



***VERBA VOLANT, SCRIPTA MANENT!* Representations about the editorial project of the
Mensario do Jornal do Commercio (1938-1946)¹**

VERBA VOLANT, SCRIPTA MANENT! Representações sobre o projeto editorial do Mensario do
Jornal do Commercio (1938-1946)

¡*VERBA VOLANT, SCRIPTA MANENT!* Representaciones sobre el proyecto editorial del Mensario
do Jornal do Commercio (1938-1946)

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Abstract

This study falls within the field of the History of Education, understanding education as a social manifestation and recognizing the educational phenomenon as an essential element to ensure access to culture. Our aim is to carry out a comparative analysis between the initial proposal of the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* (RJ), published between March 1938 and September 1946, and the representations constructed by different actors about the issues of this collection throughout its circulation. We start from the hypothesis that the *Mensario* was a political-cultural strategy of the company led by Elmano Cardim, conceived as an instrument of non-formal education aimed at fostering readership and disseminating cultural and political values aligned with the nationalist project of the Estado Novo. Through intellectual production, discursive rhetoric, and the symbolic control of reading, the producers of the *Mensario* intervened in national designs, acting as mediators between written culture, cultural policy, and the construction of a new idea of nationality.

Keywords: Education; Press; Intellectuals; Elmano Cardim; Vargas Government.

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Resumo

Este estudo insere-se no campo da História da Educação, compreendendo a educação como manifestação social e reconhecendo o fenômeno educativo como elemento indispensável para assegurar o acesso à cultura. Nosso objetivo é realizar uma análise comparativa entre a proposta inicial do *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* (RJ), publicado entre março de 1938 e setembro de 1946, e as representações construídas por diferentes sujeitos sobre os exemplares dessa coleção ao longo de sua circulação. Partimos da hipótese de que o *Mensario* constituiu uma estratégia político-cultural da empresa liderada por Elmano Cardim, concebida como instrumento de educação não formal voltado à formação de leitores e à difusão de valores culturais e políticos compatíveis com o projeto nacionalista do Estado Novo. Por meio da produção intelectual, da retórica discursiva e do controle simbólico da leitura, os produtores do *Mensario* intervieram nos desígnios nacionais, atuando como mediadores entre a cultura escrita, a política cultural e a construção de uma nova ideia de nacionalidade.

Palavras-chave: Educação; Imprensa; Intelectuais; Elmano Cardim; Governo Vargas.

Resumen

Este estudio se inscribe en el campo de la Historia de la Educación, entendiendo la educación como manifestación social y reconociendo el fenómeno educativo como elemento indispensable para garantizar el acceso a la cultura. Nuestro objetivo es realizar un análisis comparativo entre la propuesta inicial del *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* (RJ), publicado entre marzo de 1938 y septiembre de 1946, y las representaciones construidas por diferentes sujetos sobre los ejemplares de esta colección a lo largo de su circulación. Partimos de la hipótesis de que el *Mensario* constituyó una estrategia político-cultural de la empresa dirigida por Elmano Cardim, concebida como un instrumento de educación no formal orientado a la formación de lectores y a la difusión de valores culturales y políticos compatibles con el proyecto nacionalista del Estado Novo. A través de la producción intelectual, la retórica discursiva y el control simbólico de la lectura, los productores del *Mensario* intervinieron en los designios nacionales, actuando como mediadores entre la cultura escrita, la política cultural y la construcción de una nueva idea de nacionalidad.

Palabras clave: Educación; Prensa; Intelectuales; Elmano Cardim; Gobierno Vargas.

Introduction²

In the 1930s and 1940s, the formation of the modern Brazilian human being was conceived as an educational ritual aimed at shaping the individual as a national being³. Our proposed study fits within this framework, understanding education as a social manifestation and, therefore, as an indispensable phenomenon for providing individuals with the conditions for access to culture as a higher stage of civilization⁴. We are interested in examining the means conceived, produced, and used to realize the educational act in its symbolic and formative dimensions.

The objective of this article is to examine the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* (RJ) as an object of the History of Brazilian Education, investigating its function as a vehicle for non-formal education⁵, linked to the cultural and political project of the *Estado Novo*. This positioning is justified because the magazine, while not a school textbook or strictly a pedagogical publication, played a formative role by selecting, organizing, and disseminating content aimed at instructing and shaping mindsets, operating in the symbolic space where written culture, nationalism, and moral pedagogy intersect. When considering the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* as an object of investigation, it is necessary to situate it also within the field of the History of Education. Although not a school periodical or aimed at formal education, its role is part of what Antonio Nóvoa (1999) identifies as expanded educational processes, in which the press, books, and other printed matter operate as spaces for cultural and intellectual development.

Converging with what was demonstrated in Raphael Machado's thesis (2023), the *Mensario* assumed the role of organizing and legitimizing a repertoire of knowledge that, through the rigorous selection of authors and themes, produced models of intellectual and moral behavior. This perspective is similar to the analysis of Diana Vidal (2005), for whom the press is a privileged source for understanding the pedagogical practices and concepts that circulate in society, as it translates and standardizes worldviews. As Dermeval Saviani (2007) observes, the History of Education must consider not only school institutions, but also the cultural means and practices that perform formative functions, revealing the links between education and the social project. In this sense, the *Mensario* constitutes a privileged artifact for analyzing how the literate elites participated in the symbolic construction of the nation, especially by disseminating values and knowledge aligned with the ideology of the *Estado Novo*. Diana Vidal and Ana Maria Magaldi (2005) note that the study of cultural and educational publications allows us to understand the connections between formal and informal education, while the approach proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (2007) on distinction and cultural capital helps to identify the mechanisms of symbolic legitimization present in the selection of content.

² The Transcriptions made from historical documents, especially those from the press and the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*, fully preserve the spelling and any errors present in the original texts, respecting the orthography and linguistic structure of the period in which they were produced. This approach seeks to confer legitimacy on the document, ensuring its integrity as a source and maintaining the historical and authorial authority of its creators.

³ We based ourselves on the works of Bomeny (1999; 2001), Capelato (2003); Velloso (1997), Oliveira (1982), Gomes (2000), Nunes (2001).

⁴ To read more about the educational phenomenon, see the text by Sérgio Castanho (2011).

⁵ Formal education refers to the set of institutionalized, intentionally structured, and sequential teaching and learning processes, generally offered by schools and universities, leading to official certification and recognition. Non-formal education, on the other hand, encompasses intentional, but non-school-based, educational practices that occur outside the formal system and have diverse objectives, including cultural, political, and community-based, and focused on civic development, expanding cultural repertoire, and social participation (GADOTTI, 2005). In the case of the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*'s, the concept of non-formal education is understood as cultural mediation carried out through the press, in which the reading and dissemination of selected texts function as instruments for the formation of habits, values, and social representations.

The magazine not only brought together contributions from national and international intellectuals, but also structured an editorial project that operated as a pedagogy for the elite, dictating cultural hierarchies, selecting authorized memories, and silencing dissonant narratives. As Circe Bittencourt (2004) analyzes, this type of printed material contributes to the formation of an education in historical sensitivity, in which readers learn to interpret the past from a specific cultural matrix. The *Mensário*, in this sense, was "a symbolic manual of national identity, disseminated under the logic of a non-school education, but with clear objectives of moral and cultural instruction." (MACHADO, 2023, pp. 198-200).

From this perspective, the collection should be understood as a source for the History of Education, since, as Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke (1998) points out, printed matter carries educational projects that go beyond the walls of the school, constituting a field of diffuse pedagogical action, but with great symbolic reach. The *Mensário* thus occupied a hybrid space between a cultural magazine and an intellectual compendium, in which implicit pedagogy manifested itself in thematic ordering, the ritualized repetition of certain values, and the construction of an ideal reader aligned with the literate elites of the period (MACHADO, 2023).

Published between March 1938 and September 1946, the *Mensário do Jornal do Commercio* comprised 99 volumes bound into 33 volumes, totaling 4,365 texts by 797 contributors. Each volume had approximately 300 pages and 37 to 65 articles selected from the editions of the *Jornal do Commercio* (RJ) between January 1938 and March 1946 (MACHADO, 2023). We assume that the collection constituted a political-cultural strategy of the company led by Elmano Cardim, general director of *Jornal do Commercio* and partner at Rodrigues & Co., conceived as an informal education tool aimed at developing readers and disseminating cultural and political values aligned with the nationalist project of the *Estado Novo*. In this sense, the periodical was part of the power struggles that, as observed according to research, "they guided cultural practices and shaped representations, seeking to disseminate interpretations and worldviews, as well as models of culture and society intended to influence those who would think about and propose the direction of republican Brazil" (MACHADO, 2023, p. 142).

