

JUANA MANSO IN BRAZIL: EDUCATION, CITIZENSHIP AND COSMOPOLITANISM

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JUANA MANSO EN BRASIL: CIUDADANÍA, EDUCACIÓN Y COSMOPOLITISMO

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Abstract: This article examines the texts that Juana Manso produced in Rio de Janeiro, between 1845 and 1853, through the model of the intellectual exile, as well as through the concept of cosmopolitanism, linked to an idea of transnational citizenship. Manso's trajectory and production are examined through two main articulations: her cosmopolitan horizon, that is, her search to adapt the ideals of an enlightened humanism to South America, and her preoccupation with women's, children's, and youth's access to education and citizenship. Through these two main articulations, Manso's Brazilian production – marked by the displacement characteristic of exile – reveals the author's profound awareness of difference, in terms of language, nationality, gender and age.

Keywords: exile, education, cosmopolitanism, gender, travel writing.

Resumo: No artigo, analisam-se os textos que Juana Manso produziu no Rio de Janeiro entre 1845 e 1853, considerando-se o modelo de relatos do exílio e da viagem intelectual, assim como o conceito de cosmopolitismo, ligado à ideia de cidadania transnacional. A trajetória intelectual e a produção de Manso são analisadas em um duplo eixo: seu horizonte cosmopolita, isto é, sua busca por adaptar os ideais do humanismo ilustrado aos países da América do Sul e sua preocupação com o acesso de mulheres, crianças e jovens – sobretudo daqueles despossuídos de direitos – à educação e à cidadania. Por meio dessas duas articulações, percebe-se que a produção brasileira de Manso – marcada pelo deslocamento próprio do exílio – revela a consciência profunda da autora em relação à alteridade, tanto em termos de língua e de nacionalidade, quanto em termos de gênero e idade.

Palavras-chave: exílio, cosmopolitismo, educação, gênero, viagem.

Resumen: El artículo analiza los textos que Juana Manso produjo en Rio de Janeiro, entre 1845 y 1853, a través del modelo del exilio y el viaje intelectual, así como del concepto de cosmopolitismo, ligado a una idea de ciudadanía transnacional. La trayectoria intelectual y la producción de Manso son analizadas en un eje doble: su horizonte cosmopolita, es decir, su búsqueda de adaptar los ideales del humanismo ilustrado a los países de América del Sur, y su preocupación con el acceso de las mujeres, los niños y los jóvenes – sobre todo de aquellos carentes de derechos – a la educación y a la ciudadanía. A través de esas dos articulaciones, la producción brasileña de Manso – señalada por la dislocación propia del exilio, revela la conciencia profunda de la autora en relación con la alteridad en términos de lengua, nacionalidad, género y edad.

Palabras clave: exilio, cosmopolitismo, educación, género, viaje.

INTRODUCTION: TRAVEL WRITING, EXILE AND COSMOPOLITANISM

This study analyzes the texts written by Juana Manso (1819-1875), an Argentine teacher, pedagogue, writer and intellectual, during her exile in Rio de Janeiro: between 1845 - when she first arrived with her family - and 1853 - when she returned, though not definitely, to Buenos Aires. Her stay in Rio de Janeiro was interrupted only once, due to a trip she made to the United States, the Caribbean, Cuba and the Dominican Republic along with her husband, a trip that will be examined briefly. The model of exile and of the cosmopolitan intellectual's travel work as starting points to analyze the complex nature of the mediation between different cultural imaginaries carried out by the author.

As previous critics have shown, travel literature is a comparative genre: it is a privileged space for observing, experiencing and witnessing what is done in the space of the other, as well as for reflecting on the contrasts and similarities with one's own reality (Gondra, 2010; Gondra & Schueler, 2010). The concept of cosmopolitanism, mobilized by recent historiography and cultural criticism to analyze diasporas and intellectual exiles (Apter, 2013; Burke, 2017), is also highly relevant, since the trajectory and production of Juana Manso in this period point to a transnational idea of citizenship and of the intellectual. Cosmopolitanism is linked to a type of citizenship whose focus is not on belonging to a nation-state, but, as in the case of the trajectory and production of exiled intellectuals, on the deprovincialization of the national canon, its relation with transnational texts, traditions and authors (Apter 2013; Burke, 2017; Bourdieu, 2002)¹. In the particular case of Latin America, cosmopolitanism has been mobilized as a way of challenging at the same time Eurocentric exclusionary structures and nationalistic patterns that tend to marginalize Latin-American intellectuals (Siskind, 2014)². The study of cosmopolitanism, in this sense, would open the possibility of decentralizing nationalistic and Eurocentric views, on the basis of which cultural production and education have often been conceived (as closed only around one national tradition) and would allow an interlocution with a transnational and cosmopolitan axis (Said, 1996).

Juana Manso's perspective combines a cosmopolitan horizon (the appropriation of European and North American cultural models, which she admired as examples of civilization, but also criticized) and a focus on issues characteristic

1 Bourdieu (2002) developed a program for the study of the social conditions of the international circulation of ideas and of intellectual life, and showed the advantages that reception in other intellectual contexts can offer to a text or to an intellectual.

