

“‘Longe da pátria, mas sem a esquecer’: print and non-print collections at the Oliveira Lima Library”¹

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Introduction

Manoel de Oliveira Lima, born in 1867 in Recife, Pernambuco and educated in Portugal, dedicated himself to the study and promotion of Brazilian culture despite spending most of his life outside of Brazil. His multiple undertakings – as bibliophile, journalist, historian, literary critic, diplomat and patron of the arts – were fueled by a seemingly boundless intellectual energy that transcended personal ambition. The best proof of this transcendency, and arguably Lima’s most enduring legacy to students of Brazil for generations to come, is the Oliveira Lima Library, the collection of print and non-print materials gathered over a lifetime which Lima and his wife, Flora de Oliveira Lima, née Cavalcanti de Albuquerque, bequeathed to The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.

In his time Lima was a leading exponent of Brazilian culture in all its facets and was regarded inside and outside diplomatic circles as Brazil’s intellectual ambassador. As a prolific writer and scholar his central concern was the formation of Brazilian national identity, with emphasis on Brazil’s regional and international relationships. During his 23-year diplomatic career and afterward, he worked publicly and privately to advance Brazilian culture wherever he lived, whether posted at Lisbon, Berlin, Washington, London, Tokyo, Caracas, Brussels or Stockholm, or in Brazil. His residence and travel in these and other capitals afforded him privileged access to the markets for primary and secondary sources on Brazil, Portugal and the Iberoamerican world.

Ambassador Joaquim de Souza Leão Filho, a family friend, wrote of Lima’s collecting activities that:

“A exemplo de Harrisse, Lennox, [e] Carter Brown acumulou ele uma das melhores ‘Americanas’ de todos os tempos, tendo vivido uma época em que ainda era possível formarem-se coleções de valia mesmo por quem não tinha fortuna. A mercadoria era encontradiça, a demanda relativamente pequena e remota a concorrência das prolíferas universidades americanas.”²

In 1916, upon offering his library to the Catholic University of America, Lima described it as “the result of 35 years of patient collecting” and as “one of the finest owned by a Brazilian on Latin American subjects.” By the time of Lima’s death in 1928, the collection of printed materials had grown to 40,000 volumes. In addition there were nearly 400 manuscripts dating from the 17th to the 20th century; an iconographic collection comprising more than 400 paintings and engravings of similar vintage as well as hundreds

of 19th- and 20th-century photographs; sixty volumes of scrapbooks containing newspaper clippings of Lima's journalistic writings, interspersed with letters, photographs and articles by and about his supporters and detractors; and the massive archive of Lima's passive correspondence. The library was thus a multidimensional collection of *Brasiliana* unrivaled in the world outside Brazil—in reality, a library, an archives and a museum all in one. For the study of Luso-Brazilian history and culture until 1930, and especially in its coverage of the 19th century, it remains without peer to this day.

Surviving her husband by twelve years, Flora succeeded him as curator, leaving the collections virtually intact and in the care of the University upon her death in 1940. During this period, under Flora's stewardship the work of inventorying books and periodicals and organizing newspaper clippings, photographs and other memorabilia into scrapbooks and albums continued.

In an article published in 1954, Manoel Cardozo, the library's curator from 1940 to 1985, stressed the importance of the historian's eye in building the collection, and explained the reasons for the latter's richness in 19th-century materials:

"... [N]othing more nearly epitomizes the life of Oliveira Lima than books, books that he collected and books that he wrote. It may be, as someone has remarked, that the greatest monument to Lima's genius will in the long run be his library. He gave it to The Catholic University of America where the 40,000 items of the original donation, carefully gathered over a period of fifty years, remain pretty much as he left them. Yet Lima's extraordinary library would not have been developed as intelligently as it was, nor would it have been so useful to the historian, if he had not known the value to the scholar of the books that he bought, if he had not, in short, been an historian himself... He was interested in books as tools for research, and immediately for his own research.

