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# HÜBNER'S RECEPTION IN THE LUSOPHONE AREA

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## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study the Portuguese translation of Otto Hübner's *Der kleine Volkswirth*, whose first edition was published in Lisbon in 1877 (Almodovar and Cardoso 2012, pp. 208-9), i.e. 25 years after the publication of the German original. This translation preceded of some years the publication of the autochthonous elementary textbooks by João Andrade Corvo (*Economía Política para Todos*, 1881) and João Cesário de Lacerda (*Economía Política – Biblioteca do Povo e das Escolas*, 1881) which enjoyed a large success (ibid., p. 208). Although of little interest from a theoretical viewpoint, also Hübner's textbook seems to have enjoyed some success, as it went through at least three editions (1884 and 1892). In this paper we analyse the reasons of such a success and the context which is relevant to understand it.

As such a success is connected to the multifaceted activity of its translator, Francisco de Almeida, the paper is the joint effort of a historian of economics and of a linguist and historian of grammar and lexicography.

As to the division of the paper, section 2 examines the main features of Hübner's three translations into Portuguese, section 3 studies the sources of this translation in the backdrop of Almeida's fascinating biography, and section 4 provides a short reconstruction of the historical context. Section 5 analyses the relationships between Hübner's translation and the rest of Almeida's intellectual activity, while section 6 studies the second and the third edition, the latter published in the Portuguese settlement Macau. A conclusion sketches some reflections on the meaning of Hübner's translation in the Portuguese historical context of the last decades of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. The Portuguese Translations

Hübner's booklet had two editions in Portugal and one in Macau. All of them were translated by Francisco Augusto de Almeida. The first one was published in 1877 by Mattos Moreira & C.a, and the second one came out in 1884 with the same publisher. The complete title of the first two editions is as follows:

*Manual da Infancia. A Economia politica posta ao alcance das crianças, por Otto Hübner, para uso especial das escolas e bibliothecas populares (texto das escolas de Alemanha, França, Belgica, etc.), com una carta do Commissario dos estudos o Ex.mo Sr. Augusto José da Cunha, traducção de Francisco de Almeida, Lisboa: Livraria Editora de Mattos Moreira & C.a, 1877.*

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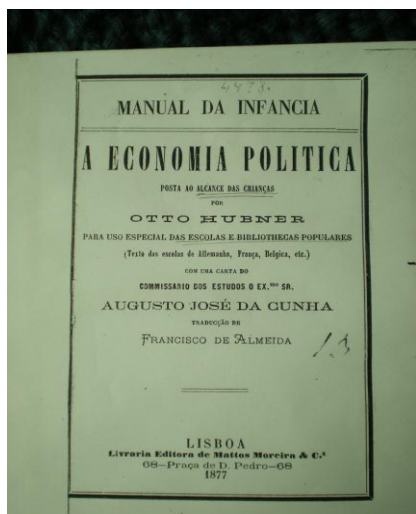
<sup>1</sup> Although the paper is the result of a joint research, Monica Lupetti wrote sections 2, 3 and 5, and Marco Guidi sections 4 and 6. The introduction and the conclusions were written jointly. We wish to thank the other participants in the Hübner project: Alessandra Ghezzi, Carolina Flinz, and Barbara Sommovigo, for their invaluable suggestions and comments. We also thank Alessia Barsotti for her competent collaboration to textual codification and digital collation of versions. Usual disclaimers apply.



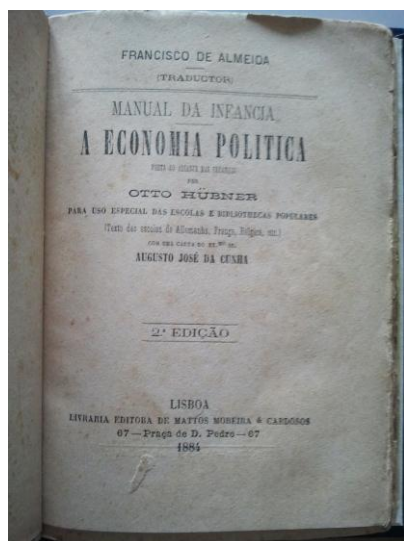
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Francisco de Almeida (tradutor), Manual da Infancia. A Economia politica posta ao alcance das crianças, por Otto Hübner. Para uso especial das escolas e bibliothecas populares, (Texto das escolas de Allemanha, França, Belgica, etc.), com uma carta do Ex.mo Sr. Augusto José da Cunha, 2.a edição, Lisboa: Livraria Editora de Mattos Moreira & Cardoso, 1884.



We can only note a small variation as far as the publisher is concerned: the Cardoso brothers become shareholders of the publishing company.

Some details of the front page deserve to be pointed out: first of all, the indication “Manual da infancia”, which together with the subtitle “posta ao alcance das crianças” clearly indicates the target public of the book and its pedagogical aim. Another peculiarity is the indication that the textbook is intended for two main uses: schools and popular libraries. As the public of the latter is principally composed by adult people, this indication appears to be contradictory. Nevertheless it suggests an original intention of the Portuguese translator (the dissemination of science and useful knowledge) that is a peculiarity of his intellectual activity, as we will see later on.