2 According to Siskind (2014), the Latin American intellectual would be determined by the incompleteness of her relation to the modern global order, as well as by the ever-unfinished horizon from which she constructs her idea of the cosmopolitan.

of the intellectual fields of Brazil and Argentina. In this transnational relationship, multiple movements and comparative effects arise, in the complex relations that she established between her culture of birth, that of exile and the European and North American social worlds with which she came in contact through her travels and readings.

Because of the familiarity that Juana Manso developed with Brazil and her cosmopolitan and transnational view of culture, her trajectory as an intellectual has the potential to challenge the political and legal-administrative divisions of the nation-state and allows for the problematization of these borders³. As an exiled subject, Juana Manso at the same time participated in the romantic need to name, classify and define national culture, and experienced the permanent feeling of not belonging, the outsider's point of view, the traveler's displacement.

As argued by Flora Süssekind, the genre of travel writing has played a key role in the foundation of an image of Brazil as a synonym of an exuberant nature and has marked Brazilian fiction with a 'feeling of not being there completely', similar to that of the foreign visitor (Süssekind, 1990). With her position as mediator between languages and different intellectual communities - she spoke and wrote in a Portuguese contaminated with Spanish and in a Spanish also modified by the contact with Portuguese -, Juana Manso participated in this uprooting that is characteristic of Brazilian fiction. This counterpoint between two cultures and homelands is reinforced by the fact that, like many Brazilian romantics, she was an admirer of the imperial regime - sought the support and patronage of the Empress - and, like most of the Argentine romantics, she was a republican and contrary to the regime of Juan Manuel de Rosas - symbol of the barbarism that threatened the country's progress and civilization⁴.

Moreover, her detachment from social conventions, which is characteristic of the exiled intellectual, was intensified by her condition as a woman who sought to intervene in the public sphere. A reader of the European and American Enlightenments, she uses the universalist discourse of the rights of the individual to claim her belonging to a cosmopolitan community, as well as her own right as a woman to access the lettered world and the benefits of citizenship⁵. As historian Joan Scott has argued in her study of post-revolutionary France, the intellectual

3 For a historiographical reflection on the need to problematize the geopolitical and legal-administrative frameworks in the case of imperial Brazil, see Gondra & Schueler (2011). As Ronald Briggs (2010) has shown, Simón Rodríguez was another example of a nineteenth-century educator who challenged the frontiers of the nation-state and achieved transnational circulation. For other studies related to the intellectual history and trajectories of educators who have challenged geopolitical hierarchies, see the dossier by Fiorucci (2013).

4 For a comparative reading of Argentine and Brazilian romanticism with an emphasis on their relations with political power and their representations of nature, see Amante (2010).

5 For critical readings on Juana Manso from the perspective of gender, see Batticuore (2005); Mizraje (1999); Barrancos (2007); Fletcher (1994); Zucotti (2005); Southwell (2005); Lehman (1994).

woman's position was characterized by a paradox: if, on the one hand, her discourse was based on the universalist and abstract notion of the individual – the belief in the universal and natural rights of man and the citizen – on the other, it referred to difference (sexual, racial, etc.) as a parameter of exclusion of those who, lacking the necessary requisites for citizenship, were defined as non-individuals (Scott, 1997; Margadant, 2000). Even more complexly, since she belongs to a peripheral region of the world, Juana Manso's claim to cosmopolitan citizenship is paradoxical: in order to be included in a cosmopolitan world order, she must define herself based on the abstract discourse of the rights of man and, at the same time, must start from the categories of sexual, racial and geopolitical difference that function as parameters of exclusion from this cosmopolitan community⁶. This ambivalence between the discourse of abstract equality and that of difference is central to understanding the two articulations of her thought, which are the object of this article: her intellectual relation with Latin American and cosmopolitan culture, and the education as a way for women, children and the lowest strata of the population to access citizenship.

1 AN INTELLECTUAL TRAJECTORY BETWEEN BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

Juana Manso was born in Buenos Aires in 1819, the daughter of a liberal, highly educated engineer, José Maria Manso, who very early became interested in her education. In those decades, because of Juan Manuel de Rosas' (1793-1877) rise to power, and due to civil war and political-military turbulence in post-independence Argentina, the Manso family was forced into exile in the city of Montevideo, Uruguay, moving to Rio de Janeiro later in 1845.

In fact, the Rosas regime was the main reason for the exile of an important part of the generation of Argentine romantic intellectuals who were in Brazil between 1830 and 1870, during the reign of Emperor Dom Pedro II: Margarita Sánchez de Thompson, José Mármol, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Juana Manso herself, among many others (Amante, 2010).

In Rio de Janeiro, Manso met her future husband, Francisco de Sá Noronha, a Portuguese violinist whom she accompanied on his travels through the United States, the Caribbean, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. During these trips, Juana gave birth to two daughters and had her first encounter, full of ambiguities, with the United States, a country that would be central to her intellectual positions and networks during the following decades.

After returning to Rio de Janeiro, in addition to taking Portuguese classes, Manso continued the pedagogical work that she had begun much earlier in Montevideo, where she had opened a teaching institute for girls and taught Spanish,

⁶ For the critical discussion of the effects of exclusion, equality and/or difference of cosmopolitanism, see Apter (2013) and Siskind (2014).

