Publishing around Brazil: Spiritism in the XIX Press

Nicolas Theodoridis

ABSTRACT
The research in question is part of the development of the doctorate at Salgado de Oliveira University (UNIVERSO) and was forwarded from the search in the National Library’s, using the keyword - Kardec _ in the period from 1870 to 1889 and from there a qualitative analysis was elaborated through the qualitative survey. This small section fixes the attention in the year 1875 for two substantial reasons to be appreciated in the following lines.

Keywords: History, Press, Spiritism

I. INTRODUCTION

He descends early, the land of Cruzeiro (Brazil) proved to be tacked with spiritist propaganda. There were several factors that provided this fertile ground for the assimilation of spiritism in Brazil. One of the key points was the influence of French culture in the country, in which “mainly in the enlightened class of society that Spiritism made its first progress here, since the fundamental works, as they are not yet translated into the vernacular, do not they could be read by the less educated classes” (Wantuil, 1981, p. 565).

Incontri (2004, p. 118) postulated that “the cultural background of our history is predominantly religious - read Catholic - with little scientific and philosophical tradition” arising from the restrictions of the Portuguese government in the then colony. This had repercussions on popular education with a high rate of illiteracy and a huge cultural backwardness. Figueiredo (2016, p. 557) also emphasized that “Brazil was a contrast, like two worlds in one country” where “Catholic traditionalism emerged as a reaction to spiritualism and liberal culture. Morals and religion were kept inseparable by the dogmatized supernatural revelation by the Church”. Incontri (2004, p. 120) also stresses that one could raise the hypothesis of this receptivity due to

to the mediumship of the indigenous and African peoples that the Brazilian soil proved to be so fruitful for spiritism. But it was because of the Catholic heritage and the scientific-philosophical and pedagogical absence that spiritism assumed in Brazil only the character of religion, in which some exponents of Spiritist thought weighed in who understood its true character.

As Figueiredo (2016, p. 553 to 557) asserts, even with all the strength of religious tradition, in the second half of the 19th century, the phenomenon of rotating tables entered the country with force. We already had a significant number of adherents of homeopathic medicine and Mesmer’s magnetism. The “prehistory of spiritism in Brazil” began with the translation of the book “Times are her” in 1860 by Professor Casimir Lieutaud in Rio de Janeiro and has been gaining more defined directions. Wantuil (1981, p. 565) points out that “the adepts, isolated at first, began to form intimate groups for the study of the Kardecian works and for mediumistic experiences”. These first encounters were not recorded and ended up getting lost in the mists of time.

To conclude this small outline, I transcribe the words of Figueiredo (2016, p. 573), who, according to us “the history of Spiritism in Brazil and the understanding of Spiritist doctrine deserve a deep and progressive review based on the fundamental principles and original paradigm (...)”).

1 Subtitle of the chapter dedicated to Teles de Menezes - (Wantuil, 1981, p. 563).
2 Les temps sont arrivés.
II. SPIRITIST PRESS

These pioneers and explorers fought against various adversities in order to spread the message brought by the spirits codified by Allan Kardec. The Brazilian has not only a deep religious feeling, but also a myriad of religious beliefs and practices, which predispose him to novelties in this area, forged in the process of forming our national identity.

Returning to what has already been described, spiritism entered Brazil early due to the French influence here and the religious context of the people in general. In the survey carried out, it is possible to observe that in the newspapers the supply of spiritist books was a constant, from the north to the south of the country, all of which in their mother language, that is, French, which surrounded reading and study. From the spiritist doctrine to an elite literate in the French language, centered mainly in Rio de Janeiro, at least until the year 1875, when books began to be offered in Portuguese, providing better dissemination among, say, less educated classes.

The beginning and subsequent spread of spiritualism were reported in several periodicals at the time. The Mercantil from Rio de Janeiro reported the spread of spiritualism in the Portuguese capital, making reference to the turning tables and the “great number of proselytos” existing in the city. The Illusion Magazine he also mentioned the turning tables. The newspaper O Pacotilha described the development of the doctrine in several cities, in addition to mentioning famous scientists of the time who surrendered the evidence of the spiritist phenomena, among them, William Crookes (1932 - 1919), Camille Flammarion (1842 - 1925) and Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903).

The Gazeta da Tarde he mentions that the beginning of the spiritist movement, initiated in America with the Fox sisters and the case of the raids and of which spiritism is part, would also be his grave. The author clarifies this assertion by informing that there was an investigation in Pennsylvania for more than three years in order to ascertain the veracity of the spiritist phenomena and that the conclusion of the experts was that of deception, criticizing Kardec and relating the doctrine with “the practical customs of witchcraft in the Middle Ages”.