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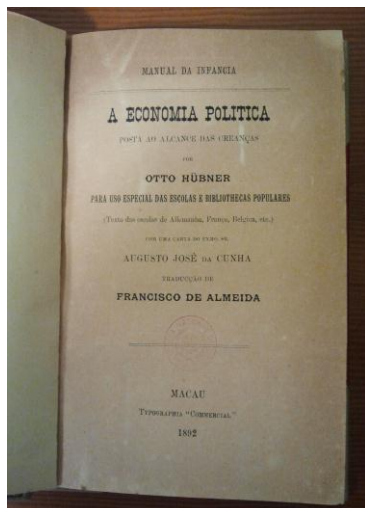


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The text in round brackets that follows, which explains that Hübner's book had been adopted in the schools of Germany, France, and Belgium – a fact that is supported by some evidence only for the latter country<sup>2</sup> – strengthens again the educational aim of this translation.

The third edition was published in Macau, at the end of the century (1892), by the Typographia “Commercial”. As far as the front page is concerned, there is no change. The proximity to the Lisbon editions is suggested by the word “reimpresso” [reprinted], which clearly indicates – as we will see below – that there are no significant textual variations in this edition. The full title of this version is:

*Manual da Infancia, A Economia politica posta ao alcance das crianças, por Otto Hübner. Para uso especial das escolas e bibliothecas populares, (Texto das escolas de Allemanha, França, Belgica, etc.), com una carta do Ex.mo Sr. Augusto José da Cunha, traducção de Francisco de Almeida, Reimpresso para usos dos alumnos da Escola-Central de Macau, Macau, Typographia “Commercial”, 1892<sup>3</sup>.*



### 3. The sources

The apparent source of this translation is the 3rd edition of Le Hardy de Beaulieu's adaptation: Petit manuel d'économie politique à l'usage spécial des écoles & des bibliothèques populaires, traduction libre de l'allemand d'Otto Hubner avec de nombreuses additions, par Ch. Le Hardy de Beaulieu, Mons: Hector Manceaux, Bruxelles: Henri Manceaux, 1868. It is interesting to observe however that Beaulieu is not mentioned in the front page; there is only an allusion in the Preface to a “French translator”.

However the French version is not the actual source from which the book was translated. All evidence shows that Almeida translated the book from the Spanish version published in Buenos Aires in 1873. A first element that proves this derivation is a comparison of the front pages.

<sup>2</sup> See Barbara Sommovigo's paper in this collection.

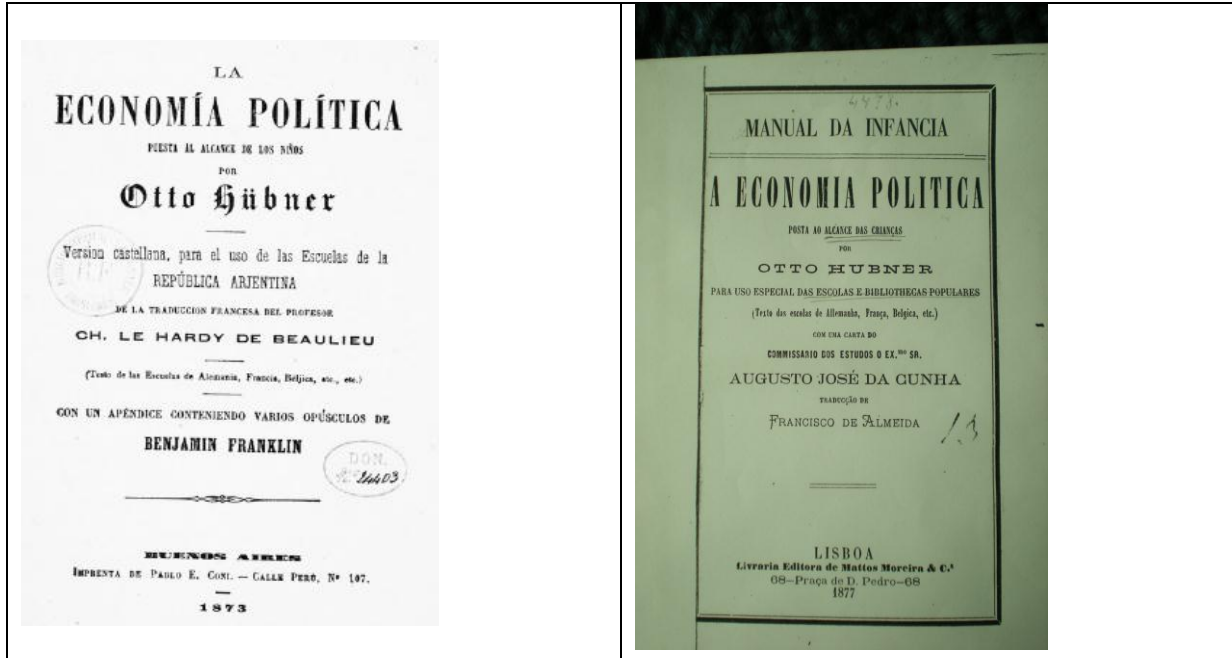
<sup>3</sup> The cover sheet contains the following addition: “Reimpresso para usos dos alumnos da Escola-Central de Macau”.



