

Rio Grande do Sul as published by Livraria do Globo: Regionalist temporalities and publishing (1924-1960)

O Rio Grande da Globo: temporalidades regionalistas
e edição de livros (1924-1960)

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Abstract: In this article I intend to analyze the nexuses between the editorial project of Livraria do Globo, a publishing house of Porto Alegre, and *gaúcho* regionalism in Rio Grande do Sul in three temporalities: the heroic *gauchismo* of the 1920s; the critique and downward path of regionalism in the 1930s; and the return to themes and topics involving the South by local intelligentsia, with new criteria, after the end of the Estado Novo (1937-1945). The publication of regionalist books took up a significant proportion of the life of Livraria do Globo, fluctuating according to the interest of the public, the political situation, the development of the Brazilian market, and the relatively increased autonomy in the cultural field. On the one hand it can be said that, as a literary and for a while political movement, *gaúcho* regionalism depended almost exclusively on Globo's investments in publishing, which enabled efforts to reconfigure this line ideologically and esthetically. On the other, we know that at least at two points in time (in the second half of the 1920s and the 1950s) regionalism gave the business considerable financial returns: first, together with the translated literature published for the masses, it supported the expansion of the editorial structure of the old bookstore, and then it ensured a dependable revenue in times of crisis.

Keywords: Editora Globo, *gaúcho* regionalism, History of Culture.

Resumo: Neste artigo, pretendo analisar os nexos entre o projeto editorial da Livraria do Globo, de Porto Alegre, e o regionalismo gaúcho, em três temporalidades: o gauchismo heroico, nos anos 1920; a crítica e o descenso do regional na década de 1930; e a retomada dos temas e assuntos do Sul pela intelectualidade local, sob novos critérios, após o fim do Estado Novo. A edição de livros regionalistas ocupou parcela significativa da vida da casa editora, oscilando de acordo com o interesse do público, a conjuntura política, o desenvolvimento do mercado brasileiro e a relativa autonomização do campo cultural. De um lado, pode-se afirmar que, enquanto movimento literário e, por certo tempo, político, o regionalismo gaúcho dependeu quase que exclusivamente dos investimentos da Globo em edição, o que permitiu os esforços de reconfiguração ideológica e estética da vertente. De outro, sabemos que, em pelo menos dois momentos (segunda metade da década de 1920 e anos 1950), a linha regionalista deu retorno financeiro considerável: primeiro, sustentando, juntamente com a literatura de massa traduzida, a expansão da estrutura editorial da antiga livraria; depois, garantindo numerário seguro em tempos de crise.

Palavras-chave: Editora Globo, regionalismo gaúcho, História Cultural.

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In Rio Grande do Sul political and literary regionalisms often come together. It would not be difficult to map relations between the production of literature and professional politics in the region, at least since the second half of the 19th century, when the first novels on rural themes set in the province of Rio Grande do Sul were published. Nevertheless, it was in the 1920s that, through erudite production, the local intellectual elite systematically took on the task of legitimizing the party-politics projects of Rio Grande do Sul ideologically. While in the previous decades literary regionalism had gained importance in the writings of people such as Alcides Maya, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and the still little-known João Simões Lopes Neto, the use of activities connected to the rural areas and narratives of local customs did not find a place in the positivist ideology, in its *castilhist* version, dominant in the Republican Party of Rio Grande do Sul (PRR – Partido Republicano Rio-Grandense). At the turn of the century, in fact, images of the frontier supplied symbols that were more easily appropriated by the dissident cattle-ranching elite, kept out of power since the Federalist Revolt (1893–95), as the figure of the *gaúcho*,² a mixed breed social type, originally a wanderer, but already long absorbed as wage worker by the traditional large properties where livestock was bred extensively or by the *charque* (salted meat) industry, recruited by the opposing caudillos to fight guerilla battles against the regular army and the State Militia (Brigada Militar). Even though regionalism has been a constant tendency in local literary production, it only became hegemonic as a fictional and poetic perspective after the last armed intra-oligarchic joust in the state, the 1923 Revolution.³

Many of the books published at the time came from the printing presses of Livraria do Globo [Globo Bookstore] in Porto Alegre, a company that then consolidated its presence on the book market. The present article aims at analyzing the nexuses between *gaúcho* regionalism, its rates of dissemination and dominant perspectives, and the editorial projects of Globo, with its Book and Publishing Department, from 1924, when there was a boom in the local literary production, until the beginning of the 1960s, when the offer of regionalist titles diminished drastically, as did the structure of the company's publishing department. During this long period, what was Globo's

role in promoting regionalism in its political and literary sense and in disseminating authors from Rio Grande do Sul on the national scene? What ideological conditions and criteria for esthetic regulation enabled access to the house publications? To answer these questions, I will try to analyze Globo's tendencies and editorial lines vis-à-vis three temporalities of Rio Grande do Sul regionalism: the heroic *gauchismo* in the 1920s; critique and decline of regional works in the 1930s; and the return to themes and subjects involving the South by the local intelligentsia, under new criteria, after the end of the Estado Novo.

The golden age of *gaúcho* regionalism: politics and cultural production

In the mid-1920s young writers and already known names of regionalist literature found a home for their texts in Livraria do Globo's Book and Publishing Department.⁴ Roque Callage, for instance, a journalist of *Correio do Povo*, hailed for two books on local themes published in the previous decade – *Escombros* [Rubble] (1910) and *Terra Gaúcha* [Gaúcho land] (1914) – had his book *Terra natal: aspectos e impressões do Rio Grande do Sul* [Native land: aspects and impressions of Rio Grande do Sul] published by Globo in 1920, although he was an opponent of the Borges de Medeiros administration and, thus, had a different political orientation from that adopted by the company. But it was in 1924 that a sequence of books by the author, including fictional prose and lexicography, were published by the Department: *Rincão: scenas da vida gaúcha* [Open country: Scenes of gaúcho life] (1924),⁵ *Vocabulário gaúcho* (1926) [Gaúcho vocabulary], *Quero-Quero: scenas crioulas* [Lapwing: creole scenes] (1927) and *No fogão gaúcho* [In the gaúcho kitchen] (1929). Another editorial testimony of the connection between political life and the local literary scene during this period is also offered by Callage. His history of the Assis revolution, *O drama das coxilhas: episódios da revolução rio-grandense, 1923* [The drama of the undulating plains: episodes of the Rio Grande do Sul revolution], was published outside the state by Monteiro Lobato's publishing house in the year of the conflict. In an opposite situation, his book about the seizing of power

² The term was about to be adopted as the adjective describing the name of the state, and this encountered resistance among the intellectual elite of the capital until at least the eve of the 1930 Revolution. About the process of resignification and establishment of the word *gaúcho*, which originally designated outlaws, social pariahs, see Gomes (2009).

³ Borges de Medeiros' re-election in 1922 was the fuse for the armed revolt, which brought together old federalist caudillos and republican dissidents in the opposition, such as the historical leader of the PRR, Joaquim Francisco de Assis Brasil. For an overview of the political, economic and social elements that were part of the dispute in the First Republic of Rio Grande do Sul, which would flow together into political regionalism, see Love (1975).

