

BEYOND NATIONAL BORDERS 19TH CENTURY FICTION FROM AND ABOUT BRAZIL ¹

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Resumo: O trabalho pretende discutir a relação entre a formação da identidade nacional, a observação da realidade e a origem local ou importada de romances. O estudo se concentra no debate desenvolvido no final do século XIX, que contrastava uma “literatura de observação” com uma “literatura de gabinete”, considerando a recepção de escritos do romancista brasileiro José de Alencar, bem como analisando dois romances ambientados na Amazônia: *O Missionário* (1888), do brasileiro inglês de Sousa, e *La Jangada* (1881), do francês Jules Verne. O trabalho está dividido em quatro partes: a primeira irá apresentar o projeto de literatura nacional desenvolvido por José de Alencar, as críticas que recebeu e a trajetória editorial de seus romances indianistas; na segunda parte, buscará identificar as fontes de que Jules Verne e Inglês de Sousa podem ter se valido para compor seus romances amazônicos; em seguida, serão comparados os romances *O Missionário* e *La Jangada*, a fim de observar como eles retratam a Amazônia, para, finalmente, refletir sobre a produção e difusão do sentimento nacional e sua relação com a origem geográfica dos romances.

Palavras-chave: Romance; nacionalismo; recepção; circulação transatlântica de impressos.

Abstract: The paper intends to discuss the relationship between the formation of national identity, the observation of reality, and the local or imported origin of novels. It will focus on the debate that contrasted an observational literature and an armchair literature, developed by the end of 19th century, considering the reception of the Brazilian writer José de Alencar’s novels as well as two novels set in the Amazon: *O Missionário* (1888) by the Brazilian novelist Inglês de Sousa and *La Jangada* (1881) by the French writer Jules Verne. The paper is divided into four parts: first, it will present the design for a national literature developed by José de Alencar, the criticism he received, and the editorial trajectory of his Indianist novels; in the second part, it will attempt to identify the sources that Jules Verne and Inglês de Sousa may have used to compose their Amazonian novels; then it will compare *O Missionário* and *La Jangada*, in order to observe how they portray the Amazon; and finally, it will

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speculate upon the production and dissemination of national sentiment and its relation to the geographical origin of novels.

Keywords: fiction; nationalism; reception; transatlantic circulation of novel.

The idea that novels should be the result of direct observation of reality is neither new nor peculiar to the process of forming national identities through literature. It was already clear in the 18th and 19th centuries critical texts and gained strength with the rise of nationalisms, which gathered writers in the project for the establishment and dissemination of a national sentiment. It led to the debatable thesis that any national literary production could be understood in its own terms. However, writers did not react only to works composed by their countrymen neither to the canonical books produced in central places of the literary field. They also reacted to (and sometimes especially to) the writings of different origins and times that were at their disposal and hence at the disposal of their readers. In the 19th century, at the same time nationalist ideas fermented, strong international connections related readers, writers and printing houses.² This issue will be discussed in this article, considering the reception of the Brazilian writer José de Alencar's novels in Brazil and in France as well as analysing two novels set in the Amazon: *O Missionário* by the Brazilian novelist Inglês de Sousa and *La Jangada* by the French writer Jules Verne.

1 José de Alencar and the projects for a national literature

The great romantic Brazilian writer José de Alencar expressed in his text "Benção Paterna" his project of touring the country fictionally and making it known to Brazilians. Faithful to his plan, he produced novels set in the south of Brazil, in the interior of São Paulo

² For studies on this theme, see the publications of the research project "The transatlantic circulation of printed matter - the globalization of culture in the 19th century", available at <http://www.circulacaodosimpressos.iel.unicamp.br/index.php?cd=&lang=en>

State, in Minas Gerais, Ceará and in Rio de Janeiro.³ Despite the success his books had at making these settings known to Brazilians around the country, thereby strengthening the sense of national belonging, the author was accused of producing "armchair literature" that had no value because it was based on readings rather than firsthand observation of reality. One of the more acidic criticisms came from Franklin Távora, one of the ideologues of the "Literatura do Norte", to which the novelist Inglês de Sousa would associate himself. To Távora, Alencar's novels and the characters created by him were unacceptable as national types because the writer had not left Rio de Janeiro to compose them. Commenting on the novel *O Gaúcho*, Távora criticizes Sênio – pseudonym under which Alencar published the work – thereby "wanting to force it to pass as original, he sacrifices reality for the dream of whimsical imagination." Távora expects the author to travel and see the world with his own eyes before writing.

"Sênio pretends to know the nature, the customs of the people (all of those various particulars that we only fully grasp when in contact with them) without taking a single step out of his study. (...) Why did he not go to Rio Grande do Sul, before writing *O Gaúcho*? Literature is a religion, and it has the right to deserve such sacrifices from its sincere adherents." (TÁVORA 14, 15)

Despite having been the target of harsh criticism, José de Alencar was a widely read writer, not only in Brazil but also in various parts of the world. He made Brazil known to his fellow countrymen as well as to those who would never step a foot there and thus he became the most translated Brazilian novelist of the 19th century in Europe. According to research by Ilana Heineberg, one of his novels, *O Guarani*, had three different translations into French in the nineteenth century alone, being published as a serial publication in two periodicals, and as a book in a collection entitled "Bibliothèque des Grands Aventures" (HEINEBERG, n. pag.). The first serial publication came out in the journal *Le Brésil*, whose purpose was to familiarize European readers with Brazil. The editorial of the first issue, published in January 1863, states:

Le Brésil aims to show Europe this country as it is in the context of society, politics, literature, religion, industry and commerce. All truly important questions related to the country will be discussed in this journal with all the explanation possible. It will, we hope, be of service to Brazil and Europe, whose interest in Brazil becomes more relevant and intense with each passing day. (apud HEINEBERG, n. pag.)

³ Alencar planned to compose *Os Filhos de Tupã*, an epic poem set in the Amazon, for which he even prepared a plan and some parts ("cantos"), but he never completed his project.