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The Portuguese translation is the only version of Hübner's small textbook that replaces the prevailing titles "The little Economist" or "Little Textbook of Political Economy" with the 'invention' made by the Argentinian translator: "Political Economy placed within the reach of children". Although, as already said, the reference to Le Hardy de Beaulieu disappears from the Portuguese front page, the text in round brackets is again identical. There are only four elements added in the Portuguese versions: 1. the heading "Manual for children"; the line indicating the twin uses for schools and popular libraries; 3. the translator's name; and 4. the indication of the introductory letter by Augusto José da Cunha. The contradiction highlighted above can accordingly be solved by considering that Almeida's title merges some elements passively drawn from the Argentinian front page with those which explicitly allude to his own editorial intentions.

A second proof of the Argentinian connection is a comparison of the Prefaces. As intimated by Ghezzi<sup>4</sup>, the Buenos Aires edition of 1873 replaces the translation of Le Hardy's preface that had been translated in the Santiago 1866 edition by a short anonymous preface of less than three pages that combines quotations from Le Hardy's foreword with original considerations on education and the social construction of republican and civic ideals. As we can see from a quick comparative look at the first pages of the Buenos Aires and the Lisbon versions, Almeida almost literally translates the Argentinian preface.

<sup>4</sup> See Ghezzi's chapter in this collection.



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## PREFACIO

El traductor francés de este libro verdaderamente notable, se expresa así en el prólogo de la tercera edición:

« La primera edición de esta obra, publicada en Julio de 1861, era la traducción fiel del libro alemán titulado: *Der Kleine Economist*, de Mr. Otto Hübner, economista i estadista distinguido de Berlin. Los motivos que nos indujeron a traducir esta obra al francés, fueron desde luego, la excelente reputación de que gozaba en Alemania, donde está adoptada jeneralmente para la enseñanza en las escuelas primarias, en segundo lugar, la suma sencillez i claridad con que se han espuesto los principios esenciales de la Economía Política, i finalmente, la utilidad incontestable que resulta de difundir estas nociones entre las diferentes clases del pueblo.

## PREFACIO

O traductor francez d'este livro, verdadeiramente notavel, exprime-se assim no prologo da terceira edição:

« A primeira edição d'esta obra, publicada em julho de 1861, era a traducção fiel do livro allemão intitulado *Der Kleine Economist*, de M. Otto Hübner, distinto economista de Berlin. A excellente reputação de que goza em Allemanha, onde está geralmente adoptado para o ensino nas escolas primarias; a summa simplicidade e clareza com que se acham expostos os principios essenciaes da Economia Política, e, em fim, a utilidade incontestavel que resulta da diffusão d'estas noções entre as diferentes classes do povo: eis o que desde logo nos levou a traduzir e publicar o trabalho do economista prusiano.

Also the last two pages are almost identical. Almeida only occasionally makes the effort of adapting the translation to the Portuguese context, indeed with controversial results. Let us compare the following paragraphs:

“A las recomendaciones que de los párrafos trascritos resultan a favor de este libro, solo agregaremos que creemos hacer un verdadero servicio al país propendiendo a su difusión en nuestras escuelas, donde hasta hoy circulan, por desgracia, textos de tan escaso mérito, que muy pocas ideas de verdadero provecho dejan en la inteligencia de nuestros niños.

La instrucción de los niños que mañana serán ciudadanos de nuestra república, en la plenitud de su capacidad de tales, i por lo tanto, los sostenedores de las aventajadas instituciones que hemos adoptado i que debemos todos empeñarnos en practicar i radicar, debe ser tan sólida i nutrida, que por sí sola pueda abrir caminos a la actividad inteligente de la gran mayoría de nuestros conciudadanos, a fin de que se basten a sí mismos, que es una de las mas esenciales condiciones de la vida republicana” (Hübner 1873, p. VI, our emphasis).

“A estas palavras, apenas juntaremos que nos parece prestar um verdadeiro serviço ao país, vertendo para a nossa lingua uma obra tão considerada entre os povos mais adiantados da Europa, e pedindo a sua introdução immediata nos nossos estabelecimentos de educação, onde, infelizmente, imperam compendios de tão escasso merito, que muy poucas ou nenhuma ideias proveitosas deixam nas intelligencias infantis.

A instrução das crianças, que amanhã serão cidadãos da republica, na plenitude da sua capacidade, e, conseguintemente, os sustentáculos das nossas instituições, deve ser tão solida, tão sã, tão robusta, que, por si só, possa abrir caminho á actividade intelligente da grande maioria dos nossos concidadãos, a fim de se manterem propriamente, que é uma das condições mais essenciaes da vida livre” (Hübner 1877, p. X, our emphasis).