⁴ Founded in 1883 by Laudelino Barcellos and Saturnino Pinto. In 1918, José Bertaso, an employee of the business since 1890, became one of its main partners, and slowly took over the administrative functions. The same year the Department of Books and Publishing of Livraria do Globo was created. It was managed by Mansueto Bernardi until 1930, when the name was changed to Publishing Department. In 1948 it would become Editora Globo, a branch of Livraria do Globo S.A. Its autonomy was confirmed when, in 1956, it was transformed into Editora Globo S.A., a partner of the Livraria.

⁵ The first edition, in 1921, was published by A. Corrêa & Dania, which also had published his *Chronicas e Contos* in 1920.

by Vargas, with the support of the Single Front of Rio Grande do Sul (FUG – Frente Única Gaúcha), *Episódios da Revolução: 3 a 24 de outubro de 1930* [Episodes of the Revolution: October 3-24, 1930] was published by Globo immediately after the event.

Peace-making among the local elites after 1923 and the tendency towards reconciliation, implemented in the Single Front, in 1928, created a favorable atmosphere for new debates about Rio Grande do Sul, with an unprecedented degree of ideological coherence. The first great editorial spurt of Livraria do Globo, therefore, met the need for accommodating local political interests and the production of common symbols for the groups that had been in conflict, but it also reveals the existence of a public (although limited) prepared to consume images of the region,⁶ supplied by fiction or by the official historical memory. In 1925 at least five major regionalist works on the Rio Grande do Sul scene were all published by Globo: *No galpão* [In the barn] by Darcy Azambuja; *Pampa*, by João Maia; *Tropilha crioula* [Creole horse herd], by Vargas Neto; *Querência* [Home ground], by Vieira Pires; and *No pago* [In the native land] by Clemenciano Barnasque. Outstanding among the new writers were Darcy Azambuja, in short stories, and Vargas Neto, in poetry. New editions of their works were published until Globo took up the regionalist perspective systematically in the 1950s, as we shall see below. *No galpão*, indeed, won the first prize for its genre in the competition of the Brazilian Academy of Letters that year. The good critical reception of Azambuja also appears to have contributed to new initiatives by Livraria do Globo in this field,⁷ or at least have had repercussions on the literary ambitions of the new generation, that was soon prepared to adapt the heroic regionalism of Rio Grande do Sul to the esthetic requirements of modernism in the center of the country, increasing the number of titles offered to the company belonging to the Bertaso family.⁸

Indeed, from 1926 to 1930 Globo alone published at least 16 new literary titles, from poetry to narrative prose, with some reference to topics involving Rio Grande do Sul (historical characters, landscape and regional customs), out a total of 19 books by Rio Grande

do Sul authors.⁹ The policy of publishing local authors, even though they gradually lost space to the translation of foreign-language literature, drove Rio Grande do Sul production in all fields, with a clear participation as protagonist in disseminating regionalism. The data available for 1928 are revealing: according to a survey by Luiz Vergara, Globo that year was responsible for almost 70% of the Rio Grande do Sul production in literature, history, sciences, law books and books on management: 21 of 31 new titles. Only another three books were published by other companies in Porto Alegre. The seven remaining titles were published by publishers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Considering only the books on regionalist literature and essays on the history of Rio Grande do Sul, seven books were published by Globo compared to four by other publishers from out of state. The almost editorial monopoly of *gaúcho* regionalism is even clearer if we add to them the two re-editions published in 1928.¹⁰ In Vergara's words, the local publishing market "depended almost exclusively on its printing presses": "If we did not have a company with the conditions of Livraria do Globo, possibly the literary spurt that made some more deserving writers of our generation quickly known would not have occurred" (Vergara, 1929).¹¹ In literature the range of texts is broad, even though it was focused on the traditional regionalist line and its modernist deployment. New Rio Grande do Sul short stories can be cited, in the wake of Azambuja, such as those by Telmo Vergara and old Roque Callage; the epic poetry of Vargas Neto; and the lyrical poetry of young Augusto Meyer and Athos Damasceno, interwoven with scenes of the pampa and sentimental evocations of the native land. In history we can cite *Julio de Castilhos*, the biography of the republican leader written by Othelo Rosa, and *Traços eternos do Rio Grande do Sul* [Eternal features of Rio Grande do Sul], a lecture by Fernando Osório about how the state was formed, previously held at the local Historical and Geographic Institute (IHGRS – Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul).

In this context of promoting literary regionalism it is also worthwhile mentioning the new edition by Globo, in 1926, of the two fictional books by Simões Lopes

⁶ Contemporary reports indicate printings of about 2,000 copies per edition.

⁷ In 1929 a note in the newly launched *Revista do Globo* celebrated the honorable mention of the Brazilian Academy of Letters given to the book *A formação do Rio Grande do Sul* (1928), by Jorge Salis Goulart, published by the house. I would also recall the first prizes in their genres received by Azambuja and João Pinto da Silva, with their *História literária do Rio Grande do Sul*, and the honorable mention of Roque Callage, for *Vocabulário gaúcho*. See section "Vida Literária" (*Revista do Globo*, 1929c).

⁸ The generation of poets who self-identified with modernism in Rio Grande do Sul was also part of the local regionalist tradition, mixing already known local topics and motifs to new formal solutions. According to Leite (1978), the modernist project did not completely materialize in the *gaúcho* literature of that period, since it required research, disregard of conventions, valuing and showing the artistic matter. On the contrary, as we shall see, the ideological aspects such as creating the heroic *gaúcho* were emphasized in the works.

⁹ Considering the impact of the books on the literary history of Rio Grande do Sul, I use the survey of publications by Rio Grande do Sul authors made by Regina Zilberman (1980) for the period.

¹⁰ The third edition of *No galpão* and the second of *Vocabulário gaúcho*.

¹¹ The survey published in the second issue of *Revista do Globo* evidently was part of the company's efforts at advertising, but the overview confirms the tendency to market concentration pointed out by scholars such as Elizabeth Torresini and Sônia Maria de Amorim.

Neto, *Contos gauchescos* [Gaúcho short stories] (1912) and *Lendas do Sul* [Tales of the South] (1913), in a single volume. While the atmosphere, as we saw, was favorable to their publication for the first time in the capital, the re-discovery of the writer from Pelotas can also be credited to an editorial initiative of Globo, the *História literária do Rio Grande do Sul* [Literary history of Rio Grande do Sul] (1924), by João Pinto da Silva.¹² The first survey of local literature had a claim to detail, to recording all the names of known Rio Grande do Sul authors, even if they were producing out of state. But the attention given to each work in his critique reveals as preponderant criterion the expression of local color, either planned or incidental. This was the regionalist literary universe looking at the history of local written culture through the lens of its time, building a background, establishing a tradition that, not by chance, would result in “very new” authors such as Azambuja, “whose regional short stories are recommended for their emotion, style and psychological and landscape snapshots” (Silva, 1924, p. 247). In this sense, Simões Lopes would gain a space and prestige similar to those until then reserved for Alcides Maya, a great name of Brazilian regionalism in the state, but whose work was beginning to be challenged by new critics, such as Moysés Vellinho.¹³ The natural language and treatment given to the regional themes (oral diction of the text and less weight given to grief for a lost golden age) in the short stories by Simões Lopes offered an esthetic standard and a political perspective that were more adequate to the production of the second half of the 1920s,¹⁴ even though it was to take another 20 years, more or less, to become the yardstick of *gaúcho* literary regionalism.