There is a clear contrast here between the nationalist view turned inward, toward the territory itself, and a vision of the nation integrated to what happens outside the country. If, for the ideologues of "Literatura do Norte", the Brazil that matters is the one in which we do not perceive any trace of foreign presence, to the editors of *Le Brésil*, "the questions that were truly important to Brazil" also interest Europe, "whose interest in Brazil becomes more relevant and intense with each passing day."

The historiography of Brazilian literature adopted the first vision and developed a history closed on the nation itself, disregarding or minimizing external contacts. Perhaps that is why this historiography has never reported (or even noticed) the great European dissemination of Indianist novels by José de Alencar. During the time when French translations were published, there were three different translations of *O Guarani* into German (one as a serial and two as books), besides of translations of *Ubirajara* and *Iracema*. English readers could also get to know some of Alencar's work through a translation of *Iracema*, published in London in 1886. And readers of Italian could read *Ubirajara* as well as *O Guarani* in their own language. (BEZERRA, n. pag.)

Thus, the editorial in *Le Brésil* seems to be correct in stating that Brazilian issues –and among them, literature– had interest beyond national borders. Interestingly enough, the nineteenth century Brazilian writer most well-known abroad was also the one accused by his countrymen of not knowing his country, having produced, at best, "armchair literature". Given Alencar's success both in and outside the country, it seems clear that direct knowledge of reality was more urgent an issue for critics and lettered men than for the public. This becomes even clearer when comparing the trajectories of two novels set in the Amazon and published in the 1880s – *La Jangada* by Jules Verne (1881) and *O Missionário* by Inglês de Sousa (1888). From the point of view of a more conventional literary historiography, a comparison between these novels might seem unwarranted, for they could be ascribed to distinct "literary schools"⁴

⁴ The learned men of the time didn't think in terms of "literary schools", at least not as rigidly as conventional literary histories do. They used terms such as "naturalist", "realist" and "romantic" in a quite elastic way, using them to designate works that later historiography ranked quite differently. From the point of view of readers,

and they have got different standards of canonicity. However, they are contemporary writers (there are only seven years between the first edition of *La Jangada* and that of *O Missionário*), they both wrote about the same place and they circulated at the same time in Brazil. Despite the similarities, they elicited different reading reactions from the public and the critics, as will be seen below.

2 Two novels about the Amazon and their sources

Unlike what happened to Inglês de Sousa, who presented himself as a Northern writer and was perceived by his contemporary as a "man of the North", Jules Verne did not present himself as having been to the Amazon, much less as been someone from that area, but rather as someone who read a lot. In an 1895 interview to the Italian novelist Edmondo de Amicis, Jules Verne asserted that "the eccentric characters and episodes described in the forests, at the bottom of the ocean or in the sky emerged by consulting scientific treaties and dictionaries of natural history" (Compère, D.; Margot 1998. Apud Leão 495).⁵ In the same interview, Verne would have said that he took notes while reading, even copying paragraphs or whole texts that could be incorporated into his narratives. His usual readings were *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Le Musée des Familles*, *Le Tour du Monde*, *La Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, besides travel guides, of which he preferred *Guide Joanne*, published by Hachette (Paumier 2008. Apud Leão 495).⁶

these distinctions also seem ineffective, since they used to maintain their interest in some old novels for many decades, while reading the most recent releases. (Lyons 1990; Rocha 2011; Abreu 2013).

⁵ Interview conducted in 1893 and published in *MacClure's Magazine*, in 1894, entitled "Jules Verne at home. His own account of his life and work". It was republished in COMPÈRE, D.; MARGOT, J-M. *Entretiens avec Jules Verne – 1873-1905*. Reunis et commentés par. Genève: Éditions Slatkine, 199. p. 89-97. Apud LEÃO, Andrea Borges. Vamos ao Brasil com Jules Verne? Processos editoriais e civilização nas *Voyages Extraordinaires*. *Revista Sociedade e Estado*, v. 27, n. 3, set.-dez. 2012.

⁶ Cited by PAUMIER, J-Y. *Jules Verne. Voyageur extraordinaire. À la découverte des mondes inconnus*. Paris: Éditions Glénat ; La Société de Géographie, 2008. p. 44. Apud Leão 2012.

Before writing *La Jangada*, Verne had studied reports and documents about travels in order to prepare *Histoire des Grands Voyages et des Grands Voyageurs*, a trilogy whose goal was "to summarize the history of the world's discovery" (Verne 1870: 9).⁷ Long before that, Jules Verne would have been enchanted with South America, hearing the oral narratives of his Uncle Prudent, an old sailor who told him and his brother about his trips to America, Caracas and Puerto Cabello (Verne 1995. Apud Leão 506).

The impression of authenticity, which is achieved in Inglês de Sousa's narrative by the fact that he presents himself as a "man of the North", is achieved in Verne's stories because he presents himself as someone who read a lot. In *La Jangada*, a journey of "paper and pen" (Apud Leão: 507),⁸ there are explicit references to the writings of Louis Agassiz, Jules Crevaux, Émile Carrey, La Condamine, Alexander von Humboldt, Henry Walter Bates, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, Abbé Édouard Joseph Durand, Francisco de Orellana, Pedro Teixeira, Aimé Bonpland, Franz Keller-Leuzinger, Pierre Bouguer and Godin des Odonais, Lister-Maw, Smith, Manuel Valdez, Paul Marcoy, François-Auguste Biard. Quoting a paragraph from the novel is enough for one to understand that the narrator construes himself as someone full of bookish knowledge about the place that he describes:

In 1827 Lister-Maw, in 1834 and 1835 Smyth, in 1844 the French lieutenant in command of the "Boulonnaise," the Brazilian Valdez in 1840, the French "Paul Marcoy" from 1848 to 1860, the whimsical painter Biard in 1859, Professor Agassiz in 1865 and 1866, in 1967 the Brazilian engineer Franz Keller-Linzinger, and lastly, in 1879 Doctor Crevaux, have explored the course of the river, ascended many of its tributaries, and ascertained the navigability of its principal affluents. (Verne 2013: n. pag.)