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The allusion to “our schools” (“nos nossos estabelecimentos de educação”) faithfully translates the Spanish “en nuestras escuelas”. However the effect is grotesque and alienating, since we know that the Buenos Aires translator alluded to Argentinian schools, whereas Almeida refers to Portuguese schools. The effect is even more clumsy when Almeida translates the Spanish “de nuestra república” with “da republica”. The point is that Argentina was a republic, whereas Portugal was a kingdom at the time (the republic was founded only in 1910)! Nevertheless, the omission of the term “nuestra” [our] partially absolves Almeida, as “republica” can be intended as “res publica” [commonwealth], not as a specific form of government (republic). The Portuguese translator realises this danger in the close of the quotation, when the Spanish “una de las mas esenciales condiciones de la vida republicana” [one of the most essential conditions of the republican life] is translated by “uma das condições mais essenciaes da vida livre” [one of the most essential conditions of a free life].

Despite these and other slight changes, however, the two prefaces are almost identical. Turning to the tables of contents, a comparison between them does not tell much, as they are both in line with the French edition of 1868. There is however at least a symptom that reveals the derivation from the Buenos Aires version. As shown by the table below, Le Hardy slightly changed the title of the 16th chapter, compared with the second edition of 1862, adding the words “ou le communisme”. The Argentinian translator omitted this change, maybe because – as explained by Ghezzi – he used the Spanish version of Santiago 1866 without revising it in the light of the French 3rd edition. Even in this case, Almeida literally follows the Argentinian variant.

#### **Bruxelles and Paris 1868**

- \*Préface de la troisième édition
- Avant-propos de l’auteur allemand
- \*Introduction
- 1. Le travail
- 2. La propriété
- 3. Capital et intérêt
- \*4. Les machines
- 5. La division du travail
- 6. L’échange
- 7. La monnaie
- \* 8. Utilité et prix
- 9. Le fabricant et l’artisan
- \*10. - L’ouvrier
- 11. - Le marchand
- \*12. - Le banquier et le crédit
- 13. - Le cultivateur
- 14. - Le fonctionnaire
- 15. - L’instituteur et le savant
- 16. - Riche et pauvre ou le communisme
- \*17. - La misère, ses causes et ses remèdes
- \*18. - La disette

#### **Buenos Aires 1873**

- Prefacio
- Prólogo del autor alemán
- Introducción
- I. Del trabajo
- II. De la Propiedad
- III. Capital e Interés
- IV. Las Máquinas
- V. La División del trabajo
- VI. El cambio
- VII. La moneda
- VIII. Utilidad i precio
- IX. El Fabricante i el artesano
- X. El Obrero
- XI. El Comerciante
- XII. El Banquero i el crédito
- XIII. El agricultor
- XIV. El Funcionario público
- XV. El Educador i el sabio
- XVI. Rico i pobre
- XVII. La miseria, sus causas i sus remedios
- XVIII. La Carestia
- Esctractos de las obras de Benjamin Franklin sobre Economía política i moral

#### **Lisbon 1877**

- “Meu querido amigo...” [letter of Augusto José da Cunha]
- Prefacio
- Prologo do auctor allemão
- Introdução
- I. O trabalho
- II. A propriedade
- III. Capital e juro
- IV. As machinas
- V. Divisão do trabalho
- VI. A troca
- VII. A moeda
- VIII. Utilidade e preço
- IX. O fabricante e o artifice
- X. O operario
- XI. O negociante
- XII. O banqueiro e o credito
- XIII. O agricultor
- XIV. O funcionario
- XV. O mestre e o sabio
- XVI. O rico e o pobre
- XVII. A miseria, suas causas e seus remedios
- XVIII. A carestia



The comparison of the tables of content reveals at the same time the only differences between the Buenos Aires and the Lisbon edition. The latter omits the long appendix containing ten excerpts from Franklin's writings, while it contains the above mentioned original introduction by Augusto José da Cunha. A final argument in favour of the Argentinian derivation comes from a comparison of the main body of the texts. We cannot be sure that, at a moment or another, Almeida may have consulted the French edition. However the translation is clearly made from Spanish to Portuguese, rather than from French. Let us consider the following example drawn from chapter 6 on exchange:

“2. - C'est encore de la division du travail; cela résulte des principes exposés dans les chapitres précédents et qui démontrent l'utilité de cette manière d'agir. Le menuisier emploierait sans doute une semaine à faire des souliers que le cordonnier confectionne en un jour. Le cordonnier paierait les instruments nécessaires pour faire une table dix fois plus que la table ne lui coûte payée au menuisier” (Hübner 1868, pp. 56-7, our emphasis).

“2.- Tal es el efecto de la division del trabajo, lo cual resulta de los principios establecidos en favor de esta manera de obrar; pues indudablemente el carpintero emplearia una semana en hacer los mismos zapatos que el zapatero trabaja en un dia, mientras que las herramientas necesarias para hacer una mesa costarian al zapatero diez veces mas que la mesa misma pagada al carpintero” (Hübner 1873, pp. 52-3, our emphasis).

“2.- Tal é o effeito da divisão do trabalho, effeito resultante dos principios establecidos en favor d'esta maneira de operar; pois, indubitavelmente, o marceneiro empregaria uma semana em fazer os mesmos sapatos que o sapateiro conclue n'um dia, ao passo que a ferramenta necessaria para fazer uma meza custaria ao sapateiro dez vezes mais que a mesma meza paga ao marceneiro” (Hübner 1877, pp. 54-5, our emphasis).