"... The use to which he put it bore the fruit which anyone interested in the history of Brazil is amply familiar with. You cannot study the history of Brazil, particularly from the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in 1808 to the overthrow of Dom Pedro II in 1889, without reading the works of Oliveira Lima.... [H]is interest as a writer of history, his great contribution to the writing of history, lies in the Brazilian nineteenth century."

In the same article, Cardozo alludes to two other aspects of Lima's activity as a historian that helped shape the library's collection: his interest in Hispanic America and his pioneering work in Brazilian social history:

"When he wrote his 'Historia da civilização' as a textbook on world history for Brazilian students, he decided to depart from the usual procedure by devoting more attention to the New World. Next to European history, Brazilian students, he thought, should know American history best of all. Actually, no Brazilian of his day was better prepared than he to write about Hispanic America....

"OL was also, I believe, the first Brazilian historian of importance to devote any serious attention to social history and to economics.... In writing social history, he made use of the impressions of Brazil left by foreign travellers in their books. In this regard he was certainly a pioneer in Brazilian historiography.... He realized the value to the social historian of many of the old engravings and lithographs.... Gilberto Freyre, who spent much time with Oliveira Lima in Washington and gathered material for his 'Casa grande & senzala' from the Lima Library, publicly admitted the influence of

Lima's historical orientation: '... não me lembro de mestre nenhum, excepto Boas,' he wrote, 'que viesse a exercer influência tão poderosa sobre a minha formação'”⁴

Lima's passion for collecting primary and secondary sources extended to his personal life, leading him to document and preserve many details of his daily activities. Examples of this documentation include calling cards; theater programs and tickets; exhibition and auction announcements and catalogs, big and small; receipts of purchases of books, iconographic materials and other additions to the library; rail and maritime transportation receipts; and official and unofficial banquet menus, complete with Lima's own penciled diagrams of seating assignments. These materials, together with the correspondence archive and scrapbook collection – both of which are arranged in chronological order as originally instituted by Lima himself – and the iconographic collection, constitute a wealth of archival sources for historians and others interested in Lima's biography or in studying Brazilian history, historiography, literature and culture during his active years, from 1882 to 1928.

Given the multifaceted nature of the library's print and non-print collections, much of the research conducted there involves the intersection of two or more genres of primary and/or secondary sources. The intersections are frequent and often yield important dividends of knowledge about how Lima conducted his research; produced and illustrated his publications; collaborated in the research, publications and artistic projects of others; developed his collections; participated in current events; and contributed to the preservation of Brazilian memory. These aspects of the historical, literary and artistic projects in which Lima and his interlocutors were engaged are illustrated in the following pages, as we survey a few of the intersections recently traversed by bibliographers and scholars at the library.

Early Printing in Minas Gerais: A New Discovery and a Missing Link

Laurence Hallewell, in his *Books in Brazil: A History of the Publishing Trade*, informs us that the first printing shop in Ouro Preto, the capital of Minas Gerais until 1893, belonged to the Portuguese Manuel José Barbosa Pimenta e Sal and was licensed in 1822, the same year the provincial government installed a press of its own. According to Hallewell, “As neither press seems to have produced anything but newspapers, they are of no interest to the history of book publishing” (p. 41). He goes on to say that “the earliest book we are aware of printed in Ouro Preto after 1807 was a collection of *Leis do Imperio do Brasil* in 1835....” But there was at least one monograph published ten years earlier by Barbosa that Hallewell didn't know about – a pamphlet forty pages in length – and it has been discovered in the library's collection:

Tratado de educação física, feito por determinação do Exmo. Conselho de Governo, e á custa do mesmo impresso para ser gratuitamente distribuido pelos habitantes da Provincia / por Antonio Gonçalves Gomide. Ouro Preto: Na Officina de Barboza e Ca., 1825.

Sacramento Blake, author of the *Diccionario bibliographico brasileiro* (1883-), reports two other works by Gomide, one published in 1814 in Rio de Janeiro and another posthumously in 1876. He does not cite the *Tratado*. Nor can this title be found in the other major bibliographies of Brasiliana acquired by Lima, namely, Innocencio Francisco da Silva's *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez* (1858-) and the Biblioteca Nacional's *Catalogo da Exposição de Historia do Brazil* (1881).