Although he frequently cites authors and works, some critics believe that he made use of a broader range of sources than those explicitly stated.

According to Michel Riaudel (1992) not just descriptions of scenery, fauna and flora have bookish sources. He believes that even the fabrication of some characters stems from

⁷ The work, in 3 volumes (Les premiers explorateurs, Les grands navigateurs du XVIIIe siècle et Les voyageurs du XIXe siècle), was published between 1878 and 1880. Available at http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Livre:Verne_-_Histoire_des_grands_voyages_et_des_grands_voyageurs,_Hetznel,_1870,_tome_1.djvu. Consulted in April 2014.

⁸ In a letter to Pierre-Jules Hetzel, his editor, he declared: "I am ending the year as usual, with my nose to paper and pen in hand. I started it in India with *The Steam House* and I am ending it in Brazil with *La Jangada*".

reading works by travelers. For him, the slave hunter and the barber, prominent characters in *La Jangada*, are extracted from Brazilian types described by Ferdinand Denis in *Le Brésil*. (Riaudel: n.d.) This author also believes that the citation of Emile Carrey's name in the novel would cover the texts of *Productions et Moeurs de L'Amérique du Sud* (published serially in *Le Journal pour Tous* in 1864), as much as his fictional writings about the Amazon published in the trilogy *Huit Jours sous l'Equateur*, *Les Métis de la Savane*, and *Les Révoltés du Pará* (1856-57). Verne would also have made use of works published in the magazine *Le Tour du Monde* and in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*. Riaudel highlights the series of articles by the abbot Édouard Joseph Durand published in the *Bulletin* between 1869 and 1875, as well as the text "O Rio Amazonas e seus afluentes", sent from the Amazon in 1875 by Rafael Reyes, which contains all of the information present in a long dialogue about the river inserted in the fifth chapter of the novel. Also according to Riaudel, information about the fauna, flora and local customs would have been taken from excerpts of the report by the German (not Brazilian, as Verne wrote) engineer Franz Keller-Leuzinger, published in 1874, in the magazine *Le Tour du Monde* with the title *Voyage d'exploration sur l'Amazone et le Madeira*. From the same magazine, he would have referenced the article "Viagem do oceano Pacífico ao oceano Atlântico através da América do Sul" by Paul Marcoy (pseudonym of Laurent Saint-Cricq), published in the editions of 1867 and later in volume. According to Riaudel, the stages of Marcoy's journey are exactly the same as those that appear in Verne's novel, except that the latter simply promoted stylistic improvements to the text.

However, Enrique Amayo (2002) believes that the main source for *La Jangada* is the Peruvian (not Brazilian, as Verne wrote) book by Manuel Valdez y Palacios, who fleeing political persecution in his country, journeyed on foot through much of the Amazon between 1843 and 1844, finally arriving at Rio de Janeiro, where he published an account of his experience in Portuguese: *Viagem da Cidade do Cuzco a de Belem do Grão Pará pelos Rios Vilcamayu, Ucayaly e Amazonas* (1844 – 1846).

La Jangada is therefore the product of the author's reading and of his own imagination. In other words, it is "armchair literature". If Jules Verne is to be credited for the imagination, the research and reading about the Amazon seem to be the result of teamwork. While Verne

presented himself as a great reader, credit for the job of reading and compiling sources must be given to Gabriel Marcel,⁹ geographer and head of the Département Géographique at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, who did researches on documents about history and geography, determined bibliography and reviewed the texts that comprised the collection *Voyages Extraordinaires*, to which *La Jangada* belongs.¹⁰ Created by Pierre-Jules Hetzel, the collection was meant to publish "the whole world as a novel, setting each adventure in a different part of the planet", with the aim of combining learning and entertainment (Leão: 497). The role of the editor was not limited to coming up with the idea of the collection. He actively interfered in the texts, "correcting them entirely, suggesting titles and characters, cutting passages and chapters he deemed inadequate." (Leão: 505).

During the preparation of *La Jangada*, the letters exchanged between Hetzel and Verne reveal an editor worried about deadlines established in the contract (which provided for the delivery of at least two novels a year), suggesting that the writer should not waste time with bibliographical searches, using the support of the geographer Marcel instead. Hetzel himself cooperated with the writer: for example, informing him, by way of a letter, that he had ordered the translation into French of excerpts from "a great book in-4, entitled Amazon and Madeira – First-person narrative of the journey from Rio de Janeiro to the waterfalls of Madeira" (published in German in 1874, by the Kröner publishing house in Stuttgart), since he believed that it could be of interest for the development of *La Jangada* (Leão: 509).

Certainly the Brazilian novelist Inglês de Sousa did not have any support remotely similar to this for composing his narrative. But he may have used similar sources as those employed by Verne. Contrary to what his contemporaries claimed, he left the town of Óbidos

⁹ The cooperation between Verne and Marcel stems from the publication of *Histoire des Grands Voyages et des Grands Voyageurs*. In the warning, Verne declares: "j'ai appelé à mon aide un homme que je considère à bon droit comme un des géographes les plus compétents de notre époque : M. Gabriel Marcel, attaché à la Bibliothèque nationale. Grâce à sa connaissance de quelques langues étrangères qui me sont inconnues, nous avons pu remonter aux sources mêmes et ne rien emprunter qu'à des documents absolument originaux. Nos lecteurs feront donc au concours de M. Marcel la part à laquelle il a droit dans cet ouvrage, qui mettra en lumière ce qu'ont été tous les grands voyageurs, depuis Hannon et Hérodote jusqu'à Livingstone et Stanley." Verne, 1870, Tome 1. Avertissement. n. pag.)