The French incipit is slightly different from the Spanish one. The various Hispanic American translators that contributed to this version tried to render the French phrase in a style that was more consistent with Spanish usage. As we see, Almeida literally translated this adaptation. Furthermore, the French version is divided into two paragraphs, while the translators into Spanish connected the two parts with a conjunction (“mientras que”, in English “whereas”). Also in this case Almeida followed the Spanish variant.

In almost all similar cases, Almeida's version was closer to the Hispanic American ones than to the French. Even Almeida's occasional variations do not correspond to the French version. They are instead his own creations.

How did the Argentinian book come to the attention of the publisher? The answer lies in the biography of the translator: Francisco de Almeida. Francisco Augusto de Almeida (1838 – 1918) was trained in Natural Sciences and Mathematics, disciplines he soon abandoned in favour of Literature. In his early adult life he worked as journalist for various newspapers: País, Monitor Português, Ocidente, Panorama, Duende, Demócrito, Japonês, Revista Popular de Conhecimentos Uteis, etc.

In the 1860s he published some satirical and moralistic works: Os Lusíadas do século XIX, 1865, a parody of Camoes' Lusíadas (2nd vol. 1884), a tragicomic poem containing a critique of morals; Nicolau Tolentino, ou o Cabrion da Litteratura de hoje, Almanaque para 1868, primeiro ano, contendo 103 artigos de critica litteraria, redigidos para alguns socios da Academia dos Humildes e oferecidos aos seus colegas da Academia das Ciencias, 1867; Tolices e escandalos de ontem e hoje, 1869.

By the end of the 1860s Almeida moved to South America and settled in Argentina, writing articles in Spanish for various newspapers and founding the newspaper El Diario de Buenos Ayres. Back to Lisbon by the end of the 1870s, he launched an ambitious entrepreneurial venture with two friends, a doctor, Pedro António Fernandes Pires, and a captain of the mercantile marine, Francisco José Neto: editing a big Dicionario Universal Portuguez Illustrado (1882-4), whose publication was entrusted to



the bookseller Henrique Zeferino de Albuquerque (1842-1925). Unfortunately, only four volumes of this opus were published, the last of which were edited by José Fernandes Costa. Later, Almeida published other lexicographic and grammatical works, as we shall see below.

Therefore, the translation of Hübner (1877) is probably Almeida's first publishing venture after his return from Argentina. Almeida came back to Lisbon with the Spanish translation in his suitcase, and hastily translated it, almost literally, into Portuguese.

The fact that he included in his edition all the elements of the Argentinian original, with the exception of the Appendix, but with the inclusion of the Preface, does not imply that he was a plagiarist, although one can legitimately argue that he was far from belonging to the category of philologists. Almeida did not sign the Preface, nor wrote he something that could suggest he was the author of that document. But ambiguous he was: nothing lets us understand that the Preface was not his, while the same text, supported by the coversheet and front page conveys to the reader the idea that the book was translated either from German or from French. The alternative hypothesis that the similarity of the prefaces may suggest that Almeida could have been one of the sponsors or the translator of the Buenos Aires edition, although fascinating, is not supported by the evidence we possess. It is true that Almeida was in Buenos Aires at the time of both the 1870 and the 1873 editions, that he currently wrote in Spanish for newspapers, and finally that the editors and translators of the Argentinian editions are unknown. However, as explained by Ghezzani, the 1873 edition was a spurious text, made up of parts that derived from the Santiago edition of 1866 and parts newly translated from the French 3rd edition of 1868. Now, it does not seem that the Spanish of the newly translated parts in the 1873 edition contain interferences of Portuguese in the Spanish phraseology, as one would expect from a non-native speaker. Specularly, as already said, there is no evidence of a direct use of the French version as a source for the Portuguese translation. On the contrary, the role of Beaulieu is almost deliberately concealed by Almeida.

An additional interesting element is given by the fact that the publisher of this and other later works by Almeida (Mattos Moreira, Lisbon) had connections with Brazil and Latin America: the owner of the copyright of this and other books by the same publisher – Henrique de Araújo Godinho Tavares – was a "Brazilian subject". Born in Nossa Senhora da Nazaré da Vigia (Brazil) in 1855, and son of a Portuguese father and a Brazilian mother, in 1877 Tavares married in Lisbon Maria da Purificação de Sousa Gonçalves, herself a Portuguese/Brazilian citizen. Furthermore, in other works published by Mattos Moreira a "Gabinete Portuguez de Leitura no Rio de Janeiro" is mentioned. Tavares was later associated with Moreira and the brothers Cardoso in the property of the publishing house. However, this Brazilian connections does not seem to have an influence in the transmission of Hübner's text from Buenos Aires to Lisbon.

Cunha's Preface is, as already intimated, the only added element in Almeida's edition. Augusto José da Cunha (1834-1919) was a graduate of the Escola Politécnica. In 1855 he was appointed lente substituto (lecturer) of Mathematics at this institution, and in 1860 he became lente proprietário (tenured lecturer) and director of the Escola. Subsequently he was member of various government councils, and Commissioner of Education, the position he occupied when he wrote the preface to Hübner's textbook. In 1880 Cunha became director of Casa da Moeda (Royal Mint), and in 1889, 1890-91, and 1897-98 he was repeatedly Minister of Finance and Minister of Public works. From 1897-1904 he was Member of Parliament, and in 1905 he was appointed Senator, being elected vice-president of the Senate. In 1911 he was the first Chancellor of the University of Lisbon at its foundation. He was later Director and vice-governor of the Banco de Portugal.

