpho Seckler (Adolph von Seckler) and the journalists J. J. Carneiro, Luiz Gama and Francisco Gaspar.

Jorge Seckler print shop stands out in the eighteenth century São Paulo context by the publication of the longest series of commercial almanacs, issued between 1882 and 1895, preceded by an *Indicator* (also a listing of city businesses and relevant information, like a commercial almanac) for year 1878 (Farias & Onoda, 2015). Other relevant publications issued by his press were the periodicals *O Polichinello* (1876, n.1 to n.16), *Revista da Fraternidade Litteraria* (1878) and *Revista do Instituto Polytechnico* (1876).

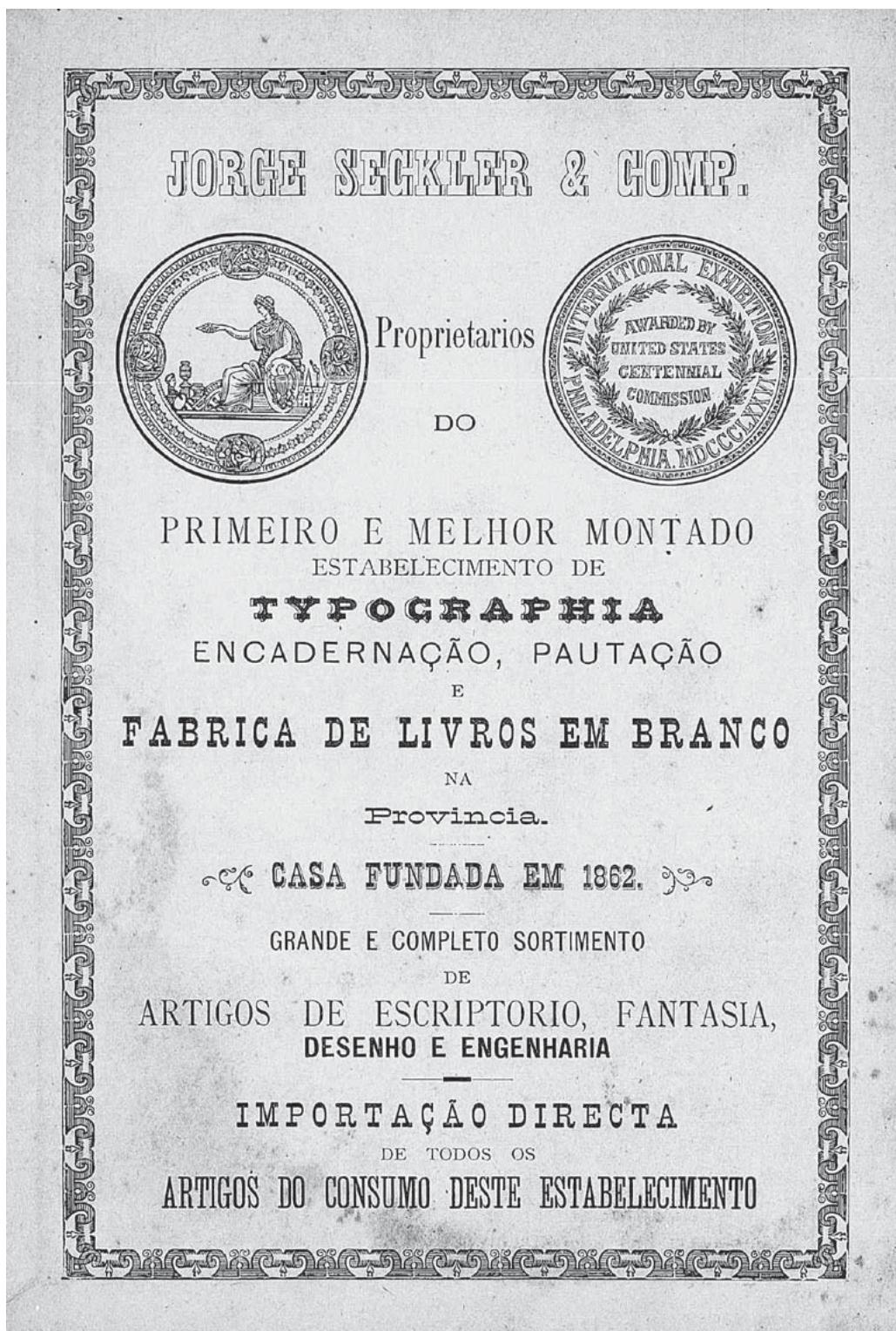


Fig. 6 — Previous page: advertisement of Jorge Seckler & Comp. *Almanach Administrativo, Commercial e Industrial da Província de São Paulo*, 1886 [second cover]. Brazilian Periodicals Archive Digital Collection, National Library Foundation.