An analysis of its materiality reveals that *Mensário* presented editions of high graphic standards, with circulation and finishing that presupposed high costs. Prices ranged between \$8,000 and \$12,000 for paperback copies and between \$15,000 and \$25,000 for hardcover copies, in addition to the option of an annual subscription (MACHADO, 2023, p. 149-150). In comparison, cultural magazines of the time, such as *Cultura Política*, cost Cr\$3.00, and *Revista do Brasil*, between \$3,000 and \$4.00, highlighting the difference in editorial and audience positioning. As Machado (2023, p. 150) notes, "the price of a copy was equivalent to approximately seven hours of work for a minimum-wage worker, or the value of eight kilos of beef." This fact illustrates the elitist nature of the printed matter, which was primarily aimed at the most affluent intellectual and economic classes.

Distribution combined subscriptions, individual sales at newsstands, and free shipping to cultural institutions and libraries, both national and international. This practice, as Luca (2005) points out, integrated editorial and marketing strategies aimed at increasing visibility and consolidating prestige. Furthermore, the possibility of purchasing "'back issues' and the sturdy binding reinforced the collectible dimension of the printed matter, which was closer to a book than an ephemeral periodical." (MACHADO, 2023, p. 152).

This materiality and the careful selection of texts conferred upon *Mensário* the role of an instrument of distinction, in the Bourdieu sense. According to Machado (2023, p. 153), "the *Mensário* was constituted as an object of prestige, designed to legitimize certain knowledge and silence others," functioning as a space for cultural consecration. In this sense, it resembles editorial projects focused on informal education and the formation of intellectual elites, in which materiality was not only a support but also a symbolic element of legitimacy (BOURDIEU, 2013; MONARCHA, 1997).

Considered by the historiography of education as a vehicle for informal education, the *Mensario* played a role in the intellectual and moral formation of its readers by offering a set of legitimate texts that established parameters for "good reading" and the construction of a national cultural canon. As Nóvoa (1999) suggests, analyzing these publications allows us to understand how networks of intellectual formation and sociability were forged outside of school, yet deeply linked to hegemonic political and cultural projects. As Saviani (2007, p. 15) observes, the History of Education is not limited to the study of school institutions, but must also include the cultural environments and practices that perform formative functions, revealing the links between education and the social project. In this sense, the *Mensario* constitutes a privileged artifact for investigating how literate elites participated in the symbolic construction of the nation, especially by disseminating values and knowledge aligned with the ideology of the Estado Novo.

According to Raphael Machado's thesis, "the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*, by bringing together selected texts and organizing them into volumes, produced material that circulated as a reference work and cultural compendium, contributing to shaping patterns of reading, thought, and intellectual conduct" (MACHADO, 2023, p. 87). Vidal and Magaldi (2005) emphasize that the study of cultural and educational publications allows us to understand the connections between formal and informal education, while Bourdieu's (2007) perspective on distinction and cultural capital helps identify the mechanisms of symbolic legitimization present in the selection and hierarchization of content. Thus, even outside the school environment, the *Mensario* performed a pedagogical function by establishing a textual repertoire that guided interpretations of the past, worldviews, and models of intellectual and moral behavior, functioning as a kind of manual of the legitimate culture of the period.

1. The *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*: a collection of collaborative articles (1938-1946)

The news of the launch of the *Mensario* appeared on Wednesday, February 16, 1938, in issue no. 116, Year 111 of the *Jornal do Commercio*, and could be read at other times throughout the same year⁶. The *Mensario*'s advertisement was prominently featured on the front page, in the upper right corner. Below, we present the presentation of our subject matter:

The *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*
"Its Appearance this Month"

The collaborative articles we publish in our Sunday issues constitute a positive and brilliant synthesis of national culture, both due to the high standing of the authors and the relevance of the topics covered. Some are works of erudition, others of literary prowess, all, without exception, a source of spiritual pleasure for the country's intellectual elite (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, February 16, 1938, Year 111, Issue No. 116, p. 1).

This announcement, marked as the "appearance" of the *Mensario* in February 1938, temporally locates the existence of this publication, defining its place in the history of the Rodrigues & Co. company, which included, in addition to the newspaper and other printed matter, the printing press that served private clients. It presents the collaborative articles as a "positive and brilliant synthesis of national culture," a kind of portrait of Brazilian intellectuals. Their value resided in the content and themes presented by the writing and by those who signed them. This indicates that the group that wrote was linked to the "high name of the values that

⁶ Throughout March 1938, advertisements appeared promoting and selling *Mensario*. These advertisements became less frequent from May and June 1938 onwards. In the advertisement of Thursday, March 10, 1938 (Issue 134), we find an announcement that *Mensario* would also be sold in bookstores.

subscribe to them" and that the readership was the "national intellectual elite." These assignments for the Sunday articles published in the newspaper define the scope of its pages, based on the type of content that would appear in the *Mensario*, the contributors to its pages, and the implied reader. And the announcement continues:

Due to the great interest generated by the articles published by '*Jornal do Commercio*,' we have long been asked to compile, in a monthly volume, the valuable contributions from our Sunday issues, so that they can be easily saved for necessary reference or for the pleasure of rereading. We have therefore decided to begin publishing the *Mensario do 'Jornal do Commercio*,' which will thus be a national high-culture magazine, the likes of which do not yet exist in our country. Printed in a special format with meticulous care for easy binding, *Mensario* will be a book of great interest and a valuable resource for those who wish to stay abreast of Brazil's intellectual movement (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, February 16, 1938, Year 111, Issue No. 116, p. 1).

In the advertisement, we find the imagined readership, belonging to the country's intellectual elite who enjoyed cultural synthesis. This synthesis refers both to the content of the articles and to the individuals who produce them. The magazine is designed for them, and this is the target audience for its consumption. Herein lies the motivation for *Mensario*'s existence: the request from the newspaper's readers⁷ that it was necessary to cut out and produce a new, monthly object, indicating its frequency, in order to save the articles for future reference and reading. This also constitutes the distinction between magazine and newspaper.

Regina Crespo (2011), a scholar of Latin American cultural magazines, describes the magazine as a printed medium between the newspaper and the book. The newspaper is connected to the present day of daily communication and, therefore, has a shorter lifespan, both in its content and materiality, than the book, which is postulated as a medium designed to last a long time, whether due to its content or the type of material. The *Mensario*, therefore, was designed primarily as a magazine to be a more time-resistant source of research and reading, also indicating the possibility of expanding the readership of collaborative articles, as well as the company's own brand within the intellectual landscape of the *Estado Novo*.

The articles published in the *Jornal do Commercio* had national and even international circulation. In the "*Várias Notícias*" section, it is possible to read how the recipients appropriated the discourses, emphasizing what appealed to them. This is the case of Percy Alvin Martin, an American professor at Stanford University, who read a text by Mario Pinto Serva, a Brazilian and contributor to the newspaper, and decided to send the author a letter congratulating him on his writing:

From Mr. Percy Alvin Martin, a professor at Stanford University in California, our contributor, Dr. Mario Pinto Serva, received the following letter, dated January 22: "I feel it would be remiss in the fulfillment of a pleasant duty if I did not send you a line of congratulations regarding your remarkable article published in the '*Jornal do Commercio*' on December 25, 2018, under the title *O Gênio*

⁷ We have not yet found any documents proving that readers requested the articles to be collected as described above. We found several publications in *Jornal do Commercio* and other Rio de Janeiro press outlets between 1938 and 1946 that presented opinions and acknowledgements about receiving and reading copies of *Mensario*. Interestingly, in the *Acervo Fernando de Azevedo* at USP, we can find several newspaper clippings referring to the collaborative articles published on Sundays.

Tutelar da América.' I appreciated it especially its profound and dramatic references to General George Washington, the Patriarch of our Homeland. It is certainly gratifying to read such a remarkable tribute from the pen of one of our Brazilian friends. It is a source of great regret for me that I did not have the pleasure of meeting you in person last summer. I hope I will be happier on my next trip to the beautiful and hospitable country. – Percy Alvim Martin (Jornal do Commercio, year 111, February 16, 1938, no. 116, p. 4).