English, French and other subjects. In Rio de Janeiro, in 1852, she created *O Jornal das Senhoras* - considered by critics as one of the first Brazilian newspapers written and directed by women, and in which a considerable group of women of the imperial court participated and collaborated⁷. *O Jornal* included articles on 'Fashion, Literature, Fine Arts, Theaters and Critics', as the subtitle states, as well as costumes and sheet music. She was editor-in-chief of the newspaper during the first six months, that is, until July 1852, when she lived near the Forte de Gragoatá, in Niterói. In addition, she contributed with articles on the education and emancipation of women and with the historical and pedagogical novel *Los Misterios del Plata*, published in Portuguese (although the title remained in Spanish) as a leaflet until July 1852.

Once her father died, Juana was abandoned by her husband, who fled to Portugal with another woman, leaving her alone and in need of ensuring the maintenance of the two daughters. Influenced by the example of Madame Durocher, a famous midwife who instituted the *Midwives Course* at the Medical School of Rio de Janeiro, she naturalized Brazilian with the hope of enrolling as a midwife and of graduating from the Faculty of Medicine, which proved impossible (Peard, 2008).

In 1853, after the defeat of Juan Manuel de Rosas, she decided to return to Buenos Aires, where, in 1854, she used her last resources to publish the newspaper *Álbum de señoritas*, which lasted eight numbers and included her novella, which was highly critical of Brazilian slavery, *La familia del Comendador*. The newspaper was a commercial failure and, therefore, she considered the possibility of returning to Brazil. However, in 1858, with the help of Bartolomé Mitre and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888), whom he met through her friend José Mármol, she obtained the position of director of the first coeducational school in Buenos Aires.

From that moment on, and thanks to her intense dialogue and intellectual alliance with Sarmiento, Manso came to occupy a central place in the foundation of Argentinian educational institutions during the second half of the nineteenth century. She acted as school principal and inspector, was the first woman to occupy the National Education Council, taught various disciplines, organized and offered public readings, wrote in several newspapers, composed the first school manual for the study of Argentine history, translated texts and disseminated the pedagogical doctrines of Horace Mann, Giovanni Pestalozzi and Henry Barnard. Between 1865 and 1877, she also published, the educational journal *Anales de la Educación Común*, which included pedagogical and methodological texts and current educational bibliography.

During this period, she produced a transnational and comparative pedagogical thought, which brought the rural reader in contact with European

⁷ On the place of *O Jornal das Senhoras* in the Brazilian women's press, see Vasconcellos & Savelli (2006); Muzart (2003) and Lobo (2009).

(France, England and Italy), South American (Chile, Argentina and Brazil) and North American (from the states of Washington, Massachusetts and Philadelphia) pedagogies. As is evident, Manso's pedagogical thought was profoundly modern and inter-American: her model, like that of Sarmiento, was North American pedagogy, motivated by the readings of Horace Mann, among others, and by her correspondence with Mary Peabody Mann. She supported the professionalization of teachers and the modernization of teaching methodology: she opposed mnemonic learning, excessive routine and rhetoric education. She emphasized the student's experience and development and had a pragmatic view of education, which highlighted the scientific study of the physical and natural environment. Moreover, she supported the need for a popular pedagogy, 'funded by all and for all', and a kind of education that would take care of 'others': children and women from the lower classes, as well as the 'underprivileged', marginalized from the educational system.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the dual articulation of Juana Manso's thought – her cosmopolitan and modernizing Americanism and her concern with social inequality - in the texts written during her exile in Brazil between 1845 and 1853. During this period, she came in contact with Portuguese language and investigated Brazilian social and cultural dilemmas: the emancipation of women, the education of children, the expansion of citizenship, as well as the relationship between cosmopolitanism, South American community and national identity.

1.1 THE MIGRANT INTELLECTUAL: BETWEEN THE NORTH AMERICAN TRAVELS AND THE BRAZILIAN EXILE

Juana Manso was a member of the Argentine post-independence elite, the so-called 'romantic generation' of 1837, and during her exile in Rio de Janeiro, participated in the aesthetic and political debates held by intellectuals that were opposed to Juan Manuel de Rosas' government, all of whom were expatriates in Brazil: Esteban Echeverría, José Mármol and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Together with them, in the context of exile and civil war, she envisioned the foundation of a still non-existent homeland. For this purpose, she used an illuminist repertory that emphasized individual rights, faith in progress, and universal education - in dialogue with the generation of 1810, the May Revolution and Independence in the Río de La Plata. But she also appropriated a romantic imaginary, which emphasized a national and South American identity and the access of different social strata to citizenship. In this sense, her purpose was twofold: to consolidate the cosmopolitan civilizing project in South America and, at the same time, to incorporate the new citizens to the civic imagination, taking into account, social, gender and racial inequalities.

As is evident in the Brazilian newspaper that she created and edited, as well as in her writings intended for the Brazilian public, Juana Manso was the only one

among the Argentine expatriates who combined the reflections characteristic of Argentinian and Brazilian intellectual cultures. She published her first novel in Portuguese in Brazil, whose subject was markedly Rio-Platense, and her second novel in Spanish in Argentina, in which she reflected predominantly on Brazilian issues.

The exiled, migrant intellectual, as argued by Peter Burke, is capable of producing a kind of transplanted, displaced, translated knowledge. He can integrate and synthesize elements from the various countries and cultures with which he/she has had contact (Burke, 2017). The arrival of the refugee to the receiving culture activates a process of double deprovincialization: the exile transforms his/her way of thinking through contact with the culture that receives him/her and the receiving culture broadens its horizons thanks to the foreigner's perspective (Burke, 2017). Further, travel, immigration, and exile stimulate processes of cultural hybridization, so that the intellectual becomes a mediator between different cultures, languages, and nationalities, having the ability to perceive them in a new light (Burke, 2017; Said, 1996).