Cunha's Preface emphasises some topics that let us know the context and aims of Almeida's translation. Cunha complains about the lack of textbooks for schools and popular education, thus converging with the title Almeida gave to the translation in pointing out the twin use that Hübner's booklet could have. Hübner's book could be useful in popular libraries and for reading exercise in primary schools. Cunha praises the original, and implicitly Almeida's translation, for the clarity and ability in exposing the principles of political economy. But the most important element of Cunha's





foreword is the explanation of the reasons that make the adoption of this book in Portuguese schools essential: spreading elementary notions of political economy among all classes of citizens is essential in order to encourage economic development. Political economy belongs to the category of useful knowledge, and the latter is needed in Portugal to stimulate productive initiatives and to create a new spirit of progress. Current readings in schools belong to classic literature, which is useless to children in Cunha's opinion. Curiously, this argument is close to a similar one developed by Cossa in the "translator's preface" to the Italian translation<sup>5</sup>

Concluding the prefatory letter, Cunha follows Hübner in declaring himself convinced that schoolteachers will not miss the opportunity to adopt the book in their classes.

This document is interesting for various reasons, that help us to understand the meaning of Almeida's translation. Firstly, Hübner's avowed main aim, spreading among children the right notions of political economy against Socialist 'false ideas' (an argument that is obviously still present in the translation of Hübner's foreword), is replaced by Cunha with the idea of useful knowledge to promote economic progress. Political economy becomes here a useful reading for the young and the illiterate, and an instrument to promote the reform of primary and popular education with new subjects and new methods of learning. Secondly, it suggests extending the circulation of the book in the circuit of popular education and popular libraries. Thirdly, it reveals that Almeida was already sufficiently known and appreciated in the Portuguese political establishment to be able to obtain such an authoritative preface by a rising star of the political elite (Cunha, then Commissioner of Education).

#### 4. The context of the translation and its political-economic meaning

In the second half of the 19th century, Portugal was a country that was attempting to recover from the economic and political crisis of the early decades of the century, when the loss of the Brazilian colonies had provoked a heavy depression and a series of disorders.

The years 1848-49 were felt by the Portuguese in a way that profoundly differed from the contemporary experience of other nations, like France and Germany. In the latter, the liberal-democratic ideas of middle-class constitutionalists had merged with the demand of the urban and rural working classes, asking for a more just and egalitarian distribution of rights and resources. The threat of Socialism and Communism had frightened the more conservative sectors of society, favouring in many cases an authoritarian solution of the political crisis (Caracciolo 1988, ch. III). From an ideological point of view, the post-1848 political and economic debate was characterised by the rise of a new wave of liberal thought, which strongly reaffirmed the value of free initiative, private property and economic competition against the 'false ideas' of social and political justice of Socialists prophets. Frédéric Bastiat and the Franco-Belgian Liberal School were at the head of this liberal conservative front. In Portugal 1848-49 rather marked the end of thirty years of civil war between liberals and absolutists.

The year 1851 marked the beginning of the *Regeneração* (regeneration) period, an epoch of political pacification and economic development sustained by State investment and protectionism, under the wise supervision of Marshal João Carlos de Saldanha. The protectionist strategy of import substitution favoured a significant recovery of the Portuguese economy (Marques 1998, pp. 46-8). This strategy was partially reversed in the 1870s by the new leader of the Portuguese government, António Maria de Fontes Pereira de Melo: his strategy, known under the name of "Fontismo" associated State expenditure in the domain of infrastructures (railways, roads, canals, post, telegraph, schools, etc.) with free-trade. An effect of this strategy was an acceleration of the process of industrialisation (still on a small scale) (ibid., pp. 52-3, 106-16).

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<sup>5</sup> See the contribution of Flinz and Guidi in this collection.



The 1870s were also a period of growth for an industrial proletariat and for trade-unionism. The Socialist Party was also founded in this decade. However these phenomena were not felt as dangerous by the bourgeois elite at least until the end of the century (ibid., pp. 87-8). Almost uninterrupted civil liberties also stimulated a flourishing publishing industry and various initiatives in the domains of periodical press, associations, culture and arts (ibid., pp. 149-58). Also in the domain of education, 1870 was a turning point. A Ministry of Kingdom, charged inter alia of public education was instituted in that year and conferred to Antonio da Costa de Sousa e Macedo (Carvalho 2001, pp. 599-600). In 1871 Macedo was replaced by António Rodrigues Sampaio. The latter promoted one year later a reform of secondary school (lyceums) (ibid., p. 605). The most important reform of primary school was attempted in 1878, but it was achieved only in 1881. This reform was based on the principle of decentralisation (Marques 1998, p. 144). In 1894-95, the minister João Franco, supported by Jaime Moniz, launched a new, durable, reform of lyceums (ibid., pp. 144-5).

In 1876 João de Deus's published the *Cartilha Maternal*, a text in which he advocated a new method for learning to read. This text was very influential and instrumental to a modernisation of primary teaching (Carvalho 2001, pp. 607-13).