About the titles offered to Globo and its interest and capacity to assimilate new works, it should be said that over the decade a network of intellectuals had formed around the person in charge of the Book Department, the Italian-Brazilian Mansueto Bernardi. The physical space of the Livraria itself, located on the most famous and elegant commercial street in the city, on Rua da Praia, close to the coffee houses and other points of public meetings, also gathered the circle of authors and politicians of the new generation. Among the intellectuals at Globo Bittencourt (1999, p. 37) cites names well known to us, Augusto Meyer, Darcy Azambuja, Athos Damasceno, Vargas Neto, Roque Callage, Moysés Vellinho, João Maia and Vieira Pires, besides Theodomiro Tostes, Ernani Fornari, a poet

of the Italian colony, De Souza Junior from São Paulo, and a person who joined later on, Erico Verissimo. In addition to these short story writers, poets and critics, there were three characters who were to become heavily involved in the national political life in the next decade, João Neves da Fontoura, Oswaldo Aranha and Getúlio Vargas. Stories about the period even mention a certain effort by Bernardi to publish the books by authors in this group, despite the cautiousness of José Bertaso, majority partner and director of the Livraria. In order to render the launches financially viable, a scheme was organized for joint editing or “co-publication”, in which the authors committed themselves to paying back the company’s investment in case of loss. The minimum number of copies to be sold in order to pay the production costs was calculated and time limits were established for their sale. At the end of the period, if the defined quota had not been reached, the author had to return the amount spent on publication and was compensated for the copies sold.¹⁵ More than explaining the conditions by which Globo absorbed the offer of works by local writers, the ingenious agreement shows the effort made by Mansueto Bernardi to publish prose and poetry, especially attuned to the effort of reconfiguring the local public memory, as we shall see below.

The overlap between literature and politics is also shown by the non-literary careers of the authors in the group. João Pinto da Silva was secretary of the State President [former title given to the State Governors of today] in the administrations of Borges de Medeiros and Getúlio Vargas. Moysés Vellinho was chief of the office of the Secretary of the Interior, Oswaldo Aranha, who also had Darcy Azambuja on his staff. During the same period, by indication of Aranha, Augusto Meyer became director of the Public Library of Rio Grande do Sul. When the central power was taken and the provisional government in Rio was instituted, Mansueto Bernardi was appointed director of the Casa da Moeda [Mint] by Vargas. A few years later, in 1937, Meyer took on the task of organizing the National Book Institute. These examples indicate that the members of the network tended to concentrate political functions, bureaucratic positions and sought-for literary opportunities in the state, a practice that would be reproduced in the federal government in the following years. On the one hand, the still incipient local book market – despite its growth during the period,

¹² He was a collaborator of the company since 1916, when he began to organize the *Almanaque da Globo* together with Mansueto Bernardi. This was the Livraria’s first big editorial undertaking.

¹³ In a 1926 critique, Vellinho attacked the backward looking attitude of the old regionalist, alleging that the *gaúcho* spirit survived modernity and calling the new generation to pay attention to “our traditions”: “The author of ‘Ruínas Vivas’ believed that to change was to die, rather than to live, as taught there by Rodó” (Vellinho, 1979 [1926], p. 111).

¹⁴ According to Gilda Bittencourt, the regionalist wave of the 1920s had as its models the satirical short poem *Antônio Chimango* (1915), by Amaro Juvenal (pseudonym of politician Ramiro Barcellos), and the tales of Simões Lopes (Bittencourt, 1999, p. 29).

¹⁵ In her work on the publishing of literature translated by Globo, Sônia Maria de Amorim transcribes the terms of one of these agreements, summarized above (Amorim, 1999, p. 11).

fostered by population growth, by the consolidation of the middle class in the capital, and by the historic rate of literacy building at higher levels than in other states of the federation¹⁶ – made government jobs, as in the rest of Brazil, an attractive financial source for intellectuals.¹⁷ On the other hand, the cooptation of intellectuals by the state was necessary to consolidate programmatically the interests of the new political elites and their articulations of the time, concentrating the efforts at propaganda in the emerging middle sectors.

A survey of Rio Grande do Sul regionalist literature of that time, recently performed by Luciana Murari (2010), revealed in this production ideological tasks very similar to those performed in parallel by the first generation of “official” historians, who were members of the recently founded Historical and Geographic Institute of Rio Grande do Sul (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul) (1920), such as Othelo Rosa and Rubens de Barcellos. It is true that writers and historians in Porto Alegre had the same resources of higher education, the School of Engineering, the Medical School, the Law School and some minor institutes, requiring intense interchange and often the consumption of imported specialized production for their professional socialization.¹⁸ It is also important to remember that the same intellectuals worked on different fronts of discourse, such as fiction, folklore and writing history,¹⁹ which also explains the use of a small number of topics in the different genres to which they dedicated themselves. But the common effort of fiction and history cannot be ascribed only to the low level of institutionalization and specialization of the literary practices in the state, as we saw. In terms identical to those found by Ieda Gutfreind (1992) in the traditional historiography of the time, writers began to insistently construct heroes, make an inventory of local traditions and peculiarities, but with political protagonism they inserted the region into the heart of the nation. Roughly speaking, the memory shared by historiography and fiction focused on three major themes: the genesis of Rio Grande do Sul society, the nature of social relations in the countryside, and the Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1845). In the first it sought to associate the frontier past with the defense of

Portuguese occupation, relativizing the Platine influence on Rio Grande do Sul and the indigenous contribution to its ethnic and cultural formation. In the second it constructed a myth of social democracy, boss-peon brotherliness, and racial democracy, given the supposed status of peon granted black slaves, in idealizing the large cattle ranching properties that still dominated the state economy. In the third it minimized the separatism of the dissident local elite, emphasizing the state’s *avant garde* Republicanism, seen as an anticipation of the national destiny. All this led to the affirmation of the Brazilianness of the *gaúchos* – dissipating the constant suspicions from the center of the country²⁰ – and their heroic vocation, articulated contemporaneously with the moralization of the Republic that was propagated by the Single Front of Rio Grande do Sul (FUG).