A small sample of Seckler's graphic taste can be seen in the advertisement reproduced in figure 6, where a variety of typefaces were employed, along with ornaments and a fancy frame. The typefaces reveal an eclectic repertoire, made up of serif, sans-serif, fantasy and tuscan typefaces. Evidence of the high quality of the works produced by the print shop are given by the inclusion of a medal announcing an award given at the *Philadelphia International Exhibition* of 1876. Another medal, featuring a figure that points forward, standing over an industrial city holding a shield with an eagle and a coat of arms. In this advertisement they claim to be the first and best assembled letterpress printing shop, bookbinding, paper ruling, and account books manufacturer established in the province, and that they have a large assortment of office, fantasy and engineering articles, as well as working with direct import.

The typographic repertoire of Jorge Seckler has been one of the main focus of the research team responsible for the Tipografia Paulistana (2020) platform. Analysis of aspects of this repertoire can be found in Farias & Onoda 2015, Farias & Cunha Lima 2016, Farias, Hanns, Aragão, & Dixon 2018, among others. British, North American, German and Brazilian foundries from Rio de Janeiro are among the possible suppliers of the typefaces used in Secklers's letterpress print shop.

### 3.4. Anatole Louis Garraux, and Casa Garraux

Anatole Louis Garraux was born in 1833, in Paris, and at the age of 17 emigrated to Rio de Janeiro, where he worked with bookseller Baptiste Louis Garnier, also a French émigré, for about 9 years. He moved to São Paulo in 1859, where a potential reading public was being formed due, among other things, to the establishment of the Law School, inaugurated in 1827 (Deaecto 2011, p. 280-291). Garraux initially settled in a small counter next to the popular Livraria do Pândega<sup>4</sup> and, from 1862, began to publish several advertisements in local newspapers, identifying his own commercial establishment as Livraria e Papelaria - A. L. Garraux & Cia. - Livreiros da Academia Jurídica de S. Paulo (Bookstore and Stationery - A. L. Garraux & Co - Booksellers for the Legal Academy of São Paulo) (Correio Paulistano, 1862, Jan 1). The company was formed by Garraux and his friends Guelfe de Lailhacar (probably a French citizen) and Raphael Suarez, a French citizen residing in Paris, as the trio announced in the pages of *Correio Paulistano* (1863). Suarez was possibly the one responsible for supplying French books to the bookshop (Rezende, 1961, p. 59).

The company became well-known by the offer of French books and other European goods, and by printing books in Portuguese. Garraux invested in the publishing industry at the very moment when the sector was in full expansion

in France<sup>5</sup>. For several years he maintained a representative office in Paris, parallel to his bookstore in São Paulo (Deaecto, 2011, p. 287).

Throughout its operation, the bookshop passed through several owners, but always maintained the trade name A. L. Garraux', later Casa Garraux. The Brazilian journalist and writer Raimundo de Menezes compiled the names of the successor companies that took over the bookshop during the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Henry J. Michel (1876), Fischer, Fernandes & Co. (1883), Thiollier Fernandes & Co. (1888), Charles Hildebrand & Co. (1896) (Menezes, 1971, p. 198).

The association with Henry Michel<sup>6</sup>, as announced in the *Correio Paulistano* on May 9, 1876, was preceded by the return of Anatole Louis Garraux to Paris, as announced in January of the same year. Three years later the company started to announce that, in addition to the book and stationery shop, there also was a letterpress printing shop in the same address.

At the turn of the century, Casa Garraux was a property of C. Hildebrand & Co., a company owned by Charles Hildebrand, a Frenchman from Strasburg.

Fig. 7 — Letterhead (detail) from Casa Garraux featuring the names of Garraux successors, C. Hildebrand & C., 1900. Historical Archive of the Polytechnic School of São Paulo collection.