Finally, The Apostle which highlighted the emergence of spiritist phenomena in the United States and the “supposed materializations” of hands, “human forms floating in space, tongues of fire circulating in the air, spontaneous drawings on sheets of paper” among many others, the author coming to refute all they.

From the beginning, a doubt was open to discussion, not only in Brazil but even in France. The fact that spiritism is a religion or not. As Sharp asserts 3 (2006, p. 123), Kardec stated that spiritism was “both a philosophy and a new branch of science⁴”. The topic is very interesting, but unfortunately it falls outside the scope of the research. What is certain is that this debate took up space in newspapers in the main cities of the world, as well as in Brazilians.

Luís Olímpio Telles de Menezes, founder of the first spiritist center in Brazil, in Salvador, on September 17, 1865, date that the Family Group of Spiritism he came to light (WANTUIL, 1981, p. 563 to 590 and ABREU, 2001, pp. 31 to 33), complained about the difficulty in approving its statutes. In a letter addressed to Judge Portella and reproduced in two editions in the newspaper A Reforma⁵, letter dated October 23, 1872, he demanded the delay of 14 months for the approval of the spiritist group's statutes.

The explanation for the delay was that, if it were declared a religion, it could not exist, since the state religion was Catholicism, but if it were considered as a philosophical study, it would then have the proper official permission for regulation. The magazine Pitoresca⁶ (PE) also had a publication in which it questioned this duality between religion and philosophy, warning that if it were a religion, what would be its method after all.

Continuing, the newspaper O Apóstolo⁷, linked to the Catholic Church, praised Judge Beldomiro Coelho, “Official secretary of the Empire” for not approving the Statutes of the Spiritist Charity Group, as these were contrary to the dogmas of the Church, considering, therefore, an offense to the religion of the State official. In his arguments, he points out that Decree No. 2711 of December 19, 1860 restricted meetings considered to be secret. This fact was also recorded by Gazeta da Tarde⁸ whereas the denial was due to the doctrine "to be condemned by the Church, because it denies fundamental dogmas of Catholicism”.

---

3. Lynn Sharp (2006) addresses in chapter 04 - Struggles for Legitimacy: Science and Religion - pp. 123 to 155, the duality in which the doctrine was seen.
4. Both a philosophy and a new branch of science. (Author's translation).
5. The newspaper - Espírito Santense (ES) cited the founding of the center and Bahia as the place of entry of the doctrine. Zic-Zags - Through Pariz. June 10, 1875, page 03, edition 69. Section: Litteratura.
One of the biggest questioners of spiritism in the press was Carlos de Laet. With weekly publications in the Jornal do Commercio in his column “Microcosm” in the Newsletter between the years 1878 to 1888, he made several criticisms of the doctrine that will be addressed in the course of the chapter. One of them is part of this clash regarding whether or not it is religion. In his Weekly Chronicle, Laet referred to spiritism as being “the most harmful superstition of this century”, because to use the scientific term, he would have to demonstrate the clear\(^{10}\) and in any situation the demonstrations, ending the article by referring to the invocation of the dead\(^ {11}\).

In Portugal, the newspaper O Economista also criticized spiritism citing superstitions, such as the number 13 and stating that “every man of science must walk (...) by studying the face of science some facts that are considered superior” showing that the phenomena of spiritism are products of fantastic and in the later edition, that the alleged science of spiritism is to invoke the dead spirits, comparing it with the ancient Pythagoras and demonic treaties of the Eastern religions. In the opinion of the author (not identified), spiritism is compared to a mental illness, a term that is very popular in criticism of the doctrine.

The issue of this clash is centered on the fact that, in the 19th century, it was characterized by the profusion of ideas that seethed, as already seen. Incontri used the expression “thought swelling” (2004, p. 51), in which several systems of ideas were intended to “be the universal panacea for all human problems and provide a definitive solution to history”. In this cauldron, also spiritualist ideas made, “firm and consistent counterpoint to materialist doctrines. There was a fierce conflict between the two conceptions. Attempts to think about a spiritualist world in a scientific context” (Incontri, 2004, p. 11) and that Figueiredo (2016, p. 215) explained the spiritualist reaction “is an essential historical fact to understand the dynamics of spiritism” from which he was part of the 19th century.