In the domain of popular education, a law passed on 27 June 1866 created a system of 'popular schools'. Luís Augusto Rebello da Silva wrote three compendiums of political, industrial and agricultural economy respectively for these schools (Almodovar and Cardoso 2012, p. 207)<sup>6</sup>.

As to political economy, in this period its teaching was entrusted by the University of Coimbra to Adrião Forjaz de Sampaio, who published since 1841 various editions of the *Elementos de Economia Política e Estadística*, a blend of Say and Rau, with a prevailing German classic structure and arguments that conveyed the current Christian views on market economy. From a policy point of view, Sampaio's textbook, officially approved by the authorities of Coimbra University, was eclectic, mirroring the typical mixture of laissez-faire and protectionism that characterised the official policy of the Portuguese government (Almodovar and Cardoso 2012). If the mixture of French and German political economy was similar to that adopted by Hübner himself<sup>7</sup> (less with Le Hardy de Beaulieu's more classical approach), the intransigent laissez-fairism of Hübner and Le Hardy was not shared by Sampaio. This comparison reveals another interesting feature of Almeida's translation (sponsored by Cunha): the latter was more in line with the new free trade strategy of the "Fontismo" period. In a way, the translation of Hübner anticipated the academic textbook that was to become popular some years later, José Rodrigues de Freitas' *Princípios de Economia Política*, 1883, a text characterised by radical laissez-faire views and an unlimited confidence in progress against socialist ideas.

## 5. The connection between Hübner's translation and Almeida's later intellectual activities

As indicated above, Almeida's translation of Hübner's textbooks is probably his first intellectual endeavour after his return to Portugal from Buenos Aires. However, Almeida did not write other works on political economy. His intellectual and public activities in the 1880s and in later decades rather converged on three main areas:

- Linguistics, Grammar and Lexicography;
- Popularisation of Science and Technology;
- Translation of political works and public speeches.

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<sup>6</sup> See Silva 1868a, 1868b and 1868c.

<sup>7</sup> See the chapter by Flinz and Guidi in this collection.



### 5.1. Almeida as a linguist and lexicographer

Since the late 1870s, Almeida's efforts focused on the edition of the *Diccionario Universal Portuguez Illustrado*, an unfortunate publishing venture that was abruptly concluded – probably for lack of response from the market – during the publication of Vol. 4 (1882-84). Almeida personally edited only Vol. 1, while from Vol. 2 the dictionary was edited by José Fernandes Costa Júnior (1848-1920). The front page adds as a subtitle the phrase “Encyclopédia das Encyclopédias”, a definition that clearly explains the nature of this opus. The *Diccionario* was not exactly a dictionary of language. Rather, it was an encyclopedic dictionary modelled on Pierre Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel* (1865-1890), from which most entries were translated. Nevertheless, the editors could profit from the collaboration of famous Portuguese (Camilo C. Branco) and Brazilian authors, who wrote some of the original entries to this work. Despite its encyclopedic nature, entries contained abundant and accurate linguistic and grammatical information (with use of technical terms). This made Almeida's project quite an hybrid.

After the failure of this big initiative, Almeida devoted himself to editing a more compact opus, the *Novo Diccionario Universal Portuguez* (in 2 Vols, Lisboa: Tavares, Cardoso e Irmão, 1891), issued by the same publisher of Hübner's translation. The corpus of this dictionary was reportedly based “on the moulds of the Dictionaries of Littré and Beaujean, Larousse, Bénard and Bescherelle”<sup>8</sup>

A third venture in this area was the *Diccionario illustrado da língua portuguesa: histórico, geográfico, científico, mythológico, biográfico, bibliográfico, etc.*, segundo o methodo Larousse, published in 2 Volumes: Vol. 1 (A-P) was edited by Francisco de Almeida, while Vol. 2 (P-Z) was entrusted to Henrique Brunswick. The dictionary was illustrated by Francisco Pastor using modern printing techniques, and published in Lisbon by Francisco Pastor himself in 1898. This dictionary is made up by illustrated entries, including those relating to names of authors and places. Again, it is an example of encyclopedic dictionary. This works do not have a paratext, which makes its interpretation more difficult.

Considering these three works together, we can conclude that Almeida's opuses are more tools for popularisation of knowledge than language dictionaries. They are not scholarly and erudite works, being rather intended as reference tools for a large public. Another interesting feature that these works have in common is the importation of the French lexicography and encyclopedia publishing industry of mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, they de facto – and probably intentionally – work as tools for the modernisation of Portuguese culture and society.