The means by which Lima obtained the pamphlet has not been discovered; nor is it mentioned in his *Bibliographical and historical description of the rarest books in the Oliveira Lima Collection at the Catholic University of America*, compiled by Ruth Holmes (1926). This is not surprising, since the so-called "Holmes bibliography" lists fewer than ten percent of the books and even a smaller percentage of the pamphlets that can fairly be classified as rare or even extremely rare. Whether Lima himself was aware of the *Tratado*'s rarity is another unanswered question.

Illustrations for Books

Many of the illustrations in Lima's works were reproduced from originals in his own possession. Two examples are the frontispiece portrait of George Canning in his *Historia diplomatica do Brazil: o reconhecimento do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro: H. Garnier, 1901), from an engraving in the library's collection, and the numerous illustrations, taken mostly from books, in his *O Movimento da Independência* (S. Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1922). The latter volume includes a bibliography of Lima's prior publications that announces the presence and extent of illustrative matter in each, suggesting the high value that Lima placed on iconographic materials as historical documents and the pride he likely took in being able to acquire and disseminate them. Perhaps in accordance with the publication standards of his time (or with the absence thereof), in none of Lima's books containing images from his collection was any information provided as to their source.

Brazilian Poet: Maciel Monteiro, Barão de Itamaracá

In Scrapbook 11 we find a letter to Lima from Alfredo de Carvalho dated Recife, Dec. 5, 1904, stating: "Já recebi de Londres os *clichés* dos retratos de Maciel Monteiro e das estampas da obra de Rugendas relativas a Pernambuco; as provas estão esplendidas..." A search in our catalog reveals that in 1905 Carvalho co-edited, with J.B. Regueira Costa, a posthumous collection of poems by Pernambuco native Maciel Monteiro (Recife, Pernambuco 1804-Lisbon, Portugal 1868). The library's copy is inscribed to Oliveira Lima, and the frontispiece portrait has the caption "Maciel Monteiro (de um retrato a óleo por Tirone, em 1864)," without further identification. Tipped off by Carvalho's letter, we immediately locate the painting in the library's collection.

Our quest concerning Monteiro is completed by a check of Manoel Cardozo's "A guide to the manuscripts in the Lima Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C."⁵ which reveals among the library's holdings a manuscript poem by

Monteiro. Is this poem unpublished, or was it included in Carvalho and Costa's compilation? We leave this for a future researcher to discover.

The Rugendas reproductions mentioned in Carvalho's letter apparently were used in another book published the same year in Recife that involved a literary collaboration between Carvalho and Lima. It is L. F. Tollenare's *Notas dominicaes, tomadas durante uma residencia em Portugal e no Brasil nos annos de 1816, 1817 e 1818. Parte relativa a Pernambuco*, translated from an unpublished French manuscript by Alfredo de Carvalho and with a preface by Oliveira Lima. Inserted in a special pocket in one of the library's copies is a book review from a Brazilian newspaper.

Presumably, in 1904 part of Lima's book and art collection, including the Rugendas work and the painting of Monteiro, was in London, "longe da pátria," and Lima was fortunate to have someone there to entrust with obtaining the required reproductions.

Oliveira Lima and the *Sociedade de Beneficencia Brasileira em Portugal*

Materials from the scrapbook, pamphlet and periodical collections reveal significant information about Lima's involvement with the *Sociedade de Beneficencia Brasileira em Portugal* from 1885 through 1913, the year of his retirement from the diplomatic service. Except for scant holdings at Portugal's National Library, the Lima Library's printed materials related to the Sociedade are unique.