The production and trajectory of Juana Manso reveal this process of cultural hybridization, of mediation between different national cultures and identities. Moreover, the condition of exile determined Juana Manso's trajectory as an intellectual in a metaphorical sense: she stood on the margins, did not let herself be tame by conventions: her thinking constantly tended to instability. This was due not only to the fact that she was an exile from a very young age, but also to her permanent struggle for citizenship which, as a woman and as a Latin American, was not guaranteed. This search always pointed to a cosmopolitan cultural horizon and to the possible solutions to what she perceived as modes of exclusion arising from the peripheral condition.

In the diary she wrote during her travels in the United States, the self-configuration of the Latin American traveler vis-a-vis the cosmopolitan world is clearly noticeable. There, Manso expressed the awareness of belonging to the periphery of an increasingly cosmopolitan world: "When we arrived in the United States", she said, having recently disembarked in New York, "[...] we were two poor villagers, two savage uncivilized, full of modesty and shame" (Velazco y Arias, 1937, p. 353, our translation)⁸. If, on the one hand, she was critical of what she considered to be the 'cold and self-interested character' of the North-Americans, who seemed ordinary, vulgar and frivolous to her, on the other, she drew attention to the contrast between the political and institutional anarchy of the Rio de La Plata and the material progress of the United States⁹. In contrast to the violence and chaos of

⁸ "Cuando nosotros llegamos a los Estados Unidos éramos dos pobrecitos aldeanos, dos salvajes inciviles llenos de pundonor y de vergüenza".

⁹ On the ambivalences of Manso's perception of the United States, see Peard (2008).

the Rio de La Plata region and the Rosas regime's opposition to educational advancement, she affirmed, in a chronicle of her trip to the United States:

How these countries, which are not a century old in terms of political existence, have been able to mortify themselves, to educate themselves, and to advance to this point, I do not know! [...] Used as I am to the immoral and bloody struggle, to the fratricidal struggle of my country, I admire what I see! I am overwhelmed by a feeling of emulation that causes in me the desire to have an omnipotent power to bring these improvements all over there...where engaged in petty struggles, they waste time and move away from civilization more and more! [sic] (*O Jornal das Senhoras*, 1852a, p. 138)¹⁰.

The admiration for the United States' urban, economic and institutional development provokes in her a feeling of omnipotence, a desire to import the economic and cultural advances of what she perceives as civilization to the periphery. In these chronicles, published in the Brazilian press after her return, she describes the privileged condition of the American woman, compared to the South American, as well as the organized, ordered and self-sustained nature of the pedagogical system: the boarding schools, asylums for orphans and prisons she visited in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, where she observed the successful social reintegration of boys and girls¹¹. Juana's ambivalent perceptions, as well as her European and American readings, would translate into the acute awareness, which accompanied her throughout her life, of the problematic relationship between the periphery and the cosmopolitan world. This resulted in her project of transforming the South American realities in terms of education, economic and political progress and social inclusion. The powerful influence that the North American cultural model and the European Enlightenment would exert in her thinking, in dialogue with Sarmiento and Mary Peabody Mann, cannot be separated from her constant struggle with the discrepancy between South American culture, which she saw as 'miserly', drowned in 'immorality' and that 'wastes time' in a 'fratricidal struggle', and the ideals of progress and universal rights she intended to emulate from Europe and the United States.

After her return to Rio de Janeiro, Manso founded *O Jornal das Senhoras*, a newspaper written and directed in its entirety by women; in it, the women of the Court were invited to send contributions and articles¹². Thus, during the first half of the nineteenth century, she formed part of the early days of the Brazilian

¹⁰ Original in Portuguese.

¹¹ *O Jornal das Senhoras*, number 14, included a chronicle about an orphanage in Pennsylvania: Manso admired the self-sustained character of the institution, the cleanliness of the boys, and the importance of their social reintegration. Number 18, moreover, contained the description of the prison in Philadelphia, in which she admired the order, the cleanliness, and so on.

¹² *O Jornal* was founded in January 1852 and was published until 1855, but Manso's participation as director and editor lasted from January to July 1852.

women's press, running one of the first women's newspapers that also had women in its board, that is, that was directed to and produced by them (Martins, 2012; De Luca, 2013).

In her writings in the newspaper, a hybrid narrative subject emerges, one that is in-between languages: Manso wrote in Portuguese, but with typographical and printing errors and great variability in her spelling and word usage¹³. This characteristic of her writing cannot be considered a simple result of her defective learning of the Portuguese language, since it also appears in her writings in Spanish after her return to Buenos Aires. It was also a consequence of the fragility of the nineteenth-century feminine journalistic milieu, which was mostly short-lived and poorly paid¹⁴.