According to Valle (2004, p. 218) “spiritualism is a theory related to the nature of being, a doctrine according to which the spirit constitutes the substance of all reality, in opposition to materialism, as the spirit is opposed to matter and life mechanism.

The general characteristic of thinkers of the spiritualist dimension in this period is the tendency towards Christian theism and metaphysics, discovered through a passionate affirmation of freedom and in the struggle against scientific naturalistic determinism, typical of positive science, with emphasis on the innovative proposal of spiritualist philosophy self-styled spiritism, a word coined by its coder, Allan Kardec, which has spread worldwide today. (VALLE, 2004, p. 231).

According to Eliade (1979, p. 58) “the fashion of the occult was created by a French seminarin, Alphonse Louis Constant, born in 1810 and known by his nom de plume, Eliphas Lévi”. According to Lévi (1971, p. 43), this revival of the occult had to do with the abuses committed by the Catholic religion and later decline with the loss of its sovereignty, being more criticized in the 18th century, but, in his view, “the high magic escapes unbelief and ignorance, because it is based equally on science and faith”. Lévi died in 1875 but left a large number of followers of his ideas.

The spiritualist movement, in its general context, would be, according to Byrne (2010, p. 13), an urban phenomenon and related to the working class, in which “It gave to people who were deprived of traditional religion an alternative ethical and spiritual pattern for their lives. It was, therefore, a ‘by-product of secularisation and urban industrialisation’.

According to Handley (2007, p. 07) it will be a period in which the studies on the phenomena called by her “preternatural” had a greater relevance. The term refers to what the author postulates in which “preternatural wonders should be located somewhere out of the ordinary, yet potentially explainable by a combination of natural law and divine agency”. In other words, it would be the study of phenomena understood within a natural and divine order, distinct from those classified as supernatural, linked to mysticism, which contrasted with Kardec's position that the doctrine had a rationalistic and scientific character, with moral propositions.

In an article written on June 8, 1871, by Castorino de Faria and published in the newspaper Diario de Noticias from Rio de Janeiro, on June 10, 1871, the author makes reference to Madame Luize Gualt’s answer explaining the philosophical aspect of spiritism, that is, from an early age, these questions were the subject of debate, and the press was his vehicle for exchanging information. information, often not so complimentary ...

Well, the debate was alive and continues to this day. Célia Arribas, sociologist in her master's degree at USP having published your research of the dissertation in book, was entitled “After all, is spiritism religion?”, demonstrating how this dialogue still remains active.

\(^{10}\) Reference to meetings held in low light.

\(^{11}\) Deuteronomy, 18: 9-12.
III. 1875 - THE YEAR OF SPIRITIST HEAVEN AND HELL

Two interesting aspects to observe regarding the year 1875 were the translated publications of the spiritist works and the so-called “Process of the Spiritists”. Let us see each one of them starting with translations and repercussions in the country.

A. Heaven

### TABLE I: PUBLICATIONS IN THE BRAZILIAN PRESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journal</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Translation Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Jornal do Recife (PE)</td>
<td>Recife</td>
<td>9, 20, 21, 27</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Arrival of the Spiritists’ Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diário de São Paulo (SP)</td>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>2765 of January 24</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Translation of the Spiritists’ Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jornal do Comercio (RJ)</td>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Announcement of the arrival of the Book of Spiritism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esporte-Santo (ES)</td>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>9, 198</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Announcement of the arrival of the Spiritists’ Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diário do Maranhão (MA)</td>
<td>São Luís</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Announcement of the arrival of the Book of Spiritism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conservative: Political, News and Commercial Newspaper (SC)</td>
<td>Florianópolis</td>
<td>36, 39, 43</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Announcement of the arrival of the Book of Spiritism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Details