In the preface to Lima's posthumous work, *Impressões da América Espanhola*, Manoel Cardozo reports that it was an attack on the Sociedade that provoked Lima's first foray into polemical journalism:

*"Foi ... em julho de 1885, aos 18 anos incompletos, quando ainda freqüentava o Curso Superior de Letras, que [Lima] ensaiou com mais vigor o gênero que depois manejou com tanta maestria, a polêmica, e publicou então uns artigos sob o título 'Uma questão importante', no Comércio de Portugal. O pretexto da polêmica foi um desabafo de Augusto Ribeiro, publicado no Correio da Noite de 15 de julho, em que o escritor, fazendo-se eco dumas crônicas aparecidas antes no País do Rio de Janeiro, censurava a Sociedade de Beneficência Brasileira em Portugal e através dela o serviço diplomático brasileiro. Respondeu-lhe Oliveira Lima com o pseudônimo de 'Um brasileiro', que erradamente se supôs ser do Monsenhor Pinto de Campos ('um patife', nas palavras exaltadas de Oliveira Lima, 'que gosta de estar bem com todos, atraíçoando a todos por inveja e safadeza'), defendendo com o calor dos seus anos, e nem sempre com justiça, o que ele julgava ser os direitos e a dignidade do Brasil.'"*⁶

In an 1890 pamphlet apparently authored by Lima, he is listed as the Sociedade's "1o. secretário (relator)." On p. 2 the author declares, "Ha vinte e dois annos que a Sociedade de Beneficencia Brasileira em Portugal se acha organizada e quantos beneficios não tem ella semeado!" From Lima's *Memórias, estas minhas reminiscências*, we learn that earlier the same year Lima and a few others had been the only Sociedade members to attend the burial of Empress Teresa Cristina in Lisbon:

*“...o velho Jacintho Dias de Aguiar ..., João Vieira da Silva, Rodrigo Felicio e eu fomos os únicos que, representando a Sociedade Brasileira de Beneficência, comparecemos ao enterro da Imperatriz. Todos os mais desertaram, declarando que nunca tinham sido outra coisa senão vermelhos.”*⁷

This version of events is consistent with that offered by Barman (1999): “The funeral mass was attended by representatives of the European monarchs, the diplomatic corps, and the Portuguese nobility. Only Brazilians were notable for their rarity.”⁸

In what ways did the Sociedade influence Lima’s conduct as a diplomat and the conduct of other Brazilian diplomats? Within the Itamaraty, was the Sociedade a factor in defining the proper role of diplomats as opposed to that of consular agents? Information that can help answer these questions can likely be found in the scrapbook collection and correspondence archive.

Oliveira Lima, Americanist in France

A discovery in the pamphlet collection yields information about Lima’s involvement in the emergence of Latin American Studies in France:

Histoire des nations de l’Amérique latine. Paris: Société d’Histoire de l’Amérique Latine. [15] p. ; 34 cm. (folio). [Publication prospectus]. Includes a double-page color illustration with caption “Rio-de-Janeiro, aquarelle du Lieutenant Chamberlain (1820),” probably from Lima’s collection.

A reference to the participation of Lima and José Verissimo appears in the prospective table of contents on p. [11]: “Tome VIII – Le Brésil sous le régime impérial – M. de Oliveira Lima. Tome IX – La fin de l’empire et les Etats-Unis du Brésil – M. José Verissimo.”

From p.[13]: “Conditions de Souscription. *L’Histoire des Nations de l’Amérique Latine* sera publiée, d’abord, dans une édition de luxe en langue française. Cette première édition, par le papier, le format, l’exécution typographique et l’illustration, sera conforme à ce spécimen. L’ouvrage sera composé de 15 volumes de 450 à 500 pages, et la distribution des matières conforme au tableau sommaire ci-dessus. Le premier tome paraîtra vers la fin de 1913, le second au commencement de l’année suivante, et les autres suivront à un intervalle moyen de quatre mois.”

From p. [15]: “Comité d’Initiative de la Société d’Histoire. Un comité d’initiative s’est formé en vue de favoriser la création de la Société d’Histoire de l’Amérique Latine et de décider des mesures préalables à la constitution définitive de cette société. Il est ainsi composé: Président: M. Ch. Ceignobos, professeur à la Sorbonne. Vice-Présidents: MM. de Oliveira Lima, ministre plénipotentiaire; le marquis de Peralta, ministre plénipotentiaire; Puga-Borne, ministre plénipotentiaire; E. Rodriguez Larreta, ministre plénipotentiaire. Membres du Bureau: [various Frenchmen from museums, Facultés, etc.]; F. García Calderon, secrétaire de la légation du Pérou, à Paris; A.-C. Rivas, professeur de

droit international à l'Université de Caracas, membre de l'Académie d'Histoire du Venezuela; J. Verissimo, secrétaire général de l'Académie Brésilienne; M. Vitrac, bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque Nationale.»