The letter, dated January 22, 1938, was published on February 16, 1938, in the aforementioned section. It was likely presented by Serva to the newspaper's editorial staff, who in turn saw it as an opportunity to rhetorically claim the contributor's praise for themselves, as legitimizing the publication of his and other texts. Thus, by congratulating the contributor, the publication of the letter indirectly congratulates the newspaper and conditions its international circulation and its value to intellectuals from other countries, such as the Stanford professor. It is worth remembering that the letter was published on the same day that the *Mensario* project was announced in the newspaper's pages. As a possible interpretation, we understand that letters and comments like these influenced the creation of this publication and its justification that the periodical's texts would serve as a basis for studies, as the "appearance" announcement states.

Another similar piece of information, this time from an Argentine jurist and historian, can be read two days later. On February 18, in the same section of the newspaper, we find Ricardo Levene congratulating the newspaper's contributor, Macario de Lemos Picanço, with a card, as we can read below:

Our contributor, Dr. Macario de Lemos Picanço, received the following card from the Argentine jurist and historian, Mr. Ricardo Levene, professor at the Buenos Aires Law School and President of the Board of American History and Numismatics: "I congratulate you on your renowned article 'Intellectual Approximation,' published in the '*Jornal do Commercio*,' which I have just read. It is the work of a statesman. And many thanks—sincere expressions of my heart—for the kind words you give me. Yours sincerely and affectionately—Ricardo Levene (Jornal do Commercio, year 111, February 18, 1938, no. 118, p. 4).

These two quotations indicate the circulation of the newspaper, the texts contained within them, and how they were read by different individuals within the universe of Brazilian and international intellectuals. This indicates the capacity for international exchange of ideas, themes, and social positions in the historical context of the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore, we understand newspapers and magazines as written media that provide conditions for the examination and appropriation of content and representations by readers; as objects of production and circulation of knowledge and the creation of networks of sociability through intellectuals.

According to Luciano Faria Filho (2017, p. 52), through periodicals, "[...] Brazilian intellectuals congregated and disputed interpretations of Brazil, as well as key positions in the emerging editorial and political markets. These periodicals constituted places and networks of sociability." It is not impossible to confirm whether Percy Martin and Ricardo Levene were in their home countries at the time of writing and sending the aforementioned letter and card, respectively. However, the content of their messages, recording what they read and how they interpreted texts by *Jornal do Commercio* contributors, suggests that both regularly read the newspaper. This data reinforces the understanding of our source as a medium for new and

repeated readings, enabling the circulation and reinterpretation of texts among readers who, by consuming this object, actively participated in its network of meanings.

These questions seem to us to have been decisive, based on the advertisement, in initiating the *Mensario* collection, defined as a "national magazine of high culture, the likes of which do not yet exist in our midst." This statement indicates *Mensario*'s place within the context of the *Estado Novo*, and that it can also be read as a magazine concerned with national issues, so burning in the political and cultural discourses of the period, thus adapting to the needs of existence in the face of censorship issues and even of the readership of other magazine-type publications.

In the case of *Mensario*, its producers classified it as a cultural magazine or cultural magazine, as the terms vary in historiography⁸. Cultural magazines "[...] chronicle their own circumstances but from a slightly more measured perspective" (CRESPO, 2011, p. 98-99). They belong to a "hybrid zone" between the journalistic space and the artistic-intellectual realm. The magazines' theme is their present time, the immediate and the transitory. Therefore, they allow for a greater connection with their own historical setting.

historical and, thus, influence it through its political-cultural project.

The categorization of *Mensario* as a book refers to the type of binding and editorial care the cultural magazine received. This also refers to the representation that seeks to be defined around the printed material as a place for pleasurable, easy, and repeatable reading. In contrast to texts published in newspaper format, articles in the magazine in book format could present different reading conditions, be it in their graphic style, font size, content distribution across pages, or cover style. Since the idea is to preserve the articles, the magazine is designed as an archive of what the newspaper published, a necessary resource for those who belong to or aspire to belong to what is defined in the advertisement as the "intellectual movement of Brazil."

Reading *Mensario*, therefore, for its producers, offered readers ideal conditions for the development of the subject for insertion, continuity, and/or participation in the so-called highbrow media of the national scene. This is the core of its editorial project as a cultural proposal for intervention in society through intellectual development and/or the maintenance of the intellectual conditions of the Brazilians for whom the publication is intended. We continue with the announcement:

With an average of 300 pages, on high-quality paper, with an index by author and subject, each volume of the *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* will bring together the main contributions of a month and will always appear in the second half of the month following the publication date. With this initiative, we hope to meet the frequently expressed desires of our readers, seeking to serve the intelligence and culture of the country, in accordance with the purposes that inspire us in the Brazilian press (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, February 16, 1938, Year 111, Issue No. 116, p. 1).

The monthly publication frequency is the very name of the publication; this is one of the defining characteristics of what a magazine is. And every magazine has a graphic dimension that reflects its page size as one of the images identified *a priori* by the reader. Bringing together the main contributions published on Sundays of a single month, each published magazine will be extensive in terms of page count. *Mensario* is indeed a voluminous monthly magazine. However, the large number indicated in the advertisement, as well as the paper type, also informs the magazine's choice of a similarity to the book format and aligns with the type of reader this voluminous publication aims to

⁸ For more information on culture magazines see: CRESPO (2011, 2004); MARTINS (2001); BEIGEL (2003). We chose the concept "culture magazine" because it is similar to the way *Mensario* was classified when it first appeared: a national high culture magazine.

reach, capable of reading a large number of pages monthly and/or collecting large printed volumes in better preservation conditions than newspapers. The information about its graphic presentation, with an index by subject and theme, also legitimizes this choice of a magazine similar to a book. It also announces what is expected of the magazine and its content, which will bring together some contributions from a month's newspaper. This part of the advertisement is crucial to understanding the content of this written format. It states that there is a selection process for what should be included, and this is the central point of the magazine's editorial process.

We sought information about the publication period of each volume of *Mensário*. We revisited the *Hemeroteca Virtual da Biblioteca Nacional* page and, by going through each issue of 1938, were able to find the publication dates for that year's volumes, whenever possible. Below, we present the data found for the first four volumes (12 issues) of 1938:

Chart- Publication period of each issue of *Mensario* from 1938.

Edition of <i>Jornal do Commercio</i> in which the publication of an issue of <i>Mensario</i> was announced	<i>Mensario</i> reference month	Volume	Volume	Number
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.132, p.1. Monday and Tuesday, March 7 and 8, 1938	January 1938	I	I	1
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.152, p.1. Thursday, March 31, 1938	February 1938	I	II	2
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.179, p.1. Monday, May 2 and 3, 1938	March 1938	I	III	3
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.205, p.1. Thursday, June 2 and 3, 1938	April 1938	II	I	4
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.230, p.1. Friday, July 1, 1938	May 1938	II	II	5
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.258, p.1. Wednesday, August 3, 1938	June 1938	II	III	6
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 111, n.281, p.1. Wednesday, August 29 and 30, 1938	July 1938	III	I	7
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 112, n.02, p.2. Sunday, October 2, 1938	August 1938	III	II	8
The November and December newspapers in <i>Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional</i> are not digitized	September 1938	III	III	9
The November and December newspapers in <i>Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional</i> are not digitized	October 1938	IV	I	10
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 112, n.80, p.1. Monday and Tuesday, January 3, 1939	November 1938	IV	II	11
We did not find	December 1938	IV	III	12
<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , Anno 112, n.135, p.1. Thursday, March 9, 1939	January 1939	V	I	13

Source: *Hemeroteca Virtual da Biblioteca Nacional*. <http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/> accessed on May 8, 2020, at 9:45 AM.

This data allows us to better understand the timing of publication and circulation of the volumes. There was no rigid, previously established schedule, and the monthly frequency applied only to the origin of selected content from the *Jornal do Commercio* editions. The intention to maintain the publication of one volume per month is evident, although this regularity was not fully achieved. Nor was there a fixed pattern for release dates, as the pattern observed in the first year was not repeated in subsequent years. Even so, between March 1938 and September 1946, 99 issues of the *Mensario* collection were published, all corresponding to the 99 months of circulation of the *Jornal do Commercio* from January 1938 to March 1946, without merging volumes and without interruption in the editorial flow.