The issues of *Revista do Globo*, a fortnightly periodical of varieties launched in 1929 and run by Mansueto Bernardi, make it clear that the company had joined the political project for the Rio Grande do Sul elite to take over the central power. Already in the first issue the connection with the President of the State was rendered explicit by a “Note of homage” which credited the idea of creating a “modern magazine, worthy of our cultural environment” to an in-house conversation in which Getúlio Vargas and Oswaldo Aranha were discussing the failure of undertakings of this kind in Porto Alegre, despite the “almost cosmopolitan rhythm” of the city (*Revista do Globo*, 1929a). It appears that Vargas himself showed José Bertaso the way: only a strong company like Livraria do Globo could invest capital in the initiative. The same issue published a full-page photograph of the President’s wife, Mrs. Darcy Vargas. In the third issue there was a news item about the government of Rio Grande do Sul giving testimony that “Mr. Getúlio Vargas and his aides are definitely making their weight felt in public meritoriousness and the country’s administration”. In its conclusion it reminded people of the consensus of the Single Front of Rio Grande do Sul: “A united Rio Grande do Sul honors and hails its first magistrate” (*Revista do Globo*, 1929b). As Vargas’ name gained strength to lead the opposition candidates to the federal government, new efforts at propaganda were made in the

¹⁶ The 1920 census placed Rio Grande do Sul first among the Brazilian states in terms of literacy of its population. According to Torresini, the number of enrollments at Rio Grande do Sul educational institutions rose from 170,232 in 1920 to 206,879 in 1929. As to population growth and urban concentration, the data from the capital are revealing. In 1923 Porto Alegre recorded 180,750 inhabitants, and this rapidly rose to 280,890 in 1930. While the total population of the state grew about 35% during this period, the population of Porto Alegre grew by about 55%. See Torresini (1999, p. 40-42).

¹⁷ An unsuccessful example of this propensity of intellectuals in the local context is supplied by a testimony of Erico Veríssimo about the time he came to live in the capital, in 1930, when he could not get a job in the Department of the Interior from Moysés Vellinho (Veríssimo, 2011 [1972], p. 26).

¹⁸ The affinity of Brazilian scholarship with the French production also led to a widespread consumption of the historiography of this country in Rio Grande do Sul. Hippolyte Taine, the historian of literature, was a constant reference in local critique, since his geographic determinism was easily appropriated by intellectuals who sought in the Rio Grande do Sul pampa the matrix of the cultural production.

¹⁹ Othelo Rosa, for instance, acknowledged by his peers as one of the great Rio Grande do Sul historians of the time, published a historical novel called *Os amores de Canabarro* at Globo in 1933.

²⁰ José Veríssimo, for instance, condemned local livestock farming as backward and used the geography and history of the state occupation to call it “a foreign body in the Brazilian Federation”. Silvio Romero said that Rio Grande do Sul had the worst government in Brazil and a “positivoid Castilhist” Constitution. He also included Senator Pinheiro Machado in the figure of the Latin American caudillo, which in his view was a product of an environment of “semi-barbarian” nomads. See Love (1975, p. 111).

periodical, such as the publication of a text by Assis Chateaubriand celebrating the “national presidency” carried out at a local level, which aroused the interest of the Brazilian electorate: “The political work of Mr. Borges de Medeiros’ successor, in many ways, crossed the sphere of the Rio Grande do Sul borders to impose itself on the nation as one of the clearest and most beautiful pages that illustrate the annals of the regime”. In symbolic terms, Vargas’ personality was valued for his communion with the values of the South, showing that the work of constructing the heroic *gaúcho* was already yielding political effects in the center of the country: “He is the symbol of the very gentlemanly, dreaming soul of the man whom the independent life of the Pampa has varnished with the virtues of a soldier and saint” (Chateaubriand, 1929). On the eve of the 1930 Revolution, the myth of the Farroupilha Revolution was mobilized to update the crisis discourse characteristic of the bargaining between the local elites and the central power, becoming the inspiring motto and buzzword given the impossibility of a peaceful re-accommodation of regional interests. In August the verses of Mansueto Bernardi announced: “The month of the *farrapos* [ragamuffins] is coming with all of its ferment/ of rebirth and advance” (Bernardi, 1930).²¹ *Revista do Globo* continued to inform the local public as to the movements and directions of Vargas’ provisional government, besides the actions of the state administration of appointed governor José Antônio Flores da Cunha, ready to mobilize the ideas of Rio Grande do Sul in new tense moments.²²

The regionalist inclination of the periodical had already been indicated by the discussions about the name it would receive, revealed by Bernardi in his first editorial. The names considered were Coxilha [Undulating plain] (“the most perfect physical representation of Rio Grande do Sul”, in the words of Bernardi), Charla (from “conversation” in Spanish, a common term in the local language, bearing witness to the frontier affiliations of the *gaúcho* culture), Querência (place of birth or home, also used to designate the space where one breeds cattle), Pampa (name of the countryside region shared between the south of the state, Uruguay and the north of Argentina), Guahyba (a reference to the large estuary on whose banks Porto Alegre is located, but also to the name of the town where the Farroupilha Revolution began), Sul [South]

and Piratiny (the first capital of the Rio Grande do Sul Republic during the 1835 conflict). The delay in defining the name led to the acceptance of the name of the project, *Revista do Globo*, cited by people who habitually went to the bookstore (Bernardi, 1929).

From early on the periodical met the functions of direct and indirect publicity for the books published by the firm and other titles available for sale in its shops. Thus, its literary pages were almost exclusively taken up by the local debates and by the regional authors close to Bernardi. Amid comments on social life, photos of the daughters of the traditional local elite, news from the center of the country and translations of newspaper stories about international politics, there was a large space for literary critique, notes on launches, passages of poetry, and short stories by in-house authors. The movements of the Liberal Alliance and of the 1930 Revolution itself, therefore, sold books, a lesson learned by young Henrique Bertaso, who was then a clerk in the bookstore and would later remember to publish works on conflicts and polemical political topics.²³

Gauchismo discredited and the triumph of entrepreneurial logic in book publishing

The displacement of local human resources to the federal government, however, soon disarticulated Globo’s network of intellectuals. This appears to have contributed to reducing the offer of regionalist titles to the publishing house. The new tasks in federal bureaucracy began to point also to other ideological needs, such as constructing national unity to the detriment of political and cultural localisms, a movement which was picked up by the new editor, Henrique, the son of José Bertaso, and his literary advisor, Erico Verissimo. As a direct effect of Bernardi’s departure, in 1931, shortly after the Book Department became the Publishing Department of Livraria do Globo, we have the beginning of a new editorial cycle focusing on the publication of mass foreign literature,²⁴ basically, and selected works of high level literature, as the company became nationally known and reached the erudite public of the center of the country.

²¹ An example of non-discursive commitment of the company to the 1930 Revolution is given by Carlos Reverbel, a Rio Grande do Sul journalist who worked at Globo from the end of the decade onwards: “When the movement was about to break out and it was not yet clear how long the revolution would take, Globo manufactured the tickets that the revolutionaries would use as money if necessary. In the end they were not needed” (Reverbel and Laitano, 1993, p. 107).

²² In 1935, when Flores da Cunha broke with Getúlio Vargas, the notion of federalism with the indication of state autonomy was recovered through the memory of the Farroupilha Revolution, which once again gained space in the pages of the magazine.