A fourth lexicographic work by Almeida must be examined separately, because of its partially different characteristics. This is *Le Dictionnaire des six langues* (1902). This opus is one of the few dictionaries of this kind in the history of lexicography; even rarer are those with a monographic albeit short explanation of terms. The six languages put in parallel in this dictionary are French, German, English, Spanish, Italian, and – last and possibly least – Portuguese. Although being edited by a Portuguese author, an interesting feature of this dictionary is represented by its first language and language of connexion: French. The title itself is in French rather than in Portuguese. This fact reveals the occasional nature of this work, which was published to be presented at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1902. This is an important element to show the nature and aims of this dictionary. On the one hand, its destination revealed the continuity of Almeida's intention to promote the modernisation of Portugal and its opening to European (especially French) culture. On the other hand, the presence of Almeida's product as an official representative of Portuguese industry in the Paris exhibition may confirm his increasingly stronger connections with government and the political establishment. A third element of continuity is represented again by the production of useful knowledge and of tools whose

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<sup>8</sup> The works to which this subtitle refers are Bescherelle (1844-45); Bénard (1860); Littré (1863-77); Beaujean (1877).



main (albeit not exclusive) destination is in the educational system. Finally, there is a further continuity between economics and lexicography as tools for modernisation: economic notions are necessary to be informed and responsible actors in the market. The use of foreign languages is equally necessary, at a practical rather than erudite level, for exchanges and communication, and for the internationalisation of national economies.

Going back to the structure of *Le Dictionnaire des six langues*, this is composed by three parts: the first part contains a figured pronunciation of the 6 languages; the second part offers a French vocabulary with short monographic explanations of terms and the translation into the other five languages; finally, the third part is an index containing jointly and in alphabetical order all words in all languages, with the indication of the corresponding French term. This third part was the key to the practical use of the dictionary: knowing the French translation of a term in whatever other language, the reader could step back to the second part and find the translation in all other languages; the first part could then help her to find the right pronunciation of that word in other languages.

This dictionary contains of a Preface, in which Almeida explains the functioning of the dictionary and presents the latter as an useful tool for a large number of people who have the necessity to speak foreign languages in their jobs. Interestingly, Almeida indicates as potential users of this work the professions of philologist and translator. However, he insists that this tool is meant for a practical rather than academic use.

A final product of Almeida's grammatical work is *Orthographia Portugueza*, again published by Tavares Cardoso & Irmão in 1886. A peculiarity of this edition is represented by an appendix containing 32 lists of terms with indications for correct pronunciation, distinguishing phonetic from etymological orthography. Nothing else is very peculiar or noticeable in this work. In its own way, it completes Almeida's profile as a writer of educational tools and popularisations. The co-author of this work is an interesting personage: Santos Valente (1839-1896), the author of a fortunate *Dicionário Contemporâneo da Língua Portuguesa* (1881), which went through three series of editions: the first one is the Portuguese edition, repeatedly updated between 1881-1952; the second one is a Brazilian edition republished between 1958-1987; finally, the third one is again a Brazilian edition, published until 2004, and known as *Caldas Aulete*.

## 5.2. Almeida as populariser

In the period under review, Almeida was also the editor of illustrated magazines aimed at popularisation of science and technology. If the scarce remains of these periodical publications that survive today are exact, these publishing ventures were not very successful. Repeatedly the editor's articles and announcements encourage the public to subscribe and promote the circulation of these magazines. But each series has a short duration, a certain proof of their lack of popularity.

The first of these ventures is entitled *Sciencia para Todos. Revista Semanal Illustrada*. It seems to have survived only for one year in 1882. Maybe the most interesting content of this magazine is an article in instalments on "Linguística e política orgánica", a text formulating a strange theory that connects the characteristics of different languages to the history of the relevant nations, and especially to their political constitutions.

A *Sciencia Popular. Revista Semanal Illustrada* was more fortunate, being published for a couple of years between 1884-1885. Of the *Revista popular de conhecimentos úteis* we have found only some issues dated between 1888 and 1892, while a 2nd series seems to have had a short duration in 1897. This latter magazine contains various articles on science and technology, and also articles on economic subjects.

Among the subjects dealt with in these periodical ventures there were practical recipes and tips for domestic economy. Some years later Almeida published a book on this topic, the *Thesouro doméstico: Manual de receitas e processos úteis*, Lisboa: Guimarães, 1905. In this work too we detect the typical pedagogical and populist attitude of the author: whatever he collects and writes is always,



for him, for the benefit of the community. The following are some of the entries contained by this manual:

- Para ter sempre dinheiro na algibeira [How to always keep some money in the purse]. This entry reiterates the magnification of the benefits of savings already encountered in Hübner's textbook;
- Para reconhecer se o café tem chicória [How to recognize if a coffee contains some chicory];
- O aborto (espontâneo) [(spontaneous) abortion];
- A amamentação [breastfeeding];
- Meio de preservar de árvores novas dos coelhos [Means to preserve from rabbits the springs of new trees];
- Hortas e Jardins: trabalhos agrícolas durante o mez de setembro [Vegetable gardens and gardens: agricultural works in September].

The idea we draw from these pages, given the pragmatic nature of the information, is that this work is a sort of almanac. Actually, since at least the 15th century almanacs were not used exclusively as astrological guides. Always keeping its periodical nature connected to the measure of time, it provided a very sort of information. For long time it represented the only reading (with prayer books) of the middle classes. It collected all the knowledge considered useful and sufficient for practical everyday life<sup>9</sup>.

### 5.3. Almeida as political translator and public speaker

The last decades of Almeida's life seem to have been characterised by an increasing number of public activities. Maybe his ambitions to climb the stairs of power were disappointed. But it is clear that he had in the meantime become an insider in