The selection of authors and texts, subsequently released into circulation, is central to understanding the representations formed about what intellectuals should reread and preserve as a reference for future research, based on what had already published in *Jornal do Commercio*. In the magazine's production, the rhetoric employed presents itself as a response to the public's desires, converting intention into action. However, at the end of the launch announcement, it becomes clear that the content should, above all, serve the interests of national intelligence and culture, "[...] in accordance with the purposes that inspire us in the Brazilian press." And what, after all, would this purpose of the editors and writers be? Elmano Cardim asserted that the pages of the press should be conceived as instruments of national education⁹.

Without the sum total of information and lessons contained in a newspaper, with the culture it disseminates through its collaboration, without the tradition that has been emphasized in its past, national education would not benefit from the strength it accumulates and the light projected by this powerful agent of civilization: the press. In the history of *Jornal do Commercio*, this mission of the press is, like no other publication, inconclusively affirmed (CARDIM, 1978, p. 50)

Educating society through communication was the central objective that the director assigned to the press. In this sense, *Mensario* was conceived as an educational instrument, presented in magazine format and resulting from the careful selection of texts previously published in *Jornal do Commercio*. Its circulation was inscribed in a new temporality and responded to the demands of a specific historical context: the *Estado Novo*.

2. The reception of *Mensario*: A collection to keep and read later

Using the National Library's digital collection, using the period search tool and the keyword "*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*," 137 occurrences were identified between 1930 and 1939, distributed across seven different printed issues, of which 123 were found within the pages of *Jornal do Commercio* itself. Analysis of this material allowed us to identify the magazine's circulation period, the publication dates of each issue, its prices, and aspects of its materiality, in addition to offering clues about its circulation and reception within the context of the time.¹⁰

⁹ Elmano Cardim's defense of the press as an "educator of nationality" is part of the cultural policies of the *Estado Novo* (1937–1945), which attributed to the press an active role in the moral and civic formation of citizens. During this period, publications such as *Mensario* operated as symbolic mediators between the state and society, disseminating content that reinforced nationalism, political centralization, and the cultural legitimization of elites. By affirming this role, Cardim aligned the editorial project of *Jornal do Commercio* and *Mensario* with the regime's guidelines, in line with the ideology that the press should not only inform but also instruct and model behavior compatible with the prevailing political order.

¹⁰ The website of Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira is available at: <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/>

As Roger Chartier states, reading "[...] is always the appropriation, invention, and production of meanings" (1999, p. 77). Therefore, we can glimpse through reception that readers have a certain freedom to shift or subvert what was intended for *Mensario* as an editorial project. The representations they made depended on the reading conditions existing at that time. At first, it seemed to us that the evocation of this written medium as a product of the newspaper present on its cover and in the announcement of its appearance could act on the horizon of reading possibilities, defining, *a priori*, that it would be seen as a supplement or collection of gathered texts and not as a cultural magazine. However, appropriation is made through historically variable and socially unequal possibilities, and therefore each reader, based on their own references, which are individual and social, historical or existential, will give meaning to their reading (CHARTIER, 2002). Michel de Certeau (1994, p. 262) states that the reader does not "[...] take the place of the author nor an author's place. He invents their 'intention' in the texts" by combining reading fragments and creating something "[...] unknown in the space organized by its capacity to allow an indefinite plurality of meanings."

Days after the launch of *Mensario*, on Saturday, March 12, 1938, in the "*Varias Noticias*" section, usually written by the editorial director, we see the beginning of a movement to collect what other periodicals were saying about the reception of the first issue. The information was found under the title "*O Mensario do Jornal do Commercio. O seu aparecimento – Comentarhos da Imprensa*". We don't know how the newspaper chose what comments published by other media outlets about the launch of the *Mensario*, other than what is written below the headline: "expressions of applause." The text describes the reception given to the *Mensario* by the press:

the appearance of the *Mensario* of the '*Jornal do Commercio*,' in which we have compiled the main contributions published in this newspaper during the month, has aroused great interest in all cultural circles across the country. The expressions of applause we have received, both in person and by letters and telegrams, are very moving for us, given the understanding and support for our initiative to serve the intelligence and culture of the country, in accordance with the purposes that inspire us in the Brazilian press. We reproduce below the comments made by newspapers in Rio, to which we are deeply grateful (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, year 111, no. 136, p. 04).

By stating that the content of the *Mensario* was the main contribution of the month, it indicates that some contributions were not included in the printed publication. It then reports on its reception in all cultural circles. The responses received by letters, telegrams, and personal correspondence indicate that the publication's purpose was understood and that its objectives of serving the country's intelligence and culture were being noticed.

The first reception cited by *Jornal do Commercio* was that given by the editors of the newspaper *O Globo* to the *Mensario*. We also found two other *sueños*¹¹ from *A Noite* and *Jornal do Brasil*, which made a similar presentation to the first cited. The *O Globo* report is transcribed below:

¹¹ Sueños: (loose, witty news).

Our colleagues at *O Globo* published the following *suelto* yesterday: Our colleagues at *Jornal do Commercio* have always, and normally, published an annual retrospective that was, and still is, of keen interest to critics and the conservative classes. No one ignores the benefits of this publication, entirely of an economic, financial, and commercial nature. However, there are so many publications that, without that character, bring out the dean of our press, so many curious studies and essays, biographies, and observations that he publishes, especially in his Sunday editions, that it is well understood how his initiative, now—and it is this one that we record—collecting in a monthly volume his main signed writings, represents in fact an appreciable service rendered to our intellectual circles. Indeed, the first issue of the "*Mensario*" of the "*Jornal do Commercio*" has just appeared, a few hundred pages long, and in which are transcribed or summarized the main studies that came to light in the old organ, in the month of January. While it is true that one of the characteristics of what is written in the newspaper is its transience, it is no less true that through the "*Mensario*" process, many works that for negligence, modesty, or whatever else their authors may have, so quickly they participate only in the silent, if not mysterious, life of the collections (*Jornal do Commercio*, 1938, year 111, no. 136, p. 04).

As stated in the *O Globo* excerpt above, the *Mensario* collected "its main signed writings in volume, monthly." It should be noted that the news items were generally unsigned, which indicates that the texts produced by contributors had a distinct production and circulation dynamic compared to the rest of the newspaper. Furthermore, *O Globo* cited *Retrospecto Comercial*, an annual publication of *Jornal do Commercio*, as an example of the company's editorial and marketing activities. This mention situates *Mensario* as an object of consumption for the national conservative classes¹², composed of social segments that, according to Boris Fausto (1999) and Lilia Schwarcz and Heloisa Starling (2015), sought to preserve existing political, economic, and cultural structures, reconciling technical modernization with maintenance of the social order and the hierarchy of power.

Later, *O Globo* indicates that the printed press went beyond this initial audience, making it necessary to create a publication aimed at another segment: the intellectuals¹³. In the Brazilian context of the 1930s and 1940s, the term "*intellectual*" designated individuals with high cultural capital, capable of intervening in public debate through the production and circulation of ideas, works, and interpretations of society. According to Bourdieu (1996), these agents occupied a specific position in the cultural field, vying for legitimacy and symbolic authority. In Brazil, according to Sérgio Miceli (1979), they were often linked to cultural institutions, publishing

¹² In the context of the 1930s and 1940s, the *conservative classes*, at the time, referred to the social segments that defended the preservation of existing political, economic, and cultural structures, often aligning themselves with conservative modernization projects that reconciled technical and administrative innovations with the maintenance of social order and the hierarchy of power. According to Fausto (1999) and Schwarcz & Starling (2015), such classes were composed of agrarian elites, emerging business sectors and intellectuals organic to these groups, operating as a force of resistance to deeper structural transformations.

¹³ In the Brazilian context of the 1930s and 1940s, the term "*intellectual*" referred to individuals with high cultural capital, capable of intervening in public debate through the production and circulation of ideas, works, and interpretations of society. According to Bourdieu (1996), these agents occupy a specific position in the cultural field, where they compete for legitimacy and symbolic authority. In Brazil, according to Miceli (1979), they were often linked to cultural institutions, publishing houses, newspapers, and magazines, acting as mediators between the state, the elites, and the educated public. For Sirinelli (1996), the intellectual is also defined by their insertion in social networks and their engagement, whether explicit or diffuse, in political, cultural, and social causes, which gives them a strategic role in the construction of collective representations.

houses, newspapers, and magazines, acting as mediators among the state, the elites, and the educated public. For Jean-François Sirinelli (1996), the intellectual was also defined by their insertion in social networks and by an explicit or diffuse engagement in political, cultural, and social causes, playing a strategic role in the construction of collective representations.