According to documents found in the Historical Archive of the Polytechnic School of São Paulo collection, Casa Garraux then offered exotic items for sale, such as wines, billiard items, military supplies and even cigars produced in Bahia - northeastern Brazil. In regards to printed artifacts and graphic supplies, Casa Garraux offered books, stationery, rubber stamps, subscriptions to foreign newspapers, office supplies, and also advertised working with a steam-powered press for letterpress printing (Fig. 7). This figure shows the detail of a composition that employs a variety of fantasy and manuscript typefaces set within an intricate ornamented frame in a blue color print. In 1906, Casa Garraux started to offer "embossed monograms", a service that remained prominent in their advertisements for a couple of years. A telephone

number started to be included in the company advertisements and letterheads in the early 1910s, as well as binding, ruling and gilding services. In 1913 the company separated the letterpress printing shop from the office, which remained in the old address. In 1918 the name changed to Casa Garraux, Hildebrand & Bressane following the inclusion of Brazilian partner Fausto Bressane. Around 1926, the company was taken over by Bressane.

### **3.5. Heinrich and Theodor Hennies, and the Typographia Hennies Irmãos**

Heinrich Hennies (Henrique Hennies) and Theodor Hennies (Teodoro Hennies) were born in Bremen, Germany, in the 1860's. In 1888 they travelled to Argentina (Cemla, 2019), and then to Brazil, where they established a letterpress print shop in 1891, in São Paulo. The brothers had different partners in the first years, and, for this reason, before being called Hennies Irmãos (Hennies brothers), the name by which it has been best known, the Hennies brothers enterprise was called Hennies, Schulz e Cia., and Hennies & Winger. With the passing of the brothers, Heinrich's son, Theodor's wife, and other relatives took over the business, changing its name to Hennies & Cia. Ltda., a nomenclature that remained in use until the company closed in 1992 (Jucesp, 2020; Piaia, 2018; Tipografia Paulistana, 2020).

In 1906 Typographia Hennies Irmãos moved to a building of their own close to São Paulo Law School, and remained there until 1955. A branch of the company, dedicated to stationery and letterpress printing supplies, opened in the same building in 1934. The printing shop moved again, to an industrial neighbourhood, but the stationery and printing supplies shop remained in the same building, and was active until 1995 (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020).

More than 450 graphic artefacts produced by Hennies brothers and their successors can be found in public libraries and archive collections in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Most of those artefacts are books and periodicals, including publications aimed at different immigrant communities (French, German, Italian, Latvian, Portuguese, and Syrian-Lebanese) (Tipografia Paulistana, 2020). It is worth mentioning the continuous work done by the Hennies for the German immigrant community, they were responsible for at least 80 graphic artifacts produced for schools, charitable and recreational societies, hospitals, and churches.

Their typographic repertoire includes typefaces produced by German foundries (such as H. Berthold AG. / Bauer & Co., S. Emil Gursch, J. G. Schelter & Giesecke, Bauersche Giesserei / Genzsch & Heyse, D. Stempel A.G., and Schriftguss A.G. vorm. Brüder Butter), by the Italian type foundry Società Nebiolo, and by Funtimod – a type foundry established in São Paulo by Ger-

man immigrants (Aragão 2016). Part of this repertoire can be examined in Tipografia Paulistana (2020) digital platform.

The Hennies brothers letterhead shown in Figure 8 was composed with only two typefaces, in different sizes and weights, combined with a vignette. All elements were set within an ornamented frame, and printed in three colours. In this artifact, the company announces that, besides offering letterpress and stereographic printing, binding and paper ruling services, it also sold stationary (pencils, rubber) and graphic equipment and supplies (paper, ink and other articles for letterpress and lithographic printers), many of those imported (possibly from Germany). They also announce being able to manufacture fantasy cards.

Fig. 8 — Hennies Irmãos & Cia. (Hennies brothers) letterpress print shop letterhead (detail), 1928. Historical Archive of the Polytechnic School of São Paulo collection.