²³ During the 1930s Globo translated many books about the USSR and these were sold very fast. With the rise of Hitler, *Mein Kampf* was published by the company, at the same time as many Jewish writers. When the Führer invaded Russia, providentially the translation of Tolstoy’s *War and peace* was being launched.

²⁴ According to Elizabeth Torresini, mass literature was already a growing field in the 1920s, despite the predominantly regionalist editorial line: “the popular genre was outstanding and, already at the end of the 1920s, was the main genre published by the publishing house, which is mirrored in the number of foreign literature works published” (Torresini, 1999, p. 66). It could be considered that the successful sales of these works allowed Mansueto Bernardi to make the uncertain investments in new regionalist authors.

During this period Rio Grande do Sul authors continued to be supported by the firm, especially those already published and/or intellectuals with a substantive symbolic capital in the state, such as the German Jesuit priest Carlos Teschauer, member of the IHGRS who died in 1930. But Globo expanded to the detriment of the regionalist line, which was also declining in Rio Grande do Sul. Cyro Marins, who published his first book, the collection of short stories, *Campo fora* [Across the open country], in 1934, through this publisher, found it difficult to publish his next books, which are now celebrated in the local literary history because of their social critique content, opposing the myth of the heroic *gaúcho* to the figure of the “*gaúcho* on foot”, an impoverished peon expelled from the countryside by the process of modernization of large landholdings in the state. In a letter to Augusto Meyer, found in his collection which is held at Casa de Rui Barbosa, Martins complained that Globo was not interested in his new book, the novel *Sem rumo* [Adrift], precisely because it was regionalist (Martins, 1936).²⁵

The main strategy of the attempt at reaching the then expanding national market was the publication of thematic collections, such as the Coleção Amarela [Yellow Collection], of detective novels, and Coleção Globo [Globo Collection], with varied titles in a pocket edition. This made it cheaper to produce books and create a captive reading public, ensuring the desired financial returns, “balancing major authors with writers who had a large public” (Miceli, 1979, p. 87). In this way Globo also benefitted from the market niche opened by the drop in imports of foreign literature due to the 1929 crisis, supplying titles translated from international fiction in its collections (Hallewell, 2012, p. 439). It was only in the 1950s, as we shall see below, that the already named Editora Globo launched the Coleção Província [Collection of the Province], with works by local authors from a (neo) regionalist perspective. The second phase of this cycle of publications, marked by the search for prestige with the translation of classics of world literature and of internationally acknowledged modern novelists,²⁶ kept up the tendency, in accordance with the market that was carrying out a process of replacing imports which was intensified by the beginning of World War II. Guided by the taste of then editorial advisor Erico Verissimo, besides careful translations, the Globo program gained literary quality, according to Hallewell (2012, p. 441).

In Antonio Candido’s view, the great contribution of the Rio Grande do Sul publisher to bookstores during this period was precisely that it encouraged reading contemporary authors at a time when the literate Brazilian elite was overcoming its historical francophilia and opening to recent productions in English and German. As a strategy to disseminate its production of translated literature, the company distributed a free periodical leaflet called *Preto e Branco* [Black and White], with information and critiques about authors published by the firm, performing “a good task of cultural popularization throughout the country” (Candido, 2011, p. 233).

While Bernardi’s management led Globo toward political and literary regionalisms, under Henrique Bertaso it moved away from this path, in syntony with the developing Brazilian editorial market.²⁷ According to a testimony by Erico Verissimo, Henrique Bertaso momentarily, at the recommendation of his father, followed the editorial line of Mansueto Bernardi, republishing books that he had launched and purchasing the copyrights of successful writers published by Globo. “He thought, however, that the publishing house had to be reformed, modernized, rendered more dynamic, getting rid of its provincial bias. First he wanted to prove to his father and the other partners in the firm that it was possible for a publishing house to exist and prosper in this far region of Brazil” (Verissimo, 2011 [1972], p. 30). In order to reach a broader public, not only geographically but with a broad range of interests, they began to work on two fronts: in the first, heavy investments in structure; in the second, diversification of the titles. In a daring project to professionalize the Publishing Department, specialized technical staff was employed for production (translators, illustrators, reviewers to provide an opinion on the works, consultants), the distribution network was expanded, with offices and warehouses in the Rio-São Paulo axis, and agreements with businesses in other regions were signed, besides creating a Department for Literary Dissemination, which supplied periodicals from all over the country with news stories and translated literature in exchange for space to provide publicity for the Globo publications. The structural investment to expand the company required, on the other hand, the expansion of the editorial lines, which also got around the troublesome image of being a Rio Grande do Sul publisher.²⁸ According to Miceli, the diversification of the editorial program, with very unequal profits, was a

²⁵ *Sem rumo* was published the next year by Agripino Grieco’s Editora Ariel.

²⁶ Bertaso and Verissimo launched two collections in this line: Nobel, which included writers who had received the aforementioned award and others of acknowledged quality, and Biblioteca dos Séculos, with universal classics. Among the authors published by Globo for reasons of prestige were Stendhal, Tchekhov, Allan Poe, Maupassant, Fielding, Nietzsche, Montaigne, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Dickens, Balzac, Joyce, Proust, Laclos, Aldous Huxley, Somerset Maugham and Virginia Woolf, besides a new translation of Plato directly from the Greek.

²⁷ According to Sergio Miceli, the Brazilian editorial spurt in the 1930s was accompanied by “a significant set of modernizing changes”, such as the acquisition of rotary printing presses, diversification of the editorial programs, employment of specialists for the different tasks of production and finishing, market innovations in the sales strategies, changes in the graphic features of the books and verticalization of the production process (Miceli, 1979, p. 78-79).

²⁸ Besides the difficulties caused by the relative distance from the reading public of the Rio-São Paulo axis, the image of Globo as a regional publisher was a problem for the project of coopting national authors, as we shall see later on, since the “company did not enjoy the same high regard of the Brazilian intelligentsia” (Hallewell, 2012, p. 130).

compensation for the geographic distance from the main cultural production centers of the country (Miceli, 1979, p. 89). José Otávio Bertaso, Henrique's son, explains the strategy: "to introduce contemporary English-language and even German and Italian writers – without neglecting the national taste for the French culture. To counterbalance this, besides regionalist authors, the opportunities of publication for Brazilian authors in general were to be expanded" (Bertaso, 2012, p. 25).

As in the 1920s, the profits obtained from translating mass literature allowed betting on higher literature. The search for prestige also implied coopting already known Brazilian authors. In the 1930s and beginning of the 1940s, Globo had in its catalogue works by Oswald de Andrade (*Os condenados*), Murilo Mendes and Jorge de Lima (*Tempo e eternidade*), Menotti del Picchia (*Kalum, mistério do sertão*), Cecília Meireles (*A festa das letras*), Câmara Cascudo (*Vaqueiros e cantadores*) and Graciliano Ramos (*A terra dos meninos pelados*). In order to consolidate the strategy, Maurício Rosenblatt was sent to Rio de Janeiro, where he headed the Globo office until 1951. Among his tasks was to make contact with the intellectuals of the center of the country, seeking to attract new national authors to the house editions. His friendship with Aurélio Buarque de Holanda, philologist and teacher at Colégio Pedro II, and with Lúcia Miguel Pereira, critic and historian of literature, paid editorial dividends in the following years, as we shall see below.