Regarding the content, they are uncertain whether it was a transcription or a compendium of the main studies published in a given month. However, they state that the existence of the printed material was necessary due to the transience of the newspaper and its material conditions. This would preserve, in another medium, the studies developed in those pages of the old daily newspaper, as valuable tools for reading and later rereading. This enhances the *Mensario* project and represents it as a collection of texts transcribed and/or compiled from the pages of the *Jornal do Commercio*.

The practice of presenting the reception of the first volume of the recently released printed newspaper in the columns of the "*Varias Noticias*" section continued, with the presentation of other sectors of Brazilian cultural production. An important reference is that produced by Carlos Américo Barbosa de Oliveira, president of the *Associação dos Professores Católicos do Distrito Federal*¹⁴, who wrote a letter and sent it to the *Jornal do Commercio* management commenting on the reception of the *Mensario*. The letter was also featured in the "*Varias Notícias*" section on Wednesday, March 30, 1938.

The Mensario do Jornal do Commercio

Congratulations from the *Associação dos Professores Católicos*. From Dr. C. A. Barbosa de Oliveira, President of the *Associação dos Professores Católicos do Distrito Federal* we received the following letter, the words of which are breathtaking: "The *Associação dos Professores Católicos*, in its educational pursuits, finds valuable social and pedagogical collaboration in the Sunday editions of this important organ of the Brazilian press. Therefore, it was with special pleasure to note the appearance of the '*Mensario*,' a veritable book that collected the articles published in those editions, making it easier to consult and read, sometimes postponed due to lack of time, immediately after publication in the newspaper." I therefore offer, on behalf of our A.P.C., sincere congratulations on the idea of the collection that the '*Mensario*' presents, as an enormous service rendered to the educated classes of our country—classes that owe much to the '*Jornal do Commercio*,' always ready to publish works whose interest and value speak for themselves" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, YEAR 111, no. 151, p. 3, author's emphasis).

It is important and necessary to emphasize in the discourse of the *Associação dos Professores Católicos do Distrito Federal* the place of social and pedagogical collaboration that the Sunday editions of the newspaper occupied in the readings of the members of this organization. Because they were Catholic, these teachers participated in the political stance taken in the 1930s and in the critique of the New School educational vision. By crediting the

¹⁴ The *Associações de Professores Católicos* (APCs) began to organize themselves in 1928, systematized in 1933 and 1934, primarily by Professor Everardo Backheuser, and constructed and disseminated more organically by the *Confederação Católica Brasileira de Educação* (CCBE) and its official journal, the *Revista Brasileira de Pedagogia*. In 1933, after a split with the "education professionals" of the *Associação Brasileira de Educação* (ABE), Catholic educators gathered in APCs to strengthen their organization and founded the CCBE. The CCBE's objective was to fight for religious education in schools and defend the "advanced" and "progressive" ideas of the modern world, but reading them in light of the criteria and considerations of Pius XI's encyclical *Divini illius magistri*. For more information, see: Sgarbi, (1997). Access: <https://tede2.pucsp.br/handle/handle/10594> October 23, 2021 at 10:12.

act of producing the printed matter, represented once again as a book and as a collection, the rhetoric values the action as a service provided to Brazil's educated classes, indicating who the reader would be. Thus, the teachers of this association saw themselves as part of this "class" of educated people, or rather, intellectuals. Ultimately, the reference to *Mensario* is postulated as part of others who saw in it the possibility of reading the cultural products of the Brazilian intellectuals in an easier and more accessible way. An object that could be read at any time, in the rush of the day, or even on other days, in another temporality, displaced from the time of publication. This could not be done with the newspaper due to its perennial print format.

The representations of *Mensario* among those who had the opportunity to read it in the month of its launch conferred upon it the status of a collection of texts and a repository of the newspaper, just as they represented it as a book and a thick volume of pages. On March 10, 1938, a Thursday, in the "*Varias Noticias*" section, like the previous ones, Herbert Moses, president of *Associação Brasileira de Imprensa* (ABI), in a letter on its behalf, highlights the importance of this object as "extremely useful" and as an action by the "dean of the Rio de Janeiro press" that "inestimably enriches the archives of Brazilian journalistic history and provides a tireless demonstration of cultural endeavors" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, YEAR 111, N. 134, p. 06).

The creation of the *Mensario*, for the ABI, is seen as part of a cultural initiative that produced an object that contains within itself the conditions for interpreting history. This vision is part of the images presented previously. Therefore, at the launch, readers saw it as an archive, a collection of the newspaper's texts, easy to read and more durable than daily periodicals. As an object that should be accessible and available, as Moses states, "[...] in libraries and study rooms, the constant handling of the admirable works of high social, political, and economic culture, inserted daily in the traditional organ of Brazilian culture" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, YEAR 111, N.134, p. 06).

Another emblematic case is found in the section entitled *Academia Brasileira*, published in the Saturday edition March 19, 1938, of the *Jornal do Commercio*. This section, dedicated exclusively to the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* (ABL), aimed to disseminate reports, record inaugural speeches, and report about events organized by the institution and its members. It was, therefore, a regular space for visibility and symbolic consecration of the ABL and its cultural production. In this context, Edgar Roquette-Pinto—physician, anthropologist, and educator, a pioneer of broadcasting in Brazil, and an immortal of the ABL—stated that "[...] he was greatly honored to be the bearer of the first issue of the '*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*,' corresponding to January 1938, a gift from the editorial staff to the Academy" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, year 111, no. 142, p. 4). By stating that the copy in his hands was a donation to the *Academia*, the hypothesis that the newspaper's company had forwarded copies to various cultural institutions is reinforced. Elsewhere, Roquette-Pinto praises Elmano Cardim's work as "[...] a man of talent and high culture, a spirit opened to the great influences of progress," representing the *Mensario* as a mirror of the continuity of the journalistic, intellectual, and historical practice of the *Jornal do Commercio*, as we can read below:

The '*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*' is the decisive affirmation of the beautiful path taken by Felix Pacheco's successor. And, already in its first issue, one of the most beautiful publications in the country. They will no longer be loose sheets, subject to the misfortune that haunts the diaries, monographs, essays, and articles that make the great newspaper one of Brazil's great spiritual forces. The speaker believes that the Academia welcomes the '*Mensario*' with joy, an honor for an initiative full of usefulness and beauty (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, year 111, no. 142, p. 4).

The exaltation of the materiality of our source as a factor in appreciating the value of its publication is one of the factors that all previous readings have also highlighted. The printed material is seen in the foreground, as an object that allows the collaborative articles to be read under different conditions, and the publication, therefore, as useful and beautiful. Here, the emphasis is about the comparison with the newspaper and the rhetorical force present in taking the voice of the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* as its own to express gratitude for the donated copy.

Lemos Britto made a similar move to Roquette-Pinto. The critic for the "*Bazar de Livros*" section of *Vanguarda* magazine wrote a lengthy commentary on the first volume of the *Mensario*, which was republished in issue no. 144 of the *Jornal do Commercio* in 1938, as we can read below:

Served by a team of scholarly journalists led by altruistic spirits open to the insights of this spiritual assistance to Brazil—yesterday José Carlos Rodrigues and Felix Pacheco, today Elmano Cardim—the "*Jornal do Commercio*" was and continues to be the "Great Encyclopedia" I referred to, for, as much or more than official cultural institutions, it has uninterruptedly elevated the chosen, selected product of this scientific, literary, and artistic elaboration to all classes and to the most remote corners of the country, decisively influencing the country's general evolution (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, year 111, no. 144, p. 4).

This reference establishes the periodical as a *Great Encyclopedia* and recognizes *Jornal do Commercio*'s role as a form of cultural action with an educational function. Comparing it to official initiatives, the scholar emphasizes that the newspaper's historical reach extended throughout the country, making its repertoire of texts and information more effective and comprehensive than that of public institutions themselves. In this sense, it was not just a newspaper, but a true encyclopedia; an agent for promoting national education. The implicit interpretation is that there was a lack of a means to systematically preserve this cultural production. The *Mensario* thus presents itself as an indispensable archive and collection, as Lemos Britto states:

With this '*Mensario*,' the dean of the Brazilian press becomes, in fact and definitively, the Great Encyclopedia, open to all minds, expanding and preventing the dispersion of so many magnificent writings, protecting them from the fate reserved for newspaper editions, released moment by moment to feverish curiosity. Now, at least, one can say – *scripta manet* [sic] (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, year 111, no. 144, p. 4).