In the *Jornal*, Manso was able to create a community of reading and civic participation for the women of the Court, who were united by an intellectual and affective bond. This is evident in the many readers' letters included in the *Jornal*, which contained words of affection and admiration for Manso, as well as in the other writers' dedications, and in a playful text entitled *Tributo de afetuosa estima*, included in number 25, which is an acrostic poem written with Manso's name and dedicated to her. *O Jornal das Senhoras* functioned both as a feminine civic community and as a strategy through which Manso positioned herself in two political and ideological spheres and contexts, those of Brazil and Argentina. For example, the number published in March 14th, 1852 was dedicated to the Empress on the occasion of her birthday. The dedication was signed by 'her dedicated subjects, the writers of the *Jornal das Senhoras*' and included a hymn, several odes, a sonnet and sheet music composed in her honor. In the following issue, dated March 21st, the author recounted the visit to *Quinta da Boa Vista* in which she personally delivered the periodical to the Empress. She appears as a respectful subject, worried that she involuntarily may have broken the protocol, when, due to her anxiety, she looked directly at the Empress's face. In the same issue, besides paying homage to imperial power, Manso sent a letter to the then Minister of the Interior of Buenos Aires (and protagonist of the *Misterios del Plata*), Valentín Alsina, who would later become governor of Buenos Aires. In the letter, she promised to send him the complete collection of the *Jornal das Senhoras*, declared her political and ideological support for his cause and asked for his help in publishing the novel in Spanish.

It is evident, therefore, that Manso used the newspaper to produce a network of political alliances that covered both the Brazilian milieu and the post-civil war intellectual environment in Argentina. These strategies reveal Juana Manso's

13 On Juana Manso's incorrect Portuguese in *O Jornal das Senhoras*, see Vasconcellos & Savelli (2006) and Lobo (2009).

14 For a study of women's press during this period, see Vasconcellos & Savelli (2006) and Frederick (1991).

hybrid situation, who participated in the Court's intellectual culture, but was also attentive to the Rio de La Plata.

2 O JORNAL DAS SENHORAS: COSMOPOLITANISM AND THE PRINTED PRESS

Manso conceived *O Jornal das Senhoras* as a conjunction of the private and the public, of printed culture and of the pedagogical, national and cosmopolitan spheres. The newspaper modeled behaviors and values aimed at training future citizens: women, girls and the general population. In the first issue's opening article, she placed the newspaper in a cosmopolitan context and tried to legitimize it as the vehicle of an enlightened ideal, comparing it to women's periodicals in Europe and the United States. She stated:

Will South America only remain stationary in its ideas, when the whole world is progressing and tending towards the moral and material improvement of society? No! It cannot. Rio de Janeiro's society, mainly, the Empire's Court and Capital, South American Metropolis, will welcome with certain satisfaction and sympathy *O Jornal Das Senhoras*, which was written by a lady herself: by an American who, if she does not have talents, at least she has the project to enlighten the population, and to contribute with all her forces to women's improvement and moral emancipation. We begin a campaign, as the banner of Enlightenment waves gracefully to the Tropics' perfumed breeze: welcome it, all of you who possess a spark of intelligence, come [sic] (*O Jornal das Senhoras*, 1852b, p. 1)¹⁵.

Manso's argument is astute: as a publication written by and for women, the newspaper should have an excellent reception in imperial society, since the city was seen as one of the largest cosmopolitan metropolis in South America, 'Court and Capital of the Empire, South American Metropolis'. It would be a symbol of progress, of the 'moral and material improvement of society'. What is implied is that, if not welcomed, the periodical would be a symbol of the opposite, of the society's traditionalism and its distance from the cosmopolitan and liberal ideals of women's emancipation. She portrayed herself as an 'American lady', whose purpose was to fight for women's enlightenment and emancipation. The metaphor of the newspaper as a 'banner of illustration' that 'waves gracefully to the perfumed breeze of the Tropics', attracting the female readership, is a symbol of the desire to belong to the cosmopolitan, progressive and enlightened world, but also of the obstacles to reach this emancipatory ideal, especially in the case of women and other marginalized subjects.

15 Original in Portuguese.

Her project was to integrate enlightened ideals into Brazilian culture, to combine a worldly imaginary with national identity, the public and the private, and to include new subjects in the public sphere. However, what appeared to be a process without problems or conflicts, was actually full of difficulties, incongruities and mismatches. Manso said in the same article: “Well, a Lady, the head of a newspaper editor! What seven-headed animal will it be? But in France, England, Italy, Spain, the United States, and even Portugal, examples abound of ladies dedicated to literature that collaborate in different newspapers” [sic] (*O Jornal das Senhoras*, 1852b, p. 1)¹⁶. As it turns out, the cosmopolitan argument functions as a legitimating tool and creates a language of rights and citizenship for women’s cause: it combines a claim to geopolitical equality with an argument in favor of gender rights.

The first issue included part of the historical and pedagogical novel *Los misterios del Plata* - with the title in Spanish -, published as a serial until July 1852. The historical action of the book was set in the Rio de La Plata, during Juan Manuel de Rosas’ government. The narrative focuses on the arrest of Valentín Alsina, a unitary leader in exile who intended to return to his homeland. It narrated his liberation thanks to his allies’ help and, above all, to his wife’s courage. The text was rewritten several times; the version published in the *Jornal*, as is obvious from its agile narrative and its condensed descriptions, was adapted to the public of the printed press, and particularly to the Brazilian readership, since it contains explanations about the Argentine characters and clarifications on the historical context¹⁷. Its pedagogical intention is evident - what the critic Elvira Narvaja de Arnoux has called ‘a didactical adaptation to the other’ (2006) -, as well as its political-ideological intention of training both Brazilian and Argentine future citizens according to Enlightenment ideals. Given its dual readership, this version of the novel privileges general political and moral reflections from an enlightened and universal perspective.