- **The Jornal do Recife (PE)**, owned by José de Vasconcelos, which had its activities from 1858 to 1938, in its 40, 41 and 42 editions, dated February 19, 20 and 21, announced the arrival of the Spiritists’ Book and the “Spiritualist Philosophy” at Livraria Brocard, in issue 171 of July 29, thanks to Mr. Garnier for the publication of the Mediums’ Book.
- From Recife also, the oldest functioning journal, *O Diário de Pernambuco*, founded on November 7, 1825 and active until today, published in its editions 51 of March 4 and 171 of July 29, references to the translated book of the Spirits.
- **Diário de São Paulo (SP)**, owned by Paulo Delfino, operated from 1865 to 1878, highlighted in its edition 2765 of January 24, the translation of the Spiritists’ Book, referring to the “indelible” Mr. Garnier. After this first reference, during the month of February, there were 07 editions (2781 / 2783, 2785, 2786, 2789, 2789 and 2790), March with 03 editions (2795, 2807 and 2811), April with 07 editions (2818, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2825, 2826 and 2831) in addition to a quote in May (2857), all referring to the Garnier bookstore and specifically to the Spiritists’ Book.
- **Jornal do Comercio (RJ)** founded in 1827 until April 29, 2016, published in its 10th issue of January 10 in its leaflet, without title, several small chronicles that alluded to the translation of the Spiritists’ Book. The author's signature did not appear. In the 19th of January 19th edition, only the information on the sale of the Spiritists’ Book is available. In two other serials, editions 164 of June 14 with the title “O Suicida” and 198 of July 18 with the title “See, hear and tell”, references to the translations of the books critically.
- **O Globo: Agency of the American Telegraph Agency** dedicated to the interests of Commercio, Lavoura e Industria (RJ) in its 99th edition of November 11, 1874, announces the sale of spiritist books in “French” and already in editions 36, 39 and 43 05, 08 and 13 February respectively, the Spiritists’ Book is announced with its translation available. In issue 315 of 18 November, the booklet signed by José de Alencar makes reference to Kardec and the books.
- **Diário do Maranhão (MA)**, from 1855 to 1911 and in its 435-edition dated January 16, announced that the translated Spiritists’ Book arrived from Rio de Janeiro from the Garnier bookstore by the Guará ship. On August 3, in edition nº 598, the translation and offering of the Book of “Mediums” was announced.
- **The Reformation: Orbis Democratico (RJ)**, had ten years of existence from 1869 until 1879. In the 182 edition of April 17, the translation of the Book of Mediums is cited, and on November 11, in the edition of nº 253, the translation of Ceu and Hell.
- **Espírito-Santense (ES)**, operated from 1870 to 1889 mentions in its edition 29 of March 9 the receipt of Garnier's Spirits' Book and Borreau's brochure translated by Fortunio.
- **Cearense (CE)**, which operated from 1846 to 1891, being a periodical that identified itself as in the service of the Liberal Organ, published on October 14 in its edition of 81 that it had arrived in the “last steam” for the Taboardo de Cedro bookstore edition of the translated Spirits' Book.
- **The Conservative: Political, News and Commercial Newspaper (SC)**. It functioned from 1873 to 1880 and on the 28th of July, in its edition No. 252, it alluded to the translation and sale of the Book of Mediums and also in the edition 257 of the 2nd of August.
- **The Motherland: Folha de Rio de Janeiro Province (RJ)** was active from 1872 to 1880, counting in its February 17th edition a thanks to Mr. Garnier for the translation of the Spirits’ Book as well as on July 17th in the 80th edition offering the translated Mediums’ Book.
- **Mercantil (RJ)**, located in Petrópolis and owned by BPSudré, had 20 years of activity, from 1872 to 1892. In the February 13th edition, it announced the arrival of the Spirits’ Book and the Mediums’ Book on July 24 in the edition of nº 55.
- **The Liberal of Pará (PA)**. It ran from 1869 to 1889 and in its 24th of January 30th edition it quoted from the Spirits’ Book published by Garnier.
- **The Alarm Clock (SC)** act for 20 years, from 1863 to 1883. In the 1278 edition of May 18, he made reference to Garnier's Spirits' Book.
- **Mequêntre (RJ)**, located at Rua do Ouvidor 45, operated from 1875 to 1892. In its 24th edition, it alluded to the Book of Mediums.
- **Commerce of Amazonas (AM)**. It was active between 1870 and 1912. One more to thank editor Garnier for the translation and availability of spiritist books in its edition 128 of June 8.
- **Diário de Minas (MG)**, located in the city of Ouro Preto, it existed from 1866 to 1875. In the year of its closure, in edition 457, published on May 14 in the column “Gazetilha”, it informed the arrival of the Book of Spiritism, without specifying which one.
- **Nineteen of December (PR)** owned by the widow Lopes was in operation from 1854 to 1890 and in its 1627 edition of July 28, it announced the arrival of several spiritist books, without specifying which ones.
- **Santo Officio (PA)**, located at Rua dos Amareiros nº 01, in its 5th edition, dated January 16, noted the translation of the Spiritists’ Book translated by Fortunio and distributed by Garnier in his edition of nº 54 of 22 March. It is interesting to note that in this same edition, questions 1012 to 1017 and lastly to 664 in the Spiritists’ Book in full were published under the title “Heaven, Hell and Purgatory”.
- **The Jornal de Penedo (AL)**, located in Salvador, which operated from 1855 to 1877 and in its 201 edition on September 4, it communicated both the Mediums’ Book and the Spiritists’ Book.