The publication under study was received as one that should preserve the writings published in the newspaper. It is the archive of cultural production. Written words endure if the format and the support are suitable for it. *Verba volant, scripta manent!*¹⁵ It was the idea of the eternity of writing, of discourse, of the intellectual, represented by an object.

Two years later, in 1940, the aforementioned Percy Alvin Martin, a Stanford professor and scholar of Brazilian history, wrote a review of *Mensario* in the journal *Homework Latin American Studies*, published in the United States. The text was read and published in the "*Variaes Notícias*" section of the April 8 and 9, 1940, double issue. This is how the *Jornal do Commercio* editorial team interpreted the review:

¹⁵ Free translation: "Words fly, writings remain."

In the last volume of "Homework Latin American Studies," a well-known bibliographical review published in the United States, Mr. Percy Alvin Martin, a professor at Stanford University, focusing on Brazilian history, refers to the "*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*" in the following terms, which are very important to us: "The initiative of the "*Jornal do Commercio*" and its erudite editor, Dr. Elmano Cardim, who launched a monthly publication in 1938 under the name "*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*" deserves mention.

All those curious about Brazilian affairs agree that this daily, proudly over a century old, is both a source of information and a newspaper of opinion. Each issue, especially the Sunday editions, contains articles of great importance. Many of the country's most notable writers, especially historians, are its frequent contributors. Until 1938, these contributions escaped most interested parties, being little known and read outside Brazil (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, Year 113, No. 159, p. 4).

Martin read *Jornal do Commercio* as an "information organ and a newspaper of opinion." This means he understands that the social function of this periodical goes beyond daily news journalism. When he defines Elmano Cardim as an "erudite director," he implies that his creation of *Mensario* and management of the company Rodrigues & Co. represent him as an intellectual. Thus, this written material is the fruit of an act of erudition and part of the proposal to disseminate opinions about various Brazilian issues present in the periodical's editions, especially its Sunday editions.

The prosopographic survey conducted by Raphael Machado¹⁶ (2023) showed that *Mensario* operated in close collaboration with Brazil's leading intellectual institutions and international cultural cooperation organizations. Among the 797 identified contributors, 224 were members of academies and institutes such as the Brazilian Academy of Letters (ABL), the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* (ABL), the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (IHGB), the *Academia Brasileira de Ciências* (ABC) and the *Associação Brasileira de Educação* (ABE) (ABE), responsible for 2,298 texts, more than half (52.8%) of all published content. Also noteworthy is the significant presence of members of the *Comissão Brasileira de Cooperação Intelectual* (CBCI)¹⁷, headquartered at the Itamaraty since 1937, of which six of the nine members of the executive committee contributed to the journal, totaling 104 texts (SOUZA, 2015; MACHADO, 2023, p. 427).

The *PENClub do Brasil*¹⁸, created in 1936 along the lines of PEN International, brought together writers and editors from major newspapers and magazines constituting one of the main halls of literate sociability in the federal capital (GAIOTTO, 2018). Of the 52 founding members, 34 published in *Mensario*, totaling 924 texts, about a quarter of the collection's

¹⁶ The prosopographic survey and its analysis can be read in: MACHADO, 2023, p.426-449.

¹⁷ The *Comissão Brasileira de Cooperação Intelectual* (CBCI), officially established in 1937, was linked to the policy of cultural rapprochement promoted by the League of Nations and its International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation, of which Brazil had been a member since the 1920s. In the context of the *Estado Novo*, the CBCI acted as an instrument of cultural diplomacy, organizing exchanges, events, and publications that sought to insert Brazilian intellectuals into the international circuit and, simultaneously, project an official image of national culture.

¹⁸ The *PENClub* of Brazil, founded in 1936 as the national section of PEN International, brought together writers, journalists, and intellectuals with the aim of defending freedom of expression and fostering international literary dialogue. However, during the *Estado Novo* period, its operation was conditioned by political restrictions and alignment with the regime's cultural guidelines, which shaped its initiatives and networks of intellectual sociability (MACHADO, 2023).

corpus, with highlights including Afonso de E. Taunay (398 texts) and João Luso (332 texts). A cross-section of institutional affiliations shows that more than 60% of ABE members and PENClub members contributed to the collection, as did more than 50% of IGHMB and ANH members. These figures reveal that the journal functioned as a privileged space for the legitimization and circulation of voices originating from high culture, reinforcing its role as an instrument of distinction (BOURDIEU, 2007) and cultural pedagogy aimed at developing a limited but socially influential audience.

Quantitative and thematic analysis shows that texts on History occupy a central place in *Mensario*, not only due to volume but also due to the profile of its contributors, professional historians and intellectuals linked to prestigious institutions. The 1938 marks the beginning of a more intense and effective dissemination of these texts, especially abroad. This editorial strategy directly reflects Elmano Cardim's work at the CBCI since 1937 and at the PENClub of Brazil since 1936¹⁹, institutions whose main objective was to promote national culture and its exchange with so-called "friendly nations." From this perspective, the creation of *Mensario* can be read as part of a project to internationalize Brazilian intellectual production and to symbolically consolidate *Jornal do Commercio* itself as a producer of this culture.

It highlights historians for their professional locus and possibly greater readership, and because texts about the theme of history make up the majority of *Mensario*'s texts. It defines 1938 as a milestone for the greater and more effective dissemination of these texts, especially abroad. If we consider that Elmano Cardim had been an active participant in the *Comissão Brasileira de Cooperação Intelectual* since 1937 and in PENClub since 1936, and that these institutions had as their main objective the dissemination of national culture and its exchange with friendly nations, the proposal to create this reading medium could be interpreted from the perspective of internationalizing national culture and the publishing organization itself, as the North American professor praises in the text. For him, this problem of archiving and disseminating texts internationally was solved with the publication of the *Mensario*:

To solve this problem, the "*Jornal do Commercio*" began publishing the "*Mensario*" in January 1938. Each issue contains 200 to 350 two-column pages. In addition to the aforementioned articles, the magazine includes a book review section, published in the newspaper's Sunday editions.

The "*Mensario*" is truly a precious magazine for the knowledge of Brazilian history and will certainly end up being found in every library in the United States" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, Year 113, No. 159, p. 4).

This was the first identified mention in which *Mensario* was explicitly characterized as a magazine. For Martin, it was a "precious read for the knowledge of Brazilian history," recognizing it as a relevant source for study and research on the national past. His appreciation reinforces the image already constructed by other readers and contributors, who saw *Mensario* as an archive and a collection, capable of preserving writing and

¹⁹ The *Comissão Brasileira de Cooperação Intelectual* (CBCI), officially established in 1937, was linked to the policy of cultural rapprochement promoted by the League of Nations and its International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation, of which Brazil had been a member since the 1920s. During the *Estado Novo*, the CBCI acted as an instrument of cultural diplomacy, organizing exchanges, events, and publications that sought to insert Brazilian intellectuals into the international scene and, simultaneously, project an official image of Brazilian culture. Meanwhile, the PENClub of Brazil, founded in 1936 as the national section of PEN International, brought together writers, journalists, and intellectuals with the aim of defending freedom of expression and fostering international literary dialogue. However, during the *Estado Novo*, its operation was conditioned by political restrictions and alignment with the regime's cultural guidelines, which shaped its initiatives and networks of intellectual sociability (MACHADO, 2023).

prolonging its circulation. It is not yet possible to confirm whether the publication was present in other North American libraries; however, in 2020, we located a copy at the Stanford Libraries²⁰. Interestingly, the same volume is also part of the collection of the National Library of Australia²¹, a fact that increases the interest in analyzing its international circulation, but which is not our focus in this work.

Another international record regarding the periodical was also produced by Martin, this time included in the Handbook of Latin American Studies, 1938 edition, published and edited by the Commission on Latin American Studies of the United States Library of Congress, with financial support from the *Rockefeller Foundation*²². These comments, along with analyses by other North American authors dedicated to Latin American studies, were reproduced by the editor of the "*Livros Novos*" section of *Jornal do Commercio* on April 21, 1940, as presented below.

Seção de Livros Novos

Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1938 – Harvard University Press – Cambridge -1939.

"This important annual publication, the most complete bibliographical review of Latin America, begun in 1935, is considered, due to its admirable organization, a valuable, reliable, and comprehensive source of reference, which has provided invaluable assistance to scholars of the cultural development of the American peoples of Iberian origin" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, ANNO 113, n. 170, p. 04).