The title, *Misterios del Plata*, is a reference to the novel by Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris*, written in 1842¹⁸ and its epigraph was taken from the *História da França*, by Michelet. However, the author declares her intention to depart from European models and to create a new type of literature: “If the nascent literature of our America is always to seek its types in old Europe, we will never have an American or a national literature” (*O Jornal das senhoras*, 1852b, p. 7). In her search for an ‘American’ literature, however, she encounters the great ‘mystery’ of the South American culture of her time: the dilemma of importing and adapting enlightened ideals to local realities. Thus, Michelet’s epigraph suggests a struggle “[...] of man against nature, of spirit against matter, of freedom against fatality” (*O Jornal das*

16 Original in Portuguese.

17 See Pierini’s reading (2002).

18 For the circulation of Eugène Sue’s novel in Brazil at the time, see Meyer (1996).

senhoras, 1852b, p. 6). Here, cosmopolitan Enlightenment is associated with the spiritual world, while local realities are thought of as 'matter', 'nature' and 'fatality'.

In the novel, Manso compares this 'mystery', the struggle between spirit and matter, with the very state of the exiled subject, who oscillates between the cosmopolitan world and the homeland: "However, as the last flower deposited by the pilgrim at the door of the domestic home that he will abandon, we write this novel, in the agonies of the extinguished love of the country; and when by force of suffering, we were drawn into indifferent cosmopolitanism" [sic] (*O Jornal das senhoras*, 1852b, p. 7). The author is torn between nostalgia for the lost homeland, the 'love of the country', which has been 'extinguished' by the frustrations of the exile, and the search for a cosmopolitan horizon, which, although attractive, still seems indifferent and alien. As can be seen, she portrays herself as a twice-displaced subject, who is excluded from a future homeland, and exiled from a cosmopolitan world to which she does not yet belong. The text upholds a humanist and universal ideal, a virtuous and disinterested republicanism that privileges the collective over the individual. This discourse has no marks of national belonging, only political and moral reflections. Moreover, almost all the characters in the novel, Valentín Alsina, his son, his wife and the gauchos that accompany them, are deeply melancholic subjects who feel exiled from their homeland: "I do not take care of my life, answered the young man with a melancholic voice, as for the homeland [...] I have not, I've never had a home" [sic] (*O Jornal das senhoras*, 1852c, p. 111). These characters, in their nostalgia for a lost homeland, represent the central role of the pursuit of citizenship.

3 O JORNAL DAS SENHORAS AS A PEDAGOGICAL AND CIVIC TOOL

O Jornal das Senhoras was part of a printed culture that, as the critic William Acree (2011) has argued, transformed the practice of private reading and writing into a mode of participation in the public sphere and of civic formation in the Rio de la Plata. In addition, it was part of a pedagogical culture that, according to studies by José Gondra and Alessandra Schueler (2008), experienced the transformation from private and domestic models of education into emerging state school forms. As part of the state-building strategies of the Empire, secular education systems were organized on the basis of a series of normative, homogenizing, and regulatory measures of instruction. Professors started to occupy a privileged place in the mission of civilizing the nation, charged with the task of carrying out a broad educational project.

Besides that, throughout the nineteenth century, the educational process promoted women's insertion in the reading world and in the teaching profession. There was a remarkable increase in the number of female enrollments in public schools and in women's participation in the teaching profession, in both public and

private institutions (Gondra & Schueler, 2008). The process was determined by disputes, ambiguities and contradictions between opposite conceptions of the social role of women and the character of their education. Thus, women's instruction was regarded from antagonistic perspectives: as a moral and religious formation for domestic duties, as scientific training in notions of child hygiene or as a way of participating in professional and public life (Gondra & Schueler, 2008). One of the most relevant examples of women's role in nineteenth century Brazil was that of the intellectual and educator Nísia Floresta Brasileira Augusta (1810-1885), who became deeply involved in the defense of girls' education and the central role these would have in the future national formation. Nísia Floresta was Juana Manso's model and inspiration. She mentions her in the following note published in issue 8 of *O Jornal das Senhoras*:

We are pleased to announce to our Subscribers the arrival of Mrs. Nísia Augusta Floresta, Brazilian, so well-known among us for her intelligence and illustration; so respected for her long teaching, has spent 16 years with care in the education of her patricians; and so praiseworthy and worthy of our admiration for her devoted constancy to the love of wisdom and the exaltation of her country. Mrs. Nísia had been absent from us for two and a half years, traveling in this interval to France and England, where she visited the best colleges of instruction, the most erudite men of letters, and the illustrated ladies; and lately she was in Portugal, from where she returned to our arms, admiring the Herculans, Garrets, Castilhos and other respectable men in science. There is, therefore, among us Mrs. D. Nísia, let us give her a hug of lively friendship and gratitude, in the name of our sex [sic] (*O Jornal das senhoras*, 1852d, p. 63)¹⁹.

As it is observed in the note, she portrays Nísia Floresta as a woman, an enlightened intellectual and as a participant of the civilizing and patriotic mission of girls' education. In addition, she highlights her travels throughout Europe, her cosmopolitan character and her contact with enlightened European scientific and pedagogical models. All these characteristics point to the model of an enlightened woman, an advocate of girls' education, a cosmopolitan traveler who is no stranger to European culture, a model emulated by Juana Manso herself.