¹⁰ The information about Gabriel Marcel's (1843 – 1909) activities was culled from letters exchanged between Jules Verne and Pierre-Jules Hetzel by Andrea Borges Leão (Leão 2012: 509).

(Pará) at the age of eleven and returned only once during school holidays (Barbosa 1954). Thus, his knowledge of the Amazon may have been the result of his family's oral narratives, as was the case for the stories of Verne's uncle Prudent. He may also have received oral information through his friendship with the intellectuals from the North who lived in Rio de Janeiro, as was the case for Verne who was intimate with scientists from the Société de Géographie. Even more likely is that he had read parts of the same texts that Verne drew upon for the composition of his novels, since the works of Louis Agassiz, La Condamine, Humboldt and Denis were available in the Biblioteca da Faculdade de Direito in São Paulo, the famous São Paulo Law School, where he studied and wrote the majority of his novels. He may have also made his way through Garraux Bookstore, located in the same city of São Paulo, to acquire the books and magazines in which travelers published their texts about the Amazon. Famous for its inventory, which was considered superior to that of the capital of the Empire,¹¹ this bookstore was stocked with works originating from the major European centers, as it is seen in the warning text of its Catalogue published in 1863:

To reach a truly satisfactory result, we have spared no sacrifice: after visiting the major bookstores in France, Belgium and Portugal, we have come to an agreement with the major publishers of these countries who will ship directly to us, without intermediaries, their books, thereby permitting us to make our prices more affordable at a remarkable reduction. The permanent presence of our partner in Paris, Mr. Raphael Suarez, allows us to provide our clients with the most remarkable news about the arts and sciences, shortly after its publication in Europe.¹²

¹¹ According to Laurence Hallewell, the "store was described in 1883 by Christopher C. Andrews, an American visitor, as the best book and paper store in all of Brazil, an opinion shared the previous year by a Brazilian traveler, Antonio de Paula Ramos Junior, who considered it to have the most up-to-date stock than that of any bookstore in Rio de Janeiro. (Hallewell 2005: 302).

¹² Garraux, De Lailhacar & Cie, S. Paulo, 15 October 1863. (Apud Deaecto 2008). Besides this catalogue, *Casa Garraux* has four others: *Casa Garraux. Catálogo de Livros de Jurisprudência, Direito, Economia Política, Administração, Literatura, Devoção etc.* Paris, Simon Racan et Comp., 1866. *Casa Garraux. Catálogo dos Livros Necessários para os cursos jurídicos da Academia de São Paulo.* Paris: Garraux, 1864. *Casa Garraux. Catálogo em Línguas Portuguesa e Franceza. Catalogo em Línguas Portuguesa e Franceza das Obras de Jurisprudência, Direito Pátrio e Estrangeiro, Economia, Política, Commercio, Colonização, Política, Estradas de Ferro, Diplomacia, etc. etc.* Paris, A. Lemale Aîné (vol. 1); A. Parent Imprimeur (vol. 2), 1872. *Catálogo de Jornaes, da Livraria Garraux, s.n.t.* Garraux also organized a *Bibliographie brésilienne : catalogue des ouvrages français & latins relatifs au Brésil 1500-1898 / A. L. Garraux.* Paris: Chadenat & Jablonski, Vogt & Cie, 1898. There is a list of books about the Amazon in this bibliography, which includes Verne's novel.

Through the connections established between Europe and Brazil, books that were available in European bookstores were also found in those of Brazil or could be ordered and received shortly thereafter. Therefore, nothing would prevent a young law student like Inglês de Souza from being in line with publications by voyagers in Brazil. It is even possible that he had read Verne's novel, either in French or in one of its translations into Portuguese. Even more likely, he followed the critical reaction in the newspapers. Probably he also observed that the book attracted the attention of readers, considering the amount of editions (in French and Portuguese) for sale in bookstores.

La Jangada had three different French editions in the same year of its release. The first was published serially in the *Magasin Illustré d'Éducation et de Récréation*, a magazine designed by Hetzel to be a kind of *Revue des Deux Mondes* for youth.¹³ When the chapters of the first part ended, the first volume of the story was released in an unillustrated edition, published as part of the *Bibliothèque d'Éducation et Récréation* (published by Hetzel with the goal of educating the reader on the history, geography and customs of people from various parts of the world).¹⁴ The first volume advertised that the chapters of the second part were being published in the *Magasin Illustré*. The success of these issues probably led to the preparation of a new edition, also published as part of the *Bibliothèque d'Éducation et Récréation*, in the same year of 1881, in one beautifully illustrated volume.¹⁵

In the same year the book was translated into Portuguese. Incidentally, it was triply translated, as there is an edition in Portugal published by David Corazzi,¹⁶ and two in Brazil,

¹³ Andrea Borges Leão reports that Hetzel's project was to produce a kind of *Revue des Deux Mondes* for youth. She states that the serial publication took place between January and December 1881 (Leão 2012). Rudyard Alcocer states that the first publication of *La Jangada* was released in two issues of *Magasin d'Éducation et de Récréation*, in June and November 1881 (Alcocer 2008).