According to Elizabeth Torresini, from 1931 to 1937 Globo placed 840 titles on the Brazilian market, counting national authors and translations, almost half the number of new works launched during the same period by all publishing houses in São Paulo together.²⁹ From 1938 to 1943 the publishing house alone was responsible for about 6% of the launches in the country, according to data from Sergio Miceli, and became the second largest independent publisher in the period, right after Companhia Editora Nacional in São Paulo.³⁰ However, after a few years of stability in an outstanding position on the national publishing scene, a financial crisis, together with changes in the political and literary contexts, was to start a new cycle in publishing. In 1942 the Capanema Reform was a blow to the publisher. Reports from that period show that with the changes in the curriculum thousands of new schoolbooks became obsolete overnight.³¹ Besides the losses with the printings that had to be discarded, Globo took longer than its competitors in the field to

rearticulate its production, which also meant loss of market share. In the 1950s another factor contributed to the commercial decadence of the company: government control of remittances of foreign exchange abroad, making it difficult to pay the translation copyrights. There was then a "rapid decline in the number of translated literature published by Globo" (Hallewell, 2012, p. 446). The great offer of new titles also appears to have created a kind of publishing inflation on the Brazilian market. In possibly biased numbers, José Otávio Bertaso states that demand for literature could not absorb more than 10% of the production. At Globo the situation led to devaluation of the titles; the end of daring projects such as the thematic encyclopedias in large, expensive editions; the search for alternative systems of distribution, such as door to door sales; and in 1947 closing down some expensive sections, such as Women and Home, besides a wave of dismissals.

This context helps explain the new tendency identified by Torresini and Amorim: re-publishing the successes in Globo's catalogue, which did not require large investments; concentrating efforts on publishing a few authors, as the already nationally successful Erico Verissimo; and diminishing the number of new titles, with a significant proportion of technical books (handbooks for the school and college publics). But the need to hold down expenses and reduce the market risks did not mean completely ignoring the regionalist authors. On the contrary, with the end of the Estado Novo, cultural peculiarities could be taken up again in literary production with a lower level of concern. Actually, there was a return of the old concerns of the coastal intellectuals regarding rural realities in Brazil. From North to South there was an increment of narratives about the *sertões* (backlands), disseminated in increasingly diversified media and languages, such as movies, theater and radio. The end of the 1940s and the 1950s provided a great space for the celebration of popular culture, in the songs of Luiz Gonzaga and Inezita Barroso, in the theater of Ariano Suassuna, in the literature of Guimarães Rosa, for instance. New institutions also bestowed legitimacy on localist views, such as the National Committee of Folklore, founded in 1947, and its state-level branches, created in subsequent years. In Rio Grande do Sul, in this period there was also the beginning of the *Gaúcho* Tradition Centers (CTG – Centros de Tradições Gaúchas), civic clubs that undertook a systematic process of inventing traditions, with new rites and logics of sociability based on representations from

²⁹ In São Paulo 1,724 books were published. In Rio de Janeiro, which was the federal capital at the time, 782. Further information confirms that the Rio Grande do Sul editions were concentrated at Globo. In 1931, São Paulo had 31 publishing houses, Rio de Janeiro 29 and Porto Alegre 16. See Torresini (1999, p. 76-78).

³⁰ The two companies, plus Editora José Olympio, in Rio de Janeiro, held 25% of the market of titles, distributed as follows: 14% of Companhia Editora Nacional and its affiliate Civilização Brasileira, from Rio; 6% of Globo; 5% of José Olympio (Miceli, 1979, p. 83).

³¹ Hallewell says that because of the losses the publishing house concentrated, in the field of schoolbooks, on the more stable field of higher education. In 1970, this was its main segment (Hallewell, 2012, p. 449).

the preceding literature and historiography. The new demand of the local market for topics on Rio Grande do Sul also appeared to encourage the publication of books. The same Henrique Bertaso who had been against the regionalist editorial line, as a pragmatic businessman, ultimately saw it as one of the solutions for the crisis in his company. In 1949, his right hand man, Erico Verissimo launched a historical novel about Rio Grande do Sul in a true thematic turnabout in his work: *O continente* [The continent], the first book of the trilogy *O tempo e o vento* [Time and the wind]. The same year a careful edition of *Contos gauchescos e lendas do Sul* [Gaúcho short stories and tales of the South] by Simões Lopes Neto inaugurated the Coleção Província [Collection of the Province], with successful sales throughout the decade.

Return to the regional: between local demand and the invention of national authors

The critical edition of Simões Lopes reveals that the old network of Globo intellectuals could be mobilized again, working on a large geographic scale and adding new contacts of their original members. Rosenblatt's friendship with Aurélio Buarque de Holanda, together with the effort to disseminate information about Simões Lopes undertaken by Augusto Meyer,³² led to a voluminous introduction to *Contos*, proving, by its detailed formal analysis, the superiority of Simões' regionalism to the Brazilian erudite public: "His prose creates the most felicitous compromise between the comfortable speech of the rural man and the best literary manner" (Holanda, 1950, p. 31). The launch had immediate repercussions on the historiography of Lúcia Miguel Pereira, who in 1950 published her *Prosa de ficção* [Prose of fiction], the twelfth volume of *História da literatura brasileira* [History of Brazilian Literature], a work directed by Alvaro Lins. In the chapter about regionalism Simões' work is presented as the "most significant" in the country, despite using a "language that is closer to dialect". Reproducing the recent positive critiques of Meyer and Holanda, Pereira assured that "The verbal art was practiced by Simões Lopes Neto with admirable knowledge – or intuition – of its power" (Pereira, 1950, p. 212).

The second book of the Coleção Província proves the editorial bet on the new regionalist debates on folklore and popular culture: Augusto Meyer published his *Cancioneiro gaúcho* [Gaúcho songbook], a selection of oral