The works translated by Fortunio, including a small brochure by JB Borreau called "How I became a spiritist", and offered to the public by the bookseller Garnier, represented a profusion of offers from books verified through newspaper advertisements, from north to south of the country. Let us look at these citations, all of which occurred in the year in question, researched on the pages of the National Library's Hemeroteca through the keyword - Kardec and then to the Process, before continuing the spiritist journals.
As of this year, spiritist books appeared to be constantly offered, but the intention was to show how, in this specific year, the periodicals portrayed Mr. Garnier’s initiative in the translation of spiritist works, carried out by Fortunio, with many praising him. It while many others were of the opposite opinion. Let's go to the second item ...

B. Hell

The so-called “Process of the Spiritists” represents a little-known passage in the history of spiritism, as attested by Hermínio de Miranda in the introduction of the book published by FEB by Mrs. Leymarie (1975) and put spiritism on trial, in the figure of its chief representative, Leymarie. Before entering the episode, itself, we have to step back a little so that we can learn about the subject.

As Goidanich (2018, p. 187) explained, “in the sixties of the nineteenth century, the phenomena of Spiritist photographs began to have wide repercussions, not only in the United States, but also in Europe”. According to the author, “the only difference was that, after the revelation, Spirits appeared, with greater or lesser clarity, with the incarnated people who had posed for the photograph”.

Well then, the then president of Sociedade Anônima and Caixa Geral e Central do Espiritismo, created due to the then Parisian Society of Spiritist Studies not being able to carry out commercial operations, he was since 1870, Pierre-Gaëtan Leymarie (1827 - 1901). Upon learning that the French photographer Édouard Buguet (1840 - 1901) was obtaining photographs of spirits in Paris, he began to investigate the phenomena at the end of 1873 (Leymarie, 1975, p. 33) and in the course of the following year, the photographer ended up becoming “a sensation among spiritists, especially Parisian spiritists, during the years 1874-1875” (Sharp, 2006, p. 81).

After that, Leymarie “began to advertise, in the Spiritist Magazine, the photographic work of Buguet” (Goidanich, 2018, p. 189), in addition to promoting in the same magazine, “paid sessions that a medium of physical effects called Alfred Henry Firman held twice a week” (Goidanich, 2018, p. 194).

With the growth and mistrust of several regarding the veracity of the photographs, “the situation ended up attracting the attention of the French authorities, who established, on June 16, 1875, in the Seventh Chamber of the Correctional Police of Paris, under the chairmanship of the judge Millet, (LEYMARIE, 1975, p. 32) a lawsuit against Leymarie, Buguet and Firman. The three were accused of producing and disseminating fraudulent photographs (Leymarie, 1975, p. 19).

Although the defense, in possession of a report containing 150 letters attesting to the authenticity of more than 200 recognitions (Leymarie, 1975, p. 95), and the various witnesses present at the trial, the result of the lawsuit was that, even claiming ignorance of some kind of fraud in obtaining the photographs, Leymarie was sentenced, together with Buguet, to the same sentence; one year in prison and a fine of five hundred francs each and Firman sentenced to six months in prison and a fine of three hundred francs. Only Leymarie served his sentence, fleeing Buguet to Belgium and Firman set free thanks to political and social influences (Leymarie, 1975, pp. 105/106).

The question whether the photographs were false or not does not come at the moment. When Buguet was arrested in his studio, he confessed to the fraud, later denying that “in two thirds of his photos they were authentic mediumistic phenomena; only the others were defrauded, but by that time Leymarie was already in jail and Spiritism was dragged into ridicule” (Leymarie, 1975, p. 44).

Goidanich (2018, p. 198) wrote that the “Spiritist Process” ended up seriously damaging its dissemination and “generated an intense campaign against spiritism in the French press. Spiritists were the object of ridicule, hasty and unfair judgments and closed themselves in private meetings “and led, according to Sharp (2006, p. 81), “Spiritism stagnated during the 1870s”. In Brazil, A Gazeta da Tarde reported the case ending the article stating that the doctrine had “no value” and the abuse of the naivete of the people harmed by the false photographs.