### 3.6. Alcebíades Bertolotti, and the Libreria Italiana

The Italian Alcebíades Bertolotti was an important pioneer of Italian book trade in São Paulo. The date and reasons for his emigration to Brazil are still unknown. In the periodicals digitized by the National Library, the earliest record of his name is 1891, in a listing of *Il Messaggero*<sup>7</sup> newspaper editorial staff. In 1892, he acted briefly as the director of this newspaper, a place soon taken over by the Italian Mario Cattaruzza (Trento, 2013, p. 171). In the same year, Bertolotti was appointed as assistant engineer of the São Paulo state public organ dedicated to supervise matters related to land, colonization and immigration (Correio Paulistano, 1892). His bookshop, Libreria Italiana, was the first Italian bookstore in São Paulo, and started its activities during the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The shop was installed in Boa Vista Street, and had another Italian as a partner - Aldovrandi (first name unknown), who would have returned to Italy a few years after (Menezes, 1971, p. 203). Besides acting as journalist, engineer, and bookseller, Bertolotti was also an important political activist at a time of great expansion of the Italian com-

munity in São Paulo (Schmidt, 1962, p. 10). He carried out intense militancy of socialist orientation and in defence of the Italian workers' condition in São Paulo. In 1899 he was made redundant from public office at *Inspeção de Terras, Colonização e Imigração do Estado de São Paulo* due to his involvement in 1<sup>st</sup> May celebrations, in favor of workers' rights (Correio Paulistano, 1899). In 1900, participating in the *Lega Democratica Italiana*, Bertolotti became involved in the creation of *Avanti!* an important newspaper of the Italian community in São Paulo, which corresponded to that by the same name published by the Italian socialist party in Italy (Gimenes, 2018, p. 22).

Fig. 9 — Fratelli Bertolotti (Bertolotti Brothers) letterhead (detail), 1905. Historical Archive of the Polytechnic School of São Paulo collection.



Libreria Italiana bookshop became also a letterpress print shop only in 1903, according to the application for a print shop licence found in the Municipal Historical Archive of São Paulo, and signed by Fratelli Bertolotti (Bertolotti brothers). In the document, the address of the print shop is different from that of the bookshop, but only one block away. From this moment on, all printed documentation relating to the bookshop (advertisements and letterheads) began to mention that their letterpress print shop operated with steam-powered machinery, substituted, in 1907, by electricity-based presses. Figure 9 shows an invoice issued for the Polytechnic School of São Paulo in 1905, fully written in Italian language, except for the last word – Deve (owns), in Portuguese. It is printed in two colors: red for text, set in a variety of typographic styles, ornaments and vignettes; and light blue for a frame ornamented with floral motifs. The invoice announces that the company offers "a complete assortment" of novels, modern, historical and religious books, dictionaries, instruction and scholar books, and also printing of custom visit cards, envelopes, letterheads, invoices, receipts and brochures.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Alcebíades Bertolotti became involved in various meetings of groups concerned with working class rights, and especially with

the émigré Italian working class community of São Paulo. His bookshop and print shop Libreria Italiana was sold in 1917 to another Italian immigrant, Antonio Tisi (Menezes, 1971, p. 204).

#### 4. Final considerations

The history of letterpress printing in São Paulo city begins with a great concern for local political issues, as can be exemplified by the main contents of the newspapers printed by O Farol Paulistano print shop. Political issues were over time combined with diversified and expanded concerns, as can be seen in the commercial almanachs produced by Seckler and other printers, where commercial, industrial, and other societal matters prevail. The waves of immigrants arriving to Brazil, in particular in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, brought along technical knowledge and a variety of approaches, contributing greatly to local printing culture. This was a very rich moment in terms of cultural expansion, and it was not different for printing as a social field and as a creative practice. The multiple languages and different aesthetic tastes brought by immigrants were combined and applied in printed artifacts. Although working, in a first moment, mostly for their own immigrant communities, they would eventually provide services for a multicultural audience.

The immigrants who pioneered letterpress printing in São Paulo came from different countries such as Italy, Germany, Portugal, France, Spain, Lithuania, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Ukraine, Poland, Netherlands and the United States, but Italians and Germans prevailed followed by Portuguese and Spanish. They played an important role not only in regards the advancement of printing techniques and the configuration of graphic artifacts, but also seem to have influenced decisions on the import of graphic supplies, contributing to the predominance of German and Italian machinery and typefaces in a time of consolidation of the city print industry and trade. Data compiled from statistical reports issued in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century shows an expressive amount of foundry type imported from Germany, mainly, but also from Italy, more than from other countries (such as Argentina, Austria, Austro-Hungarian Empire, France, Great Britain, Netherlands, Japan, Portugal, Spain, and the United States).