poetry with preface and notes by the organizer. The third volume had a new edition (the seventh) of *No galpão* [In the barn], by Darcy Azambuja, which was at the center of the heroic regionalism of the 1920s. The success of the critical work of Simões Lopes led to the posthumous publication of a collection of short stories the author had published in the Pelotas newspapers, as the fourth volume of the collection, *Casos do Romualdo* [Romualdo's stories]. Simões' books in fact were to become the editorial paradigm for the new era at Globo. A letter from Bertaso to Meyer, also available at Casa de Rui Barbosa, urged him to prepare a critical edition of *Antonio Chimango*, a short rural poem published in 1915 by Ramiro Barcellos as a political criticism of the authoritarian government of Borges de Medeiros, "along the lines of Simões' edition that you usually cite as a standard and one of the best critical editions ever done in Brazil" (Bertaso, 1958). The project appeared in the fifth volume of the Coleção Província. In the sixth, once again Simões Lopes Neto, with a new edition of the first work he ever published, *Cancioneiro guasca*, a collection of popular poems, songs, old dances, improvised songs, sayings and historical poems. The publisher's old friends, Mansueto Bernardi and Moysés Vellinho were called upon to organize the seventh volume, *Estudos Rio-Grandenses* [Rio Grande do Sul Studies], a selection of dispersed texts by the historian and literary critic Rubens de Barcellos. The eighth volume was a double edition of the two books of regionalist poetry by Vargas Neto, published originally by Globo in the 1920s, *Tropilha gaúcha e Gado xucro* [Gaúcho horse herds and Untamed cattle]. Beginning with the ninth volume, Bertaso also began to invest in new texts, but by known writers, with his usual entrepreneurial prudence. Darcy Azambuja thus published his second and last book of short stories, *Coxilhas* [Undulating plains]. In the tenth volume we have the *História da literatura do Rio Grande do Sul* [History of Rio Grande do Sul literature] by Guilhermino Cesar, a modernist from Minas Gerais who lived in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In the eleventh volume Athos Damasceno, a poet of the former Globo group, published a history of the local theater, *Palco, salão e picadeiro em Porto Alegre no século XIX* [Stage, hall and circus ring in 19th century Porto Alegre]. Then, *Paz nos campos* [Peace in the countryside], of the previously rejected critical regionalism of Cyro Martins, and a new edition of *Farrapo: memória de um cavalo* [Farrapo: memories of a horse] that the Federalist historian Félix Contreiras Rodrigues had published in 1935 on the occasion of the centennial of the Farroupilha Revolution. The fourteenth volume

³² During the 1940s, Meyer published critical texts about the work of Simões Lopes in the local press and in the center of the country. Some of them were reproduced in his books of literary essays, and one of them would also be the preface to the critical work that Globo was now publishing.

was *Garibaldi e a Guerra dos Farrapos* [Garibaldi and the Farrapos War] by Lindolfo Collor. In 1958 a new promise of regionalism: the first book of fiction by journalist and founder of the *gaúcho* traditionalist movement Luiz Carlos Barbosa Lessa,³³ *O boi das aspas de ouro* [The ox with the golden horns], in a thematic and formal identity with Simões Lopes, was published in the fifteenth volume of the collection.³⁴

The return to literary regionalism obviously could not have occurred on the same terms as in the 1920s. While the national political and cultural context encouraged cultural production on the local themes, the new institutional conditions and growth of the book market led to another configuration: party politics and culture were to establish more precise borders, with relative autonomy of the latter toward the former. This movement was picked up by Mara Rodrigues in her analysis of the critical and historiographic production of Moysés Vellinho: “Although it was still a matter of politics, it was no longer only of parties fighting for the government apparatus, but rather a political fight for a differentiated position for intellectuals in society” (Rodrigues, 2006, p. 71). Thus, the relative decline of *gaúcho* regionalism in the 1930s, witnessed by Globo’s editions, did not threaten the legitimacy of the topics of the South, but rather of their heroic version (ideologically close to the party-politics struggle, as we saw), in erudite culture, as shown by Odaci Coradini: “more than being regionalist, what is at stake are the criteria to define this regionalism, whose changes can highlight certain more ‘natural’, more literary or more political criteria for differentiation” (Coradini, 2003, p. 134).

Globo participated in these efforts at redefinition at least since 1945, when the idea arose to launch a literary magazine that was “up to” the prestige achieved by the firm.³⁵ Erico Verissimo tells that he was in the USA when Henrique asked him about the proposal. Giving his support, which joined that of other intellectuals, he indicated Moysés Vellinho to run this editorial initiative (Verissimo, 2011 [1972], p. 49), significantly called *Província de São Pedro* [Province of São Pedro], in a reference to the official name and political situation of the region during the 19th century. His testimony shows that the old network continued to be articulated in the local sphere, despite the

“losses” to the central government, adding new members to the nucleus of the 1920s. In the biographic profile of Henrique Bertaso, Verissimo cites among the “friends of the Publishing House”, who in those times used to gather socially, besides the two of them, Vellinho, José Rasgado Filho, Reynaldo Moura, Athos Damasceno, Hamilcar de Garcia, Guilhermino Cesar, Vidal de Oliveira, Dante de Laytano, Alvaro Magalhães, Darcy Azambuja, Maurício Rosenblatt and Mário Quintana. Many of them were to become regular contributors to *Província de São Pedro*. Some, as we saw, were authors of the Coleção Província, which indicates that the publication of regionalist books by Globo in the 1950s was the consequence of the initial efforts of the group to redefine literary regionalism, implemented in the prestigious periodical.³⁶

Finally, it is important to show the difficulty of obtaining national authors for publication by Globo as a factor in returning to Rio Grande do Sul writers. With their easy access to publishers in the center of the country, such as José Olympio and Francisco Alves, Globo would arouse little interest among well-known authors: “It was very unlikely that the main authors of Brazilian literature could be convinced to abandon the publishers of the country’s political and intellectual capital, particularly when one of them was as important as José Olympio” (Hallewell, 2012, p. 453). Save few exceptions, the company would be left with a kind of “second rank of Brazilian writers”. Since Globo had a widespread system of distribution and given the renewed interest in local color in the world of letters, its choice was to launch local authors on a national level.³⁷ Erico Verissimo provided a precedent. After the success of *Olhai os lírios do campo* [Consider the lilies of the field] (1938), his old and new books were well accepted in the national market, offering him sufficient symbolic capital to venture into a historical novel set in Rio Grande do Sul. On the other hand, without the regional structure of Globo and its investments on a national scale, as pointed out by Miceli, “it is almost certain that Erico would not have had the opportunity of realizing his productive capacity to the same extent and would be, most optimistically, a provincial writer” (Miceli, 1979, p. 128). Although the success of Verissimo’s sales was not repeated by any other *gaúcho* in the 1930s and 1940s, many

³³ Bertaso’s bet on Barbosa Lessa, occasional collaborator of *Revista do Globo*, proved correct. The next year the author received the award for the best novel granted by the Brazilian Academy of Letters for his book *Os guaxos*, published by Francisco Alves, in the Terra Forte Collection.

³⁴ Globo published nine more titles in the Collection until 1971, with the new books of Vellinho and Damasceno, besides re-editing some classics of traditional historiography.

³⁵ In the same year the critical edition of Simões’ works began to be prepared. This included an advertising effort through the publication by Carlos Reverbel of a series of biographical stories on the writer from Pelotas in the house periodicals.

³⁶ Twenty-one issues of *Revista Província de São Pedro* were published between 1945 and 1957, with an irregular frequency. According to Carlos Reverbel, who was Vellinho’s secretary in editing the periodical, the printings were rarely of more than 3,000 copies, generally with financial losses to Globo. The enterprise was justified, however, because of the symbolic dividends: “... *Província de São Pedro* was prestigious and well-known nationally in intellectual circles” (Reverbel and Laitano, 1993, p. 115).