IV. Conclusion

Spiritism brought a new way of understanding reality. This representation ended up finding pre-existing thoughts in our society. These elements encompassed by the doctrine are organized under the appearance of knowledge that corresponds to the state of reality, being a form of knowledge that was socially elaborated and shared with its members, with the purpose of its own objective, which is the evolution of the spirit, building a reality common to this social set and “what was wanted was an encounter with the other side” (Priori, 2014, p. 100).

Spiritism, as a social representation, governs the group's relationship with the world and with others, through the orientation and organization of a specific code of conduct, interfering in "varied processes, such as the dissemination and assimilation of knowledge, development individual and collective, the definition of personal and social identities, the expression of groups and social transformations" (Jodelet, 2001, p. 22).
Therefore, the dissemination through the media, as it was the favorable medium at the time, of this type of social representation (spiritism), is related to the building of behavior and a view of the world of the group. As representatives of a new culture, the group (understood in its global context) shared a "relationship with the world, values, models of life, impositions or specific desires - it produces effects on the way of conceiving culture", resulting in the representation fulfill certain functions in the “maintenance of social identity” and in the “symbolic affirmation of a unity and belonging”, reinforcing the social bond between them (Jodelet, 2001, pp. 34 and 35).

Chartier (1990, p. 43) explained that men in his time apprehend ideas through the "circulation of the words that designate them, located in their social roots, thought of their affective and emotional charge, as well as their intellectual content" becoming “one of those collective forces by which men live their time and, therefore, one of the components of the “collective psyche” of a civilization”.

Newspapers had this desire to take the way of understanding reality to their peers and whoever else wanted to know. It was not in private, but open to the general public, even if with criticism.

Spiritism came to solidify in Brazil and the press was the channel for dissemination and activities between Spiritists and those who fought against it. Even with the setbacks found, the doctrine survived and expanded, making Brazil a unique case of how it was re-elaborated here and how the press helped to give life to its propagation.

The year 1875 was a landmark for the doctrine, both in Europe, where it was born, and in Brazil. The translations of codification books carried out by Fortuito through the initiative of Livraria Garnier demonstrate the intense interest that the doctrine had in our country, providing people who were not versed in the French language that they could have access to the teachings proposed by Kardec.

Likewise, the so-called “Process of Spiritists” also highlighted spiritism, fueling the debate about the doctrine of spirits. Even though it had a negative connotation at first, the fact is that it ended up arousing greater curiosity about the subject.

REFERENCES

Artes e Letras - Revista de Portugal e Brasil - Protection of His Majesty El-Rei, Mr. Fernando. Lisbon, February 18, 1875, page 02, edition 01.
Commerce of the Amazon. Manaus, June 8, 1875, page 03, edition 128.
________. São Luís. August 3, 1875, page 02, edition 598.
________. Recife, July 29, 1875, page 02, issue 171.
________. São Paulo, February 17, 1875, page 03, edition 2781.
________. São Paulo, February 21, 1875, page 04, edition 2785.
________. São Paulo, February 23, 1875, page 04, edition 2786.
________. São Paulo, February 26, 1875, page 04, edition 2789.
________. São Paulo, February 27, 1875, page 04, edition 2790.
________. São Paulo, March 5, 1875, page 04, edition 2795.
________. São Paulo, March 24, 1875, page 04, edition 2811.
________. São Paulo, April 4, 1875, page 04, edition 2818.
________. São Paulo, April 8, 1875, page 04, edition 2820.
________. São Paulo, April 9, 1875, page 04, edition 2821.
________. São Paulo, April 10, 1875, page 04, edition 2822.
________. São Paulo, April 14, 1875, page 04, edition 2825.
________. São Paulo, April 15, 1875, page 04, edition 2826.
________. São Paulo, April 21, 1875, page 04, edition 2831.
_____. Recife, February 11, 1875, page 03, edition 41.
_____. Recife, February 11, 1875, page 03, edition 42.
_____. Recife, July 29, 1875, page 03, issue 171.
Penedo Newspaper. Penedo (AL), March 18, 1875, page 01, edition 11.
RAUL. Spiritism in scena. The Pacotilha. São Luís, August 9, 1886, pages 02 and 03, edition 191.
The alarm clock. Florianópolis, May 18, 1875, page 02, edition 1278.
The Apostle. Rio de Janeiro, January 16, 1881, pages 01 and 02, edition 05.
_____. Desterro, July 31, 1875, page 06, edition 253.
_____. Desterro, August 14, 1875, page 04, edition 257.
_____. Rio de Janeiro, November 18, 1875, pages 01 and 02, issue 315. Newsletter.
_____. Petrópolis, July 24, 1875, page 01, edition 55.