¹⁴ French edition without images: *La Jangada, huit cents lieues sur l'Amazonie. De Rotterdam à Copenhague, à bord du yacht à vapeur "Saint-Michel"* [par Paul Verne]. Partie 1 / par Jules Verne. Paris : J. Hetzel, 1881. 2 vol. in-18. Available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96424c.r=.langPT>

¹⁵ French edition with images: *La "Jangada", huit cents lieues sur l'Amazonie*, par Jules Verne. Dessins par Benett. De Rotterdam à Copenhague à bord du yacht "Saint-Michel", par Paul Verne. Dessins par Riou. Paris : J. Hetzel, 1881. 2 parties en 1 vol. gr. in-8°. Available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6513563v/f11.zoom.r=.langPT>. For a good view of the images alone: <http://jv.gilead.org.il/rpaul/La%20Jangada/>

¹⁶ VERNE, Jules. *A Jangada. Oitocentas Léguas pelo Amazonas. Primeira parte: O Segredo Terrível & Segunda parte: A Justificação* (2 vol.). Ilustrações Léon Benett. Tradução Pompeu Garrido. Lisboa: David Corazzi, 1881.

one by Baptiste-Louis Garnier¹⁷ and another by *A Gazeta de Notícias*, newspaper of Belém do Pará,¹⁸ all in 1881.¹⁹ In 1888, the year in which Inglês de Sousa's *O Missionário* was launched, the Portuguese editor published the second edition of *A Jangada*.²⁰

Inglês de Sousa might not only have read Verne's novel, but he might have taken the success of *A Jangada* into consideration while composing his narrative. As in Verne's text, *O Missionário's* narrative takes place in the Amazon; it also narrates a long boat trip along the river; and there is the same interest in the description of landscapes, places and ways of life that were characteristic to the region. But the similarities end there. In fact, if Inglês de Sousa took Verne's book into consideration, it was to counter it.

3 *O Missionário and La Jangada: two portraits of the Amazon*

Jules Verne's novel takes place in 1852 and starts in Peru, where the Brazilian Joam Garral and his family live. Garral, a successful farmer in Iquitos, had been keeping a secret all his life, which prevented him from returning to Brazil. But when his daughter Minha and his son Benito's best friend Manoel Valdez decide to marry, the whole family has to go to Belém do Pará where the groom's mother lives and where the wedding would take place. The trip makes Joam have to reckon with his past. He had been accused of murder and theft of a cargo of diamonds that was being transported from Vila Rica, Minas Gerais, to Rio de Janeiro, 23 years prior. Joam had been condemned to be hanged, but on the eve of his execution he fled.

Coleção "Biblioteca das Viagens Maravilhosas aos Mundos Conhecidos e Desconhecidos". According to Andrea Leão, on a trip to Portugal, Verne met his Portuguese editor, David Corazzi. (Leão 2012: 506).

¹⁷ VERNE, Jules. *A Jangada - Oitocentas Léguas sobre o Amazonas*, traduzido por J. M. Vaz Pinto Coelho, Rio de Janeiro, Garnier, 1881, cartonado, 272 p.

¹⁸ Translation published on 24 August 1881, *A Gazeta de Notícias*, de Belém.

¹⁹ Also in 1881, it was published an English translation: *The Giant Raft ... Eight hundred leagues of the Amazon ...* Translated by W.J. Gordon. 2 pt. Sampson Low & Co.: London, 1881. In 1882, the narrative was published in the series Lovell's library, v. 2, n. 34-35, under the title of *The giant raft*. New York, J.W. Lovell Co., 1882. In the same year, under the title of *The giant raft : the Cryptogram*, a translation by W. J. Gordon (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882) was published. Also in the same year, there was an edition published in London under the same title, *The giant raft : the Cryptogram*, 1882.

²⁰ VERNE, Jules. *A jangada*. Trad. Pompeu Garrido. 2. ed. Lisboa: David Corazzi, 1888.

After many tribulations, he arrived in Peru, where he was employed on the ranch of Iquitos and where he eventually married Yaquita, the ranch owner's daughter. He agrees to accompany his family to Belém with the secret purpose of declaring his innocence once again. In order to make the 800-leagues journey down the Amazon River, Joam orders the construction of a huge raft on which there are houses, a chapel, gardens, raising of pigs and poultry, and where 80 Indian and black paddlers took turns driving the boat. The family and groom are joined by Father Passanha, who would perform the marriage, Fragozo the barber (accidentally found dying at the edge of the forest) and Lina, Minha's maid. In the middle of the trip they meet Torres, a mysterious man who asks to be transported to Belém. Aware of Joam's past, he tries to blackmail him, but realizing that he would not achieve anything, he reveals Joam's secret to the family and to the authorities – though he is aware of Joam's innocence and is in the possession of an encrypted note that contains the name of the true thief and murderer. Joam is arrested again and sentenced to hang once more. His son Benito confronts Torres and kills him in a duel before Torres declared the name of the real criminal. The city judge, a lover of solving puzzles, tries by all means to decipher the message containing the name of the real criminal, but only achieves it when the barber Fragozo accidentally discovers that the key to deciphering the riddle is the word Ortega, which would prove to be the name of the real assassin. Joam's innocence is recognized and the family continues onto Belém, where the marriage of Manuel and Minha as well as that of the barber Fragozo and the maid Lina takes place.

The moving forces of the plot of *La Jangada* clearly come from *feuilleton* and are appealing to a broad audience: robbery and murder, love and marriage, accusations and blackmail, duels and deciphering of puzzles.

If Inglês de Sousa knew Verne's novel, he chose not to exploit any of these elements, resorting to a different narrative matrix. Cozying up to French naturalism, Sousa's novel is much less lavish in terms of events. The book tells the story of Father Antônio de Moraes, who arrives in a small town in Pará, called Silves, to replace the late vicar. The intrigues of a small country town are presented while the characters of the main dwellers are outlined. The ambitious Father Antonio soon gets bored with the poor routine of his parish and decides to

perform a feat that would draw attention to him, not only in the region but also in the country and perhaps even the world. Accompanied by the church clerk Macário, he decides to journey up the Amazon River in search of the Mundurucus, wild cannibal Indians that he intended to Christianize. The expedition ends when the church clerk flees, believing they are being attacked, and abandons the priest in the forest. Back in town, Macário creates a lie, according to which he had escaped an attack by savage Indians who had killed the priest. Meanwhile, Father Antonio is picked up by a couple of Indians who had been Christianized by the former vicar. He is taken to the site where that priest kept his mistress and where Clarinha, a beautiful *mameluca* with whom Padre Antonio falls in love, lives. When the initial charm with the relationship is gone, the Father's desire for glory returns. Intoxicated with the news that he was considered a saint due to the lies that Macário had spread, and fearful that his apparent sanctity would be seen by all as a scam, he decides to return to the city and assume the role of martyr of Christianity, but not before arranging a place in the outskirts where his lover would live within easy reach but without any risk of scandal.