The influences exerted by immigrants on São Paulo city aesthetic taste and material culture arise mostly from commercial networks they maintained with their countries of origin. It manifested through the import and circulation of books and stationery products, in the case of Garraux and Bertolotti, and of printing supplies and machinery, in the case of Seckler and the Hennies brothers. We were not able to trace, however, any kind of relation between José da Costa Carvalho, and Portuguese type founders or manufac-

turers of printing supplies. European manufacturers known to have supplied foundry type to São Paulo printers include the German foundries H. Bertold AG. / Bauer & Co., S. Emil Gursch, J. G. Schelter & Giesecke, Bauersche Giesserei / Genzsch & Heyse, D. Stempel A.G., and Schriftguss A.G. vorm. Brüder Butter, and the Italian type foundry Società Nebiolo.

In regards to aesthetic influences, we can sense some alignment with French typographic taste and nineteenth century newspaper design in *O Farol Paulistano* and other publications by the same printers. In the mid to late nineteenth century, the influence of European eclecticism and “artistic printing” trends can be noted in Jorge Seckler’s almanacs, and also in Casa Garraux and Libreria Italiana prints. In the early twentieth century, influences of Art Nouveau and modern styles can be found in works published by the Hennies. The typefaces used by printers range from the restrained repertoire of high contrast and filiform serif letters accompanied by discreet ornaments, employed by *O Farol Paulistano*, to the profusion of tuscan, ornamented and grotesque typefaces present in Jorge Seckler’s commercial almanacs. The Bertolotti brothers and Casa Garraux also employed an eclectic repertoire of types and printer ornaments, including intricate compositions using floriated frames and vignettes, combined with fantasy, script, serif and sans-serif typefaces. The Hennies employed a less eclectic repertoire, favouring grotesque and Jugendstil typefaces, combined with symmetrical compositions and moderate ornamentation. The result of these mixed influences for São Paulo city print culture (and to Brazilian print culture more widely) is the development of a typographic culture based on appropriations, hybridizations and reinterpretations of nineteenth and early twentieth century European trends, that eventually surrendered to German modern taste.

Letterpress printing shop owners were not always typesetters or printers themselves, but their contribution to São Paulo print culture is key. They certainly played an important role in deciding the visual language adopted in the artifacts issued by their companies, bringing aspects of the visual culture of their countries to São Paulo, along with typographic supplies and technologies. All this happened in an important moment for the development of São Paulo city, coinciding with a period of growing economic wealth and early efforts for industrialization, resulting in the transformation of a late runner in the establishment of the printing press in the major Brazilian printing industry center.

Further studies that might contribute to a better understanding of the role immigrants play in São Paulo city print culture should look at the life history of employees and young apprentices, including women, who worked in print shops and type foundries; and at printing equipment and machinery imports

to Brazil. Studies comparing the workflows of printing shops in São Paulo to that of other countries such as Germany, Italy, and Portugal could also reveal important coincidences and peculiarities.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Available at SEAD - Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados (State System of Data Analysis Foundation).

<sup>2</sup> The complete list of those companies can be found in the timeline available in the Tipografia Paulistana website ([https://www.fau.usp.br/tipografiapaulistana](http://www.fau.usp.br/tipografiapaulistana)).

<sup>3</sup> Names of those other countries are not specified in the Secretariat of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works of São Paulo State reports.

<sup>4</sup> This bookstore, owned by Portuguese José Fernandes de Sousa, was popular between 1860 and 1870, most possibly because it specialized in selling legal books, demanded by the Law School (Pina, 2015, p. 49).

<sup>5</sup> Deaecto (2011, p. 288) located, in the National Archives of France, a series of documents demonstrating the continuous increase in applications for licences to open bookshops and print shops in France during the 19th century.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Michel was probably the husband of Louise Julie Michel, Garraux's sister (Deaecto, 2011, p. 299).

<sup>7</sup> *Il Messaggero* was a bilingual newspaper (it published texts in Portuguese and Italian), of socialist inclinations, that circulated in São Paulo during the last decade of the 19th century.