Juana Manso also contributed to *O Jornal* with articles on women's education and emancipation. She took a stand in favor of women's civic participation in an ambiguous effort not to contradict gender norms: thus, the figure of 'republican maternity' helped her to defend women's public intervention at the same time as

19 Original in Portuguese.

her role as mother and wife, educator of future citizens²⁰. In this way, Manso's pedagogical philosophy coincided with the ideology of feminine textbooks, manuals of civility and domestic economy that circulated during the nineteenth century in Brazil and the Rio de la Plata. At that moment, the woman - student, mother, educator, and administrator of the home - was situated at the heart of the process of expansion of the educational system as a mediator between the school, the home and the public sphere of the nation²¹. However, unlike most of these publications, which celebrate the domestic sphere in a sentimental and sweet tone, Juana Manso's articles were controversial and sarcastic, as strong public interventions. She declared in an article entitled *The moral emancipation of women*:

In the poor classes of society is where the most baleful results are harvested from the brutalization of women. All industrial careers are banned. And therefore, only as a servant, she can find the piece of bread that will mitigate her hunger. It should be noted that I speak of our Americas: in Europe and the United States, women practice almost all the professions that among us concerns deny them [...]. No doubt there are natural duties that bind women to the domestic household, but it is precisely from the bosom of her family that she can have a direct influence on the family, on the nation, on the whole of humanity. How? Can the woman have any influence other than the pots? Another mission beyond the seams, another future that is not to do the laundry? Really? [sic] (*O Jornal das Senhoras*, 1852e, p. 14)²².

In this text, she denounced the condition of impoverished women, who were doubly marginalized, because of their gender and because of their poverty: they were excluded from public sphere and lacked access to education. She also criticized the still small proportion of educated South American women compared to European and North American ones. However, her demand for the modernization of women's role, based on a comparison with central countries, is slightly contradictory with her intention to respect gender conventions, that is, the paradigmatic role of women, as mothers and wives. Her sarcastic tone, particularly when she criticizes the restriction of women's roles, implies her denouncement of women's 'brutalization' and her demand for women's access to the multiple spheres of modern society. Although the Journal's circulation was restricted to the women of the Imperial Court, Manso insisted in many of her articles on the importance of

20 As Francine Masiello (1992) has argued, the concept of 'republican maternity', which represents the public intervention of women through their role as mothers and wives, within a family and domestic structure, was central to understand the place of literate women in nineteenth century Argentina.

21 See chapter 'Lessons for a Nation (1880-1910)' en Acree (2011). On the topic of women's education in the period, see also Loreto Engaña, Núñez Prieto and Salinas Álvarez (2003) and the chapter 'Meninas e mulheres' (Gondra & Schueler, 2008).

22 Original in Portuguese.

educating women of all social strata and particularly of poor women, which she considered a requirement for social progress. Girl's education, she said, should be practical and comprehensive and should include not only singing, sewing and piano, more traditional subjects, but also notions of mathematics, geography, literature and medicine. Manso argued that the professional education of women would function as a thermometer of social progress and civilization, as well as of the possibilities of the less favored classes in modern society.

O *Jornal* also included a section called 'Studies on education', in which Manso stated:

We do not cease to demonstrate the absolute necessity of a sound and judicious foundation on which to base the moral teaching of youth, as well as the total lack of easy methods for teaching children of both sexes. However, we are already aware that, as far as our ideas are concerned with what has been practiced to this day, as well as the prejudices which bias the education of the young, we will not fail to state that they should be exposed with all the frankness that is adequate for ideas of such importance. Difficult is the task, but with the aid of our goodwill, the counsel of experience, and the fruit of some readings, we have the sweet hope of saying something worthy of listening, and perhaps of drawing some advantages to the overall good. It is undeniable that South America is one of the places on the globe that is farthest behind in what pertains teaching methods. Primary education among us deserves the name of moral allopathy: it is the scourge of children [...] it would be more convenient to adopt a plan of education that would better meet the needs of the suffering children, and not to saturate them with these rancid and defective methods which mortify them [sic] (*O Jornal das Senhoras*, 1852f, p. 28)²³.

Her commitment to innovative and dynamic modalities for youth and children's education is noticeable here. She intended to denounce the lack of adequate teaching methods and to renew them radically. With her characteristic accusatory tone, she observed the backwardness of South American pedagogies, 'one of the most backward places on the globe', and denounced the lack of pedagogical commitment to the experience of children. She believed in adapting the pedagogical method to the student, by taking into account their experiences, perceptions and abilities, which reveals her deep sensitivity for the other, the boy and the girl that enter the educational system. Her reflections on the renewal of teaching methods were published in the following issues of the *Jornal*: in a series of philosophical and psychological lessons for girls, she presents the notions of 'free will' and freedom of conscience as central to girls' initiation to the rational world, to self-confidence and self-will. She also stressed the need to modernize pedagogical methods and to adapt them to children's needs, to reform school

23 Original in Portuguese.

schedules, including games and amusements, and to standardize education for all levels of society. According to her, all schools should have the same programs, and should be specifically adapted to poor girls' needs for a practical education.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: REMEMBRANCE OF BRAZIL