Not only does the plot distinguish the two novels. The way of narrating it is also quite different. Verne's novel begins with a cryptogram in the very first paragraph:

*Phyjslyddqfdzxxgagsgzzqqehxgkfnrdxujugioctdxvksbxxhhuypo hdvryrmyhuhpuydkjoxphetozsletnrmvffovpdpajxhyynojoyggayme
qynfuqlnmvlyjfgszmqiztlbggyugsqebvnrcredgruzblrmxyuhqhp
zdrrogrohepqxufivvrplphonthvddqfhsntzhhhnfepmqkyuuexketog
zgykyuumfvijdqdpzjasykrplxhxqrymvklohphotozvdksppsuwjhd.*

Right after, the narrator warns that it is an encrypted message and explains that such writings are elucidated only when you know the key that unlocks them. To ensure that the reader's curiosity will be piqued by this mysterious writing the narrator warns: "we will see that this cryptogram will withstand the most ingenious attempts at decoding and that the code will only be deciphered under circumstances of the utmost gravity".²¹ It is seen, therefore, that the

²¹ VERNE, Jules. *La "Jangada", huit cents lieues sur l'Amazone*. Dessins par Benett. De Rotterdam à Copenhague à bord du yacht "Saint-Michel", par Paul Verne. Dessins par Riou. Paris: J. Hetzel, 1881. 2 parties en 1 vol., p. 2. Available at the Bibliothèque numérique Gallica - <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6513563v.r=la+jangada>. Consulted in April 2014. This excerpt is not present at the consulted translation: *Project Gutenberg's Eight Hundred Leagues on the Amazon, by Jules Verne*. 2013. Available at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3091/3091-h/3091-h.htm>. Consulted in April 2014.

facts are not told in chronological order, as I did. The reader gets small doses of information and clues about the protagonist's past and gets to know the events little by little, so that the suspense is drawn out until the end. The delay of the outcome is obtained by multiplying incidents and descriptions of landscapes, animals and plants, as well as by didactic explanations of the Amazon, which occurs mainly in Part 1, which chronicles the descent of the river, giving way to the development of the plot in Part 2, which, indeed, could take place anywhere.

There is very little action in *O Missionário*, especially when it is compared to what takes place in *La Jangada*. Narrated mostly in chronological order, the novel is organized around the presentation of minor ailments and slips of the residents of Silves and mainly the presentation of the feelings and thoughts of Father Antonio, through indirect discourse and long passages of streams of consciousness.

The relationship with the Amazonian environment is also notably different in the two novels. Jules Verne, who generally has a penchant for extreme situations and dangerous places, creates an Amazon that resembles a botanical garden with leafy trees, beautiful flowers, mouthwatering fruits and places where you can walk without any hazard. The only danger they encounter during the entire journey arises when alligators climb onto the raft, but they are readily killed by the crew on board. At the edge of the Amazon, in the village of Tabatinga, the Garral family was “less likely, perhaps, than at Iquitos to be fed upon by the native mosquitoes”, and “announced their intention of going on ashore and visiting the town” (Verne 2013: n.pag.). In fact, during the whole trip, not one single insect bothers the tranquility of the family nor are they disturbed by the locals. As the boat makes its way down the Amazon River, Indians look on silently from the banks without any reaction. When the family meets them in Tabatinga, the Indians only interest is to have Fragozo tidy up their hair and make hairstyles. According to Verne, even the Indians are Europeanizing themselves, since that is the law of progress after all. Describing Manaus, he states:

And what manner of people are they who stroll on to the fashionable promenade from the public buildings and private residences? Men of good appearance, with black cloth coats, chimney-pot hats,

patent-leather boots, highly-colored gloves, and diamond pins in their necktie bows; and women in loud, imposing toilets, with flounced dresses and headgear of the latest style; and Indians, also on the road to Europeanization in a way which bids fair to destroy every bit of local color in this central portion of the district of the Amazon! (Verne 2013: n.pag.)

Inglês de Sousa's Amazon, on the contrary, shelters provincial societies, cannibal Indians who can kill and eat people for no apparent reason, mosquitoes capable of making the blood flow out from the bodies of their victims, and rivers full of piranhas and electric eels. Just an excerpt is enough to see the difference from Verne's Amazon:

He [Padre Antonio] knew that he could lose himself in the middle of the river or under the rushing stream of some waterfall, that he could be poisoned by malaria, or be devoured by the beasts of the forest, crushed by highlands or by giant cedars. But spending sleepless nights killing mosquitoes, wasting resignation and patience in such petty and vulgar sufferings, in such ridiculous trials, could not turn his blood cold. The damned mosquitoes did not confine themselves to biting... they sang, and that continuous and monotonous buzz agitated his nerves, disturbed his calm spirit, clutching his heart in infantile despair. He wanted to be pegged to a tree by the arrows of savages, like the martyr St. Sebastian, of glorious memory, but he did not see how that dark, infallible martyrdom of being eaten to bits by carapanãs [mosquitoes] at the edge of the river could add to his glory." (Souza 1998: 189-190)

If the two novels are opposed in everything, there is an element that unites them: the French reference. Many believe that the deletion of the wild and inhospitable Amazonian character in Verne's novel may be due to the interest in presenting the Americas as a destination for immigration: a fertile place, sparsely populated, with inhabitants similar to Europeans. A place where French people, threatened by population growth and limited means for subsistence, could move away to.²² At the same time, Inglês de Sousa's insistence on the