From p. [3]-[4]: “Notice Introductive: Nous avons ici le devoir de dire le cas que nous faisons des travaux par lesquels les historiens américains de langues espagnole et portugaise ont attesté leur talent et leur érudition. Mais l’immense quantité des matériaux et leur dispersion, entre autres causes, les ont jusqu’à présent empêchés de faire une oeuvre d’ensemble. Quelques Américains du Nord, Prescott, H. H. Bancroft, Markham, Winsor, ont entrepris cette tâche. Mais, en dépit de leur conscience et de leur talent, ils sont restés étrangers à l’âme des Latins d’Amérique. Il leur a manqué, pour la pénétrer, la sympathie naturelle que donne seule la communauté d’origine. Les peuples Latins ne peuvent être pleinement satisfaits que d’une histoire pensée et écrite par des frères de langue et de civilisation.

«Une histoire générale de l’Amérique Latine composée par la collaboration d’écrivains américains et français viendrait donc à son heure. Elle est l’oeuvre que nous voulons tenter de réaliser.»

Except for the copy held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in France, the Lima Library’s holding of the prospectus is unique. There is no evidence the advertised work was ever published; it is reasonable to assume that the outbreak of World War I in 1914 forced its suspension. Researchers interested in uncovering more information about this and other Americanist projects may consult, among other sources, the hundreds of letters in Lima’s archives from José Verissimo, Angel César Rivas, and others.

Patron of the Arts: Oliveira Lima and Antonio Parreiras

In this example, a pamphlet leads to the discovery of important primary sources in our collection and new knowledge about Lima’s involvement with Brazilian art. It is the catalogue of a 1927 exhibition of the pioneering Brazilian landscape painter Antonio Parreiras. Loose inside the pamphlet are four *croquis* – detail photographs of works by Parreiras that he wishes to exhibit and offer for sale.

The extensive correspondence from Parreiras and other Brazilian artists of whom Lima was a patron, along with documents in the scrapbook and iconographic collections, including original works by the artists, shows the extent of Lima’s activity in support of Brazilian art. Some of the correspondence reveals that Lima provided historical reference data to assist artists in composing their works, thus contributing not only to the promotion of Brazilian art but also to its creation.

Trusted Confidant: Oliveira Lima and Octavio Brandão

In May 1919 Octavio Brandão, age 23, a pharmacist, journalist, and native of the state of Alagoas who was soon to become one of the earliest activists of the Brazilian

Communist Party, escaped from prison in his home town after being jailed for political reasons and fled to Rio de Janeiro. The library's pamphlet collection includes the following uniquely held pseudonymous work in a presentation copy with inscription to Oliveira Lima dated Dez. 919:

Apontamentos de um burguez / Salomão. Rio de Janeiro: [s.n.], 1919. 29 p.; 18 cm.

On page 2 the author is more specific: “quem fala aqui é a alma sincera de um pequeno burguez.” The autographed inscription tips us off to his identity: “Salomão (Oct. Brandão).” We consult the *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro, 1930-1983* and conclude that probably Brandão had met Lima during his years as a student at the Universidade de Recife. Reference sources report other pseudonyms used by Brandão but not this one; likewise they report other works by him, including other pamphlets, but not this one.

Next, in the correspondence archive we locate a letter written in Rio de Janeiro and addressed to Lima in Parnamirim, Pernambuco dated December 20, 1919 – seven months after Brandão's escape from the Alagoas jail – in which he reports that he is housed in temporary quarters but plans to establish himself permanently in Rio. Our pamphlet was published the month before Brandão's letter to Lima, during those months in hiding.

Were it not for the author's autographed inscription to Lima on the cover, we would have had no way of knowing the true identity of Salomão. And the pamphlet, an early example of the ephemeral press to which Brandão is said to have been a prolific contributor, may never have been discovered were it not for Brandão's correspondence with Lima.