After her return to Buenos Aires, Manso published a series of texts in which she reflected, in a nostalgic tone, about her relationship with the country. Among them, there is an autobiographical text, entitled *Recuerdos del Brasil*, which reveals the fundamental impact that the Brazilian exile left in Juana Manso - both at the intellectual and the biographical level. A connoisseur of Brazilian Romantic poetry, she created a romantic and lyrical tone that critics have compared with that of Gonçalves de Magalhães and with the song of the exile by Gonçalves Dias, to describe her extraordinary Brazilian experience: “Hay algo en la vida del Brasil que no he hallado en parte alguna [...] no puedo explicar qué hay en Rio de Janeiro que me interesa y me gusta” (Velazco y Arias, 1937, p. 370). In this text, the exiled subject's affective and emotional relationship with the homeland is evident. The text also includes the poem *Adiós, Rio de Janeiro*:

Adiós altivas montañas
 Cielo del Trópico, adiós!
 Mi estrella brilla del Plata
 En la querida región,
 Aquí llegué peregrina
 Llena de ensueños el alma
 Y de esperanzas sin nombre
 Rebosando el corazón.
 [...]
 Adiós playas, adiós montes
 Flores, pájaros y mares,
 Cenizas dejo en la tierra
 Mi vida, esparza en el aire!
 Dejo páginas sin nombre
 Di mi juventud pasada,
 Un altar que derribaron.
 Una tumba abandonada!
 Amores despedazados,
 Decepciones y recuerdos
 Quién sabe cuánto fantasma,
 Todo acaba, así es el mundo,
 Me ausento, vuelvo a la patria,
 Pero inolvidable imagen
 Llevo gravada en el alma!
 (Velazco y Arias, 1937, p. 374-375).

The poem is completed with a section in prose: “Esa imagen inolvidable es la tuya, mi bello Rio de Janeiro, princesa de los valles! [...] No volveré a verte, pero he cantado tu belleza y dejádote algo de mi misma como el solo recuerdo de mi peregrinación sobre tu suelo” (Velazco y Arias, 1937, p. 275).

Brazil and, more specifically, Rio de Janeiro appear as objects of nostalgia and pleasure for the exiled subject: they are idyllic spaces of a picturesque nature, as well as of intense personal experience. In this text, the poetic subject is represented as a pilgrim, an itinerant subject, always between the space of exile and that of the homeland. Her Brazilian exile constituted a form of initiation that coincided with the period of her youth and was linked to the beginning of her intellectual life. Manso’s exile appears as fundamental in her intellectual formation, being associated to her initiation as a writer and a pedagogue. Her travels and her exile should be analyzed as processes of intellectual formation – linked to the German notion of *bildung* -, a practice defined by the experience of otherness, whose essence would be to place ‘myself’ in a movement that makes me become an ‘other’ (Peixoto, 2015). Her Brazilian exile, as a transformative encounter with otherness, resulted in the fact that, back to her country of birth, Manso would be indelibly marked by estrangement, becoming a sort of foreigner even in her own homeland.

In fact, exile is essential to understanding Juana Manso’s intellectual and pedagogical project, as she continued to occupy polemical and controversial positions even after having achieved a central space in Argentine public and intellectual life²⁴.

Shortly after returning to Buenos Aires in 1854, she published the novel, which was critical of slavery, *La familia del Comendador*, in Spanish and as a serial in the newspaper *Álbum de Señoritas*. Although the analysis of the novel does not form part of this article’s goals, it is worth affirming that the question of slavery had already appeared in her remembrances, *Recuerdo del Brasil*, in which she narrated an event in Niterói: a slave who was going to be separated from her lover because of the yellow fever epidemic, decided to throw herself in the sea. Manso found her corpse on the beach and decided to bury her²⁵. In the act of drowning herself in the sea, the slave sought to free herself from an unfair system; Manso, in turn, by burying her, tried to restore her identity, rights and citizenship. The topic of slavery, which is central in *La familia del Comendador* as well as in this narrative, points to Manso’s fundamental concern with equality and social difference, with inclusion and exclusion from civic community, her reflection on excluded, exiled or

24 In this direction, see Zucotti (2005).

25 She writes, as part of her memories in Niterói: “Cada paso en esta playa me trae un recuerdo [...] Allí hice enterrar el cuerpo de una infeliz esclava: debía partir para la ciudad, la separaban de un amante que idolatraba y se arrojó al mar terminando en una hora el romance de su amor y la desgracia de su esclavitud; el mar arrojó el cadáver a mis puertas y yo la hice sepultar. Este episodio me entristeció sobremanera” (Velazco y Arias, 1937, p. 372.)

marginalized individuals, a concern which, in her thought, crossed national and linguistic frontiers, was transnational and transcultural.

Manso's production during this period reveals two fundamental preoccupations. First, to mediate between the cosmopolitan ideal and the Latin American countries' realities: to think of South American cultures in transnational terms but with their own autonomy. Secondly, to ensure women's and men's, girls' and boys' access, especially from the less privileged classes, to education and citizenship. She considered this a requirement for social progress, which would only be possible through a renewal of pedagogical methodologies. Considering the exiled as a displaced, transplanted, translated subject, who points to otherness in terms of language and national belonging, but also of race, gender and age, these two concerns, closely related to her experience in Brazil, become one. Juana Manso's exile in Brazil would have sensitized her to the understanding of the experience and perception of otherness, a concern that would mark her later production and accompany her for the rest of her life.

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