²² The reasons imagined by Tettamanzi for pacifying of the Amazon are twofold: the interest in turning the Amazon into a place of interest for European immigrants and for the interest in rivaling Edgar Allen Poe, expressed in letters sent to his editor which makes the second part of the book concentrate on the intrigue of the detective story and the need to decipher the code, leaving the description of the Amazon in the background. (Tettamanzi 2007: 152-155). Michel Riaudel alludes to another possible explanation for this rosy view: "The fortuitous encounter in Le Tréport, in the spring of 1878, of the writer with the descendants of Louis-Philippe, or the Count of Paris and Gaston d'Orleans, coincides with the book's genesis phase. However, Gaston d'Orléans, the Count of Eu, was the husband of Princess Isabel since 1864, or better stated, the son-in-law of D. Pedro II... Perhaps this explains why in choosing to start the intrigue with a dislikable bounty hunter, Jules Verne immediately raises a sensitive question as much for his audience as for the royal family: the permanence of slavery in Brazil. And why after a recent abolitionist apology in *Um Capitão de Quinze Anos* (1875), he broaches the topic sparing Brazilian authorities. He would be even more reserved in relation to the dispute over the borders of French Guiana. Riaudel, "O Brasil na literatura francesa no século XIX".

dangers and discomforts, the recriminating behaviors and the general meanness derive from his adherence to French naturalism, which aimed to present the most torpid aspect of existence.

Thus, neither novel can be understood as a faithful portrait of the Amazonian reality, what brings us back to the initial question concerning the understanding of literature as a result of direct observation of reality and leads us to the conclusion of this essay, in which the relationship between nationalism and the geographical origin of the writers will be discussed.

4 Nationalism and literary creation

The fact that Jules Verne's novel is quite friendly to Brazil did not earn praise from Brazilian critics at the time. This is not surprising when one keeps in mind the criticism José de Alencar received around the same time. Alencar was accused of writing about Brazil without having seen it and of creating an "armchair literature", which is exactly what Jules Verne did. Like him, Alencar created narratives full of amazing adventures, spectacular twists and barely believable scenes, which pleased the general public, but disgusted the critics.

Learned Brazilians reacted negatively to Verne's novel, especially attacking the rosy picture he paints of the country. A text sent from France by Sant'Anna Nery, a Paris correspondent for *Jornal do Commercio*, summarized the criticism that was spread in other newspapers. This text, published in the column "Ver, ouvir e contar", on March 7, 1881, comments the worldwide success of the formula created by Verne: "[he] took science, cut it into slices; buttered them up, and, well toasted, served them to the public. The public found them tasty and ate them up. Julio Verne, aboard his steamboat the *Saint Michel*, realized that it was a good business and carried on." (Sant'Anna Nery 1881).

Before even mentioning the novel, Sant'Anna Nery laid out some of the criteria by which he evaluated literature (the popularity of the writings, the relationship with science and the profitability of the novels), thus creating an unsympathetic outcome for the literature produced by Verne. When it comes to evaluating *La Jangada*, the problems increase:

After taking us to the bottom of the sea, to the center of the earth, to the moon, to the fur country, to the mysterious island, to the black Indies, he wanted to do even more. He took a look at the map and saw the magnificent Amazon meandering through Brazil. – There is my book, he said, and took his pen to write a new book, *A Jangada*, eight hundred leagues on the Amazon.

To the aversion to popular literature based on scientific vulgarization, the contempt for a work performed by someone who does not know the place about which he writes must be added. Verne would have merely taken a look at the map and picked up a pen to write. The critic only omitted the words "without leaving his office", commonly used by Alencar's critics. The contrast between those who know reality and those who merely imagine it is more evident in Sant'Anna Nery's following phrase: "The author of these lines is a son of the Amazon Valley. Imagine, therefore, dear readers, how voraciously I devoured Jules Verne's novel! I've never read with such eagerness! Never seen such a collection of blunders and nonsense." And he goes on to give examples of the various errors encountered in the novel: the information that babies were no longer born as slaves in Brazil in 1852 and that blacks had the right to free themselves; the inadequacy of the clothes worn by Torres and the hunters he meets (like "pheasant hunters in the park at Versailles"); the reference to a nonexistent convent in Manaus and an equally nonexistent Medical School in Belém. Despite all these criticisms, Sant'Anna Nery had some indulgence with the novel: "it was written to deify the Amazon valley and each page gleams his sympathy toward our land. It is no trifle."

Sant'Anna Nery's article (or, at least, his ideas) rapidly spread across the country. It was reproduced in the *Gazeta do Norte* from Fortaleza (Ceará) on 28 April 1881, and commented on the same day in *A Pacotilha*, from Maranhão. Without referring explicitly to Sant'Anna Nery's text, the editor of *A Constituição*, from Fortaleza, on March 3, 1882, summarized his arguments. The same happened with *A Revista Illustrada* from Rio de Janeiro in 1882 (no date, edition 282), which highlighted one of the critics' most discussed topics, the statement regarding the proximity of the end of slavery in Brazil, and lamented: "Ah! Unfortunately all this is pure fiction."²³ In the extreme south of the country, the *Gazeta de Joinville* on March 8,

²³ The topic of slavery in *A Jangada* was also discussed in the City Council, in Rio de Janeiro (*Gazeta da Tarde*, Rio de Janeiro, ed. 157, de 1884).

1881, announced the launch of *La Jangada* and warned that the book was full of inaccuracies. Some years later, *Gazeta da Bahia*, on June 14, 1884, serially published, "A Journey to the Amazon" by D.C. Sanches de Frias, in which the errors in Verne's *La Jangada* were mentioned again.

It is interesting to remark that, though they did take issue with Verne's factual mistakes, none of the newspapers of the time was critical of the amazing raft with its houses, gardens and animal husbandry. They probably considered it verisimilar, understanding the concept as internal plausibility. From this point of view, the raft village is acceptable and there are long explanations about how it was constructed with the view to make it credible.

Nevertheless, not everyone detracted the novel. The Rio de Janeiro *Gazeta de Notícias* on January 8, 1884 declared that *La Jangada* "both honors and magnifies our dear homeland, calling the attention of all cultivated peoples to it". Years later, on June 8, 1887, *A União* from Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais) also commented on the book, referring to it as "the most magnificent novel with the most beautiful descriptions of the Amazon."