We highlight the movement of texts and authors along both routes, between the United States and Latin America, especially Brazil, in the 1930s and 1940s. The creation of a commission for studies on Latin America highlighted the authors' search for reading materials that could provide conditions for studies of the region. In contrast, publications like this, read in Brazil, indicate an international trade in periodicals and the circulation of debate on specific themes and subjects. Therefore, the selection of texts, themes, and authors in *Mensario* is proof of the company's best cultural selection to disseminate Brazilian written culture nationally and internationally, in accordance with its editorial precepts. Reading this publication was like reading an image of Brazil, not its cultural totality, and through it, international representations of the nation and its cultural producers were produced. In the continuation of the critical text in the "*Seção de Livros Novos*" we see more about this:

²⁰ We found volume I of volume I from 1938. See: <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/365723>. Accessed on November 27, 2020 at 09:11.

²¹ We found the first volume of Volume I from 1938 in the National Library of Australia. <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/3117577>. accessed on November 27, 2020.

²² The Commission on Latin American Studies (Hispanic Foundation), established in 1939 within the Library of Congress, aimed to coordinate and foster research on Latin America, bringing together specialists and promoting the production of bibliographies, catalogs, and critical studies. Among its most important initiatives is the annual publication of the Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS), a selective and annotated bibliography about Latin American studies, published since 1936 by the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress. Initial funding was supported by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, consolidating HLAS as the oldest and most prestigious bibliographic reference in the field of regional studies, in addition to integrating it into the set of cultural and scientific initiatives promoted by the Rockefeller Foundation in the Americas during the first half of the 20th century. See: <<https://sistema.bibliotecas-bdigital.fgv.br/bases/handbook-latin-american-studies-hlas-online>>. Accessed on November 27, 2020, at 9:25 am.

Some studies are especially dedicated to our country, notably those by Messrs. Percy Alvin Martin on history; Samuel Putnam on literature; Preston E. James on geography; Robert C. Smith on art; and Max Handman on our economic and financial situation. The chapter on education in Latin America was entrusted to Messrs. Lourenço Filho and Ernesto Galarza. Of the volume's 470 pages, 140 are devoted to Brazil, bringing together 950 entries on books and articles published here or abroad. The Handbook thus constitutes the most complete Brazilian bibliography, excluding works about medicine and engineering, which are not yet included in the general plan of this highly useful publication. Each entry, even those relating to journal articles, is accompanied by excellent explanatory notes. Some of these notes, such as those referring to the novels of Messrs. Erico Verissimo, José Lins do Rego, Jorge de Lima, and Graciliano Ramos and the art criticism of Mr. Santa Rosa, are particularly interesting." (...). Among the periodicals from which numerous collaborative articles were cited are the "*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*," the "*Revista do Brasil*," the "*Observador Economico e Financeiro*," the "*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro*," and others (...). (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1938, ANNO 113, n. 170, p. 04)

The *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio* appears, in the excerpt published by the newspaper itself, as part of a select group of Brazilian periodicals cited in the Handbook of Latin American Studies, a publication organized by the Commission on Latin American Studies of the United States Library of Congress and considered, in 1938, "the most perfect Brazilian bibliography" then available. This inclusion places it within the international circuit of written culture, where foreign intellectuals such as Percy Alvin Martin (History), Samuel Putnam (Literature), Preston E. James (Geography), Robert C. Smith (Art) and Max Handman (Economics and Finance) mapped national production based on periodicals and books, while Latin American figures such as Lourenço Filho, director of INEP, contributed specialized analyses. Among the volume's 470 pages, 140 were dedicated to Brazil, bringing together 950 entries on works published in the country and abroad, always accompanied by critical notes that highlight the reception of authors such as Érico Veríssimo, José Lins do Rego, Jorge de Lima, and Graciliano Ramos, and the art criticism of Santa Rosa. In the framework outlined by the Handbook, *Mensario*, alongside *Revista do Brasil*, *Observador Econômico e Financeiro*, and *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, is considered a collection of reading and research that preserves and disseminates the national printed memory, confirming the image that, as the thesis demonstrates, he cultivated of himself: that of an archive and collection dedicated to the preservation of writing and the formation of a repertoire. nationalist. Its presence in this list not only legitimizes its circulation as a reference source for analyses of Brazil abroad, but also places it in the symbolic space of prestige reserved for publications that articulated high culture, erudition, and pedagogical projects, projecting it as a representative object of Brazilian intellectual production of the period.

Just as Percy Alvim Martin viewed *Mensario* as a magazine, Levi Carneiro, jurist, diplomat, academic, and president of the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* in 1941, also included it among the Brazilian magazines asylum seekers worthy of reading. This consideration appears in the "*Academia Brasileira*" section of the *Jornal do Commercio*, published on Sunday, December 14, 1941. In the session held at the Machado de Assis House, the content of which

was carried by the newspaper, Levi Carneiro presented a proposal to relaunch the *Revista Brasileira*, a former publication that was no longer in circulation, citing the *Mensario* as an example of the magazines in circulation at that time:

Here, then, some stand out that can be placed at the forefront. Above all, without a doubt, the "*Revista do Brasil*"—another traditional name, resurfaced so many times... And "*Dom Casmurro*," which performs the weekly miracle, and the "*Mensario*" of the "*Jornal do Commercio*," which collects and preserves the best of their excellent collaboration. And "*Aspects*." And "*Brazilian Illustration*," which combines the exquisiteness of graphic art with that of literature. And "*New Guidelines*." And "*Revista Academica*." And the brilliant little "*Euclides*." Still others—I don't intend to list them all. These publications—and still others, in the literary supplements of daily newspapers, such as "*Diarios de Noticias*," "*O Jornal*," and "*Correio da Manhã*"—are the subject of intense intellectual activity. However, several of these journals reach the Academia. Our library doesn't have a single copy of almost all of them. It's quite certain that there are many other things missing from our library (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1941, year 115, No. 65, p. 4).

This brief analysis, in which Levi Carneiro lists the periodicals in order of importance, depicts *Mensario* as one that "collects and preserves the best of its excellent collaboration." This representation will dominate and become part of the imagination of its readers. As part of the library of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, *Mensario* is an integral part of the list of magazines and periodicals worthy of reading and further consultation by the immortals. There was a customary policy of donating copies of this publication, as can be seen in the "*Academia Brasileira*" section, which lists donations received by the library at the end of the texts, and in which *Mensario*, when published, is always present. Members of this institution also contributed to the *Jornal do Commercio*, as can be seen in the summaries of the *Mensario* collection, where we find 13 texts signed by Levi Carneiro.

This common practice is also seen in the pages of *Revista da Semana*, where we find extensive information on the reception of copies throughout the 1940s²³. This is the case of issue 022 of May 30, 1942, where on page 10 we can read a brief note about the reception of the *Mensario* of the *Jornal do Commercio* corresponding to December 1941:

This is a work that is now widely circulated and contains the collaborative articles published during the various months of the year by Rio de Janeiro's oldest press organ. Illustrious names in literature, the arts, and sciences, and it is precisely for this reason that the prestige and acceptance of the "*Mensario*" are increasingly accentuated (REVISTA DA SEMANA, Issue 022, 1942, May 30, 1942, p. 10).

²³ As can be seen in: *Revista da Semana* – Edition 10 – Year 1943 – 03/06/1943 – p.6 (Thanks for receiving *Mensario* Volume XIX, Vol. III and Volume XX, Vol. I referring to September and October 1942); *Revista da Semana* – Edition 24 – Year 1943 – 06/12/1943 – p.12 (Thanks for receiving *Mensario* Volume XXI, Vol. III referring to March 1943).

The information that the *Mensario* was already "widely circulated" indicates that almost four years after its first publication, the editorial project was already consolidated. Whether due to its content, the authors who subscribed to the texts, or its materiality, the *Mensario* was a source of literary consumption. A similar observation can be made in the *Correio Paulistano*, dated May 11, 1941. In the "Bibliography" section, we read:

"*Mensario*" of the "*Jornal do Commercio*" – (Collaborative Articles) – Vol. I, Volume XIII – Rio, 1941. This volume contains all the articles published in that Rio de Janeiro newspaper during January of that year. "*Jornal do Commercio*" thus greatly facilitates the acquisition of published works by its readers, which undoubtedly constitutes a great benefit to the public (CORREIO PAULISTANO, 1941, No. 26128, p. 20).