³⁷ This was also the intention when *Província de São Pedro* was started: “The undeclared objective of the magazine was to project the cultural image of the publishing house nationwide” (Reverbel and Laitano, 1993, p. 115).

of them were to be acknowledged among the literary elite of the center of the country, as enumerated by the author himself: Augusto Meyer (with *Machado de Assis*, *Giraluz* and *Coração verde*); Moysés Vellinho (with *Letras da Província*); Carlos Dante de Moraes (with *Tristão de Athayde* and *A inquietação e o fim trágico de Antero de Quental*); Mário Quintana (with *Rua dos cataventos*, *Sapato florido*, *Poemas*); and Dyonélio Machado (with *O louco do Cati* and *Os ratos*).³⁸

The most successful and once again paradigmatic case of investment in a public image as a national writer was that of old Simões Lopes Neto, an author with a small circulation during his lifetime who was transformed into an example of literary quality in Brazilian regionalist prose during the First Republic, at the expense of relevant names such as Coelho Neto and the also *gaúcho* Alcides Maya. In a letter to Augusto Meyer, Moysés Vellinho reported the success then enjoyed by the writer from Pelotas, besides his personal effort for his dissemination: “An auspicious fact: our Simões Lopes Neto will be included in the ‘Nossos Clássicos’ [Our Classics] Collection, which will soon be launched by Agir”. According to Vellinho, Tristão de Ataíde had invited him to organize an anthology of the “great regionalist” for that publishing house. Actually the critic was given the task of choosing between Simões, Alcides Maya or another *gaúcho* writer that he might prefer. “Unhesitatingly”, he chose the first: “You can well imagine my pleasure in accepting the work. How Simões Lopes is growing! His extraordinary posthumous career is not over yet” (Vellinho, 1956). Ten years earlier Carlos Reverbel, secretary of *Província de São Pedro* and reporter of *Revista do Globo*, had asked Meyer for his contributions to the house periodicals and informed the state of the effort to bring back Simões: “Dr. Moysés [Vellinho] and Carlos Dante de Moraes are almost joining the crowd. They will be great ‘Simões followers’. Athos [Damasceno] is excellent. He did a beautiful poetic transposition of ‘Negrinho do Pastoreio’ [Little black herd boy] [for *Província de São Pedro*]” (Reverbel, 1946).

The collective project for the posthumous honoring of Simões Lopes Neto thus corresponded to the redefinition of literary regionalism, according to Coradini, challenging the new center/periphery conditions, “as opposed to the ‘centralism’ or ‘cultural standardization’”, but also challenging the former “backward looking” regionalism, or “localist exclusivisms” (Coradini, 2003, p. 136). This line explains the future selection of titles for

the *Coleção Província*. Simões, who, as we saw, had been almost forgotten, supplied a model of local narrative that was less vainglorious and turned to the past than those of his contemporaries. His was a language work that brought together literary representation and popular orality, which was also in accordance with the new public taste for regional themes. These aspects would transform him into an illustrious precedent appropriate for the texts of the modernist generation which was now at the top of the local literary elite. It also connected several moments of regionalist writing, establishing a tradition and legitimizing the new canon of “national” authors from the South created by Globo. From Darcy Azambuja to Barbosa Lessa, in *gaúcho* literature there would be a common substrate based on Simões’ work. It is noteworthy that Maya, who was a natural competitor of Simões and had circulated broadly and been widely accepted critically at the center of the country during his lifetime, would be completely excluded from the *Coleção Província*. In brief, bringing back Lopes Neto was an essential step for the success of the new regionalist project of the group and of the last great editorial undertaking by Globo.

Final considerations

Literary historiography unanimously shows that *gaúcho* regionalism lost its force in cultural production from the end of the 1960s onwards. New authors in the state continued to look for national acceptance, but with different strategies, modernizing the language and extending the themes and motifs to the problems of the national urban middle class. Cloistered in traditional institutions, such as IHGRS and the Academia Rio-Grandense de Letras (ARL) [Rio Grande do Sul Academy of Letters], intellectuals who had led local production in previous years, such as Moysés Vellinho, lost space and legitimacy to the university professors and researchers with the development of graduate studies programs from the 1970s onwards. Globo exacerbated the tendency to concentrate investments on few authors, with a return that was considered certain, such as the well-known Erico Verissimo, living mainly from the editorial fund that had already been constituted.³⁹ In 1986 the new generation of the Bertaso family sold the publishing house to Roberto Marinho, who had for some time intended to unify his enterprises under the name Globo. In this transaction he took with him the entire catalog of works that had been translated and those by Brazilian authors published by the company

³⁸ Laurence Hallewell claims that during the period Globo did not have more than two important Brazilian authors, Erico Verissimo and Viana Moog, who was forgotten in the former’s list (Hallewell, 2012, p. 451).

³⁹ According to Hallewell, in the 1960s the publishing house began to decline as the number of new titles dropped from forty to only six a year (Hallewell, 2012, p. 453).

in Porto Alegre and transferred the editorial operations to the Rio-São Paulo axis.

As we saw, publishing regionalist books occupied a significant part of the life of the publishing house, fluctuating according to public interest, the political situation, the development of the Brazilian market, and the relative autonomy of the field of culture. On the one hand, it can be said that as a literary and for a while political movement *gaúcho* regionalism depended almost exclusively on the investments by Globo in publishing, as it dominated the local production of books. On the other hand, we know that at least on two occasions, the second half of the 1920s and in the 1950s, the regionalist line produced a considerable financial return; first sustaining, together with the mass literature translated, the expansion of the editorial structure of the old bookstore; then ensuring that there would always be cash in times of crisis. In a way the balance redefines the role of the “modernizing project” of the Bernardi-Verissimo pair in creating a large publishing house with national ambitions on the periphery of the country. We know that the publishers received an expanding company from Bernardi. We also know that the relationship with *gaúcho* regionalism was explored even during the phase when Globo was stable, after professionalization, a moment when it is remembered by the specialized historiography mainly because of the translation of foreign literature and its national prestige.

In his memoirs, Carlos Reverbel (Reverbel and Laitano, 1993) divides the history of Globo in Rio Grande do Sul into two phases: the first phase was regionalist, and the second was characterized by a national expansion and excellence in translation. Throughout this article, therefore, I have attempted to present the shades and complexities of this still current image, pointing out the different editorial cycles undergone by the company and introducing other temporal references in its history. The periodization constructed in this way presupposed an analysis of the publication of books in relation to broader political, economic and cultural phenomena. I sought to show, through the history of the publication of regionalist authors by Globo, that the closeness or distance between the domains of culture and politics in Rio Grande do Sul are a response to changes in the structural condition. The initial bets of the Bertassos on a difficult branch such as publishing can be credited to the close ties between the company and the local political elite interested in its propaganda. On the other hand, the publishing house was only able to expand thanks to the growth of the national book market and the strategies adopted by the company to position itself in it, besides the specialization of cultural agents/authors. In both senses the result was the selective recovery of its regionalist origin.

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