Just as praise and criticism spread throughout Brazil, the book also made its way from North to South. Its sale was advertised in journals from São Paulo, Maranhão, Fortaleza, Joinville and of course, Rio de Janeiro.²⁴ Part of this dissemination is due to the activities of the largest bookseller and editor established in Brazil in the nineteenth century: the Frenchman, Baptiste Louis Garnier. He was the editor of one of the translations of *La Jangada* into Portuguese and sent the book to the newsrooms of all parts of the country, following a strategy he often employed. Nevertheless, readers from Pará didn't even have to go to bookstores to read the novel. In 1881 (the year when the novel was firstly published in France and got two translations into Portuguese), the newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias*, of Belém, announced that "in order to make *A Jangada*, by Julio Verne, known by the readers of the *Gazeta*, we must translate

²⁴ Advertised for sale in São Paulo (*Correio Paulistano* n. 7555, 1882, 3\$000, Ed. Garnier à venda na Garraux); Maranhão (*Diário do Maranhão*) advertised in the *Obras Instructivas* section, in 1882 (ed. 2558) and in the Livraria Correia Rodrigues, in 1887 (ed. 4105); in Rio de Janeiro, in the Livraria Cruz Coutinho, among the "Livros Barattissimos" [Extremely Cheap Books], sold for 1\$000 for the bound volume (ed. 217, 1884); em 1886 (ed. 331), sold by Garnier at 500 reis per volume (there are 2 volumes); also advertised in *O País*, from 1886, for 500 réis per volume (ed. 272). In Fortaleza, sold por Gualter Silva, in 1886 (*O Libertador*, 11 October 1886, ed. 231).

it, alternating its publication with the translation of *Negros e vermelhos*, the magnificent novel by Cherbuliez". The newspaper drew the reader's attention to the fact that it was a "Portuguese version made by *Gazeta de Notícias*".²⁵ At the same time the translation was published in Pará, the newspaper *Pacotilha* reported that "the editors Carlos da Serra Freire & Company, booksellers based in the capital of Pará, had sent the editor David Corazzi some pictures of this province and the Amazon, so that they can be reproduced in the novel *A Jangada*, which is being published by the popular French writer, Jules Verne" (June 7, 1881).

These few facts seem sufficient to show that in the late nineteenth century Brazil was internally connected and linked to what was happening in other parts of the world. And that Literature played an important role in this connection. The book by the Frenchman Jules Verne was read and discussed all over the world, and specially in Brazil, where the readers could choose from one of the three simultaneously translations made in Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon and Belém do Pará. The editor who was responsible for the translation published in Rio de Janeiro and to whom part of its dissemination is due, was Baptiste Louis Garnier, a Frenchman who had strong editorial connections with France, where lived his brothers –who were also publishers–and where were the printers, he used so many times to print Brazilian works and translations (GRANJA, 2013). Similarly, another major bookseller of the period –who were also French– Anatole Louis Garraux, made European books and periodicals available to residents of São Paulo, like Inglês de Sousa. David Corazzi, the editor responsible for the Lusitanian translation of *La Jangada*, was also directly connected to Brazil, a country that was the outlet for much of the Portuguese editorial production, given its size and the number of literate people living there. (Venancio 2012). In its edition of *A Jangada*, he did not reproduce the images contained in the French edition (made by the artist Bennett, who, like Verne, had never stepped foot in Brazil), but commissioned images produced in the Amazon especially for him.

Not only the production of printed matter kept the world connected. The critical reception to *A Jangada*, in Brazil, was in large part guided by an article sent from Paris by a correspondent for the *Jornal do Commercio*. Living in Europe since 1862, Sant'Anna Nery was

²⁵ *Gazeta de Notícias*, agosto de 1881.

the founder of the “Sociedade Internacional de Estudos Brasileiros” (Paris) and published several books about his country, including *Le Pays des Amazones* (1885).²⁶ Through this book, written in French and published in Paris, French readers could have a different view of the Amazon, enriching the image that could have been created by *La Jangada*. Likewise, readers from other parts of world could have read one of the many translations of Verne’s novel along with one of the several translations of Alencar’s Indianist novels, which circulated in Europe at the same time as *La Jangada*. It seems clear, then, that the world was strongly connected in the 19th century, from the points of view of writing, of printing and of reading books and newspapers.

Therefore, equating nationalism and literary production written by natives of a country makes for a poor formula. Brazilian ideas about literature (and culture) were composed not only by books written by Brazilians, but also (and perhaps especially) by works written by foreigners, contrary to what the conventional literary history would lead one to believe. This historiography, with a main focus on a national production, tend to miss an essential part of the literary experience, which was made with works of different levels of canonicity, from various origins, translated or in the original language. Local writers did not react only to works written by their countrymen or by the exponents of the literary school to which they would join up. Likewise, French readers have not built their image of the world –and of Brazil– just through writings produced in French by authors born in France, but also through translations of works by Brazilian writers, such as José de Alencar. Thus, to understand the literature and culture of the 19th century, as well as the creation and dissemination of a national sentiment, works like *La Jangada* are just as important as *O Missionário*, as well as understanding the transnational activity of editors, booksellers, illustrators and critics has essential relevance.

In conclusion, I would like to recall an idea of Brazilian writer Monteiro Lobato, presented in the book *America* (1929), in which he said, “a country is made out of men and books”. I guess he would not bothered if I turned his phrase a little: a country is made out of men and books, highbrow books and popular books; books written by people of the country

²⁶ About Sant’Anna Nery’s activity as cultural mediator between Europe and Brazil, see Carneiro 2013, Ribeiro 2006 e Academia Brasil – Europa de Cultura e Ciência (on line).

and by foreigners; books printed, sold and commented on by people from the four corners of the planet.

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