The image created about the *Mensario* was that it facilitated the reading of articles published in the *Jornal do Commercio*. Thus, its public function was that of a collection of texts, a collection, even viewed from the perspective of a magazine-style publication. Its content was used in the various intellectual productions of the historical context. Examples of this can be found in the editions of *Autores e Livros: Suplemento Literário de A Manhã*. Published weekly, under the editorship of Mucio Carneiro Leão, of the *Academia Brasileira de Letras*, and under the direct supervision of the DIP, the supplement presents some uses of *Mensario* as a reading source.

This is the case of Humberto Campos, who, when writing about Carmem Cinira²⁴, used Francisco Prisco's text entitled "Pseudonyms Feminine," published in *Mensario* (No. I, Vol. I, January 1938), as a reference for reading and constructing his notes about the writer. In issue 5 of the magazine *Autores e Livros*, dated March 1, 1949, in the text *Antologia da Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea*, without authorship, as a reference for the text, we found an article by Georges Le Gentil about Carlos Magalhães de Azeredo, titled "*Mr. Magalhães de Azeredo, escriptor brasileiro*," published in *Mensario* in January 1938, pp. 157-160 (AUTHORS AND BOOKS, 1949, Issue 005, Year IX, Vol. X, Issue 5, p. 56).

In another issue of *Autores e Livros* from November 1949, we noted another reference to an article previously published in the *Mensario* collection. This time, it was the text "*Tereza Margarida da Silva e Horta, precursora do romance brasileiro*" by Alceu Amoroso Lima (Tristão de Athayde), that mobilized the article by Ernesto Ennes, entitled "*Uma escritora brasileira do século XVIII*," published in Volume II, Vol. III, of the *Mensario* of June 1938, pp. 989-996. Interestingly, Ennes's text was also published, under the same name, in *Bazar*, Lisbon, August 5, 12, and 19, 1938, and would have been published after its publication in the *Jornal do Commercio* and the *Mensario*. And it was also reproduced in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*, Vol. XXXV, December 1938 (AUTORES E LIVROS, 1949, Edition 014, Year IX, Vol. X, Number 14, p. 167).

We see the circularity and reproduction of texts originally published in *Mensario*, read and used as references for later studies and/or even republished in other periodicals. These texts were read and used as references at least three years after the publication of the last issue of the *Mensario* collection, which occurred in September 1946, referring to

²⁴ CAMPOS, 1944, p.1

the texts published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of March 1946. We then note that this object was still the result of readings and consultations by national scholars.

Finally, we present a fragment of the 1941 text by Odilo Costa Filho published in *Revista Brasileira*, proposed by Levi Carneiro and now published in the "*Revista das Revistas*" section, in which the author presents a broad overview of the magazines published in Brazil in recent years. He stated that "Brazilians only recently learned to read magazines. They really began, however" (REVISTA BRASILEIRA, 1941, Issue 1, p. 240). This highlights the difficulty in defining the types of magazines that existed in that context, their consumption, and the continuity of publications beyond the seven magic issues. In the text, the author mentions that there were magazines worth reading regardless of political stance: *Revista do Brasil*, *Cultura Política*, and *Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*. In that order, he reviewed all three. Below, we present what he wrote about *Mensario*:

The "*Mensario do Jornal do Commercio*"

There is a popular saying that "Justice, to be good, begins with those at home." The author of this review is highly suspect when discussing the "*Jornal do Commercio*," where he completed his spiritual formation under the hands of teachers such as Felix Pacheco and Victor Viana. The Academy also owes the centennial newspaper its unwavering support, from its earliest days. But the justice we will do to the institution's "official organ" is public and defies dispute: the "*Mensário do Jornal do Comércio*" is one of the wisest and most exquisite magazines published in the Americas. Bringing together the contributions of some of the most intelligent men in the country and encompassing studies on all subjects, the monthly is also linked to the Academy, reproducing the prayers delivered here during Thursday sessions or on major celebrations (REVISTA BRASILEIRA, 1941, Issue 01, p. 245).

By crediting the *Mensario* with publishing contributions from some of the most intelligent men in the country, Odilo Costa Filho designates the magazine as an object of national intelligence. Its reputation as a widely read magazine, alongside so many others, deserves special mention, given that he worked on the editorial staff of *Jornal do Commercio* and had five articles published between 1938 and 1941 in the *Mensario* collection.

Final Considerations

To speak of *Mensario* is also to speak of *Jornal do Commercio* and its role in consolidating a national written culture mediated by intellectual and economic elites. Produced and read by individuals who circulated in national and international literary networks, *Mensario* was part of an editorial circuit focused on cultural consecration and the construction of an intellectual memory of Brazil, as the magazine itself noted. This project reflected the sociability and symbolic hierarchies of the period, bringing together, in its pages, different positions and worldviews, but always within the limits imposed by official culture and the high culture ideals aligned with the guidelines of the *Estado Novo*. As Raphael Machado's thesis (2023, p. 287) states, "the magazine operated as a meeting place and legitimization for authors had already recognized in the intellectual field, silencing perspectives that could strain the prevailing nationalist consensus."

If we consider that Elmano Cardim had been an active participant in the Brazilian Commission for Intellectual Cooperation since 1937 and the PENClub since 1936, and that these institutions' primary objective was the dissemination of national culture and its exchange with friendly nations, the proposal to create *Mensario* can be interpreted from the perspective of the internationalization of Brazilian culture and the symbolic projection of the publication itself. As a North American professor highlighted in a text published in the magazine, the problem of archiving and international dissemination of texts was, in part, solved with the existence of *Mensario*. In this context, the survey demonstrates that several members of the PENClub of Brazil and the Brazilian Commission for Intellectual Cooperation were among the collection's contributors, evidencing an overlap between the networks of literate sociability and the body of authors selected to compose the publication.

This finding reinforces the central hypothesis that *Mensario* operated as an instrument of informal education and cultural diplomacy of the *Estado Novo*, articulating the dissemination of values and interpretations of Brazil in line with the regime's political and cultural interests. By integrating prestigious writers and intellectuals linked to national and international institutions, the editorial project enhanced its ability to influence select audiences and reinforce a national image aligned with official ideology. However, this same network of institutional affiliation also highlights the project's implicit exclusions: the selection of contributors and topics favored voices legitimized by prestigious circles, restricting the participation of intellectuals, writers, and educators who did not fit within the symbolic codes and political affinities of these elites. Thus, *Mensario* established itself not only as a showcase for recognized cultural production, but also as a filtering and silencing device, shaping what could or could not be recorded as part of the nation's literate memory.

The *Mensario* established itself as a cultural product that cannot be dissociated from the power networks and editorial strategies of *Jornal do Commercio*. The periodical served as a showcase and repository for voices legitimized by the regime and the prestigious circles of the time, demonstrating symbolic control over which discourses were allowed to circulate. This control was exercised not only through explicit exclusions, but also through editorial choices that favored certain genres, authors, and themes. In this sense, the editorial project contributed to a non-school cultural pedagogy, capable of shaping perceptions about history, literature, science, and national identity. The end of *Mensario* in September 1946 was linked to a set of political, economic, and editorial factors that profoundly altered the cultural landscape of the post-*Estado Novo* period.

In Raphael Machado's (2023, p. 278) reading, "the fall of Vargas and the process of redemocratization brought significant changes to support networks and the environment in which ideas circulated." Elmano Cardim, who had supported the project for nearly a decade, found himself faced with a context in which maintaining a high-cost publication aimed at a limited audience no longer enjoyed the same financial viability or political resonance. As noted in his thesis, *Jornal do Commercio* "suffered from a loss of prestige and the changing profile of cultural consumption in the post-war period, when new publishers, magazines, and newspapers competed for the market and the attention of more diverse readers" (idem, p. 412).

From an educational and historiographical perspective, the closure of *Mensario* can be interpreted as the exhaustion of a model of cultural mediation that, while effective in consolidating a readership elite and reaffirming an ideal of high culture, proved incapable of engaging with broader processes of democratizing access to reading and intellectual production. As an object of informal education, it remained tied to a selective and exclusionary project, reinforcing cultural and political hierarchies, which places it closer to an "archive of consecration" than a space of plurality.

Read critically, the *Mensario* is simultaneously a record of the intellectual plurality possible within the social networks of its time and a testament to the exclusions and hierarchies that shaped the Brazilian literate public sphere. While preserving a memory of the cultural and intellectual production of the final years of the *Estado Novo*, it exposes the tensions between official culture and dissent, revealing the limits and possibilities of an editorial project situated at the intersection of the press, politics, and written culture.

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