The library also owns three other works by Brandão, two on engineering-related subjects. One of them, *Canaes e lagôas*, contains a portrait of the young author with autographed inscription to Oliveira Lima dated Rio, Nov. 919. Only one other library in the U.S. holds any of these books.

A copy of the pamphlet and of the letter will soon be provided to the Arquivo de História Social “Edgard Leuenroth” at UNICAMP (the Universidade Estadual de Campinas located in Campinas, São Paulo), where Brandão's papers are housed.

Conclusion and Note to Researchers

A holistic approach in research by users, and in cataloguing and research by bibliographers, uncovers links between the various segments of the print and non-print collections, while illuminating the multiple facets of Oliveira Lima's life and work. Intersections of two or more genres of primary and/or secondary sources occur frequently, often yielding important knowledge about the historical, literary and artistic projects in which Lima and his interlocutors were engaged. The examples reviewed give ample testimony of Lima's contribution to Brazilian history not only as a scholar and writer, but

as a prodigious collector and conservator of historical materials intended for use by future generations of scholars.

To date, most of the library's Luso-Brazilian printed materials – over 16,000 titles – have been catalogued in the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC), which is accessible to users by paid subscription only. All of the remaining printed materials are represented on manually produced catalog cards, not yet automated, and the online cataloguing work continues. By 2005 the records created in OCLC will be available in The Catholic University of America's local online catalog, accessible gratis through the website of the Washington Research Libraries Consortium (WRLC).

For the non-print collections, several finding aids exist along with plans to enhance them. As mentioned above, Manoel Cardozo's "A guide to the manuscripts in the Lima Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C." is reproduced in volume 2 of the *Catalog of the Oliveira Lima Library, the Catholic University of America*, available at the Biblioteca Nacional, the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, and other major libraries in Brazil. Reproduced in the same volume is the list of Oliveira Lima's correspondents, who number more than 1,600. In the case of the correspondence archive, while fulfilling researchers' requests for access and microfilming, the library has worked to improve an existing typescript index, with the goal of publishing an updated and revised version. Finding aids are currently being constructed for the scrapbook and iconography collections.

However sophisticated the access tools that may be developed, the on-site visit will undoubtedly remain the most productive and enriching way to access the library's multifaceted collections. For this reason, the library plans to raise funds for a permanent fellowship program beckoning scholars from all over the world to mine the prodigious wealth of print and non-print materials awaiting discovery there, in fulfillment of Oliveira Lima's deepest wish.

Notas

¹Oliveira Lima to Levi Carneiro, cited in Lima Sobrinho, Barbosa, "Oliveira Lima, o historiador" in *Centenário de Oliveira Lima, 25-XII-1867 - 25-XII-1967*. [Brasília]: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Divisão de Documentação, Comissão de Estudos dos Textos da História do Brasil, Seção de Publicações, 1968, p. 49.

²Souza Leão Filho, Joaquim de, "Oliveira Lima, o colecionador" in *Centenário de Oliveira Lima...*, p. 56.

³Cardozo, Manoel, "Oliveira Lima and the writing of history." Reprinted from *Inter-American Review of Bibliography*, vol. 4, nos. 1-2, January/June 1954, p. 43-51.

⁴Cited by Cardozo from Introduction by Gilberto Freyre in Oliveira Lima's *Memórias, estas minhas reminiscências* (Rio: J. Olympio, 1937), p. [v].

⁵Cardozo, Manoel. "A guide to the manuscripts in the Lima Library, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C." Reprinted from *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, no. 6, 1940, p. 471-504. (Also reproduced in *Catalog of the Oliveira Lima Library, the Catholic University of America* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1970), vol. 2.).

⁶Cardozo, Manoel, "Prefácio" in Lima, Oliveira, *Impressões da América espanhola, 1904-1906*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria J. Olympio, 1953, p. 30.

⁷Lima, Oliveira. *Memórias...*, p. 61-62.

⁸Barman, Roderick. *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-91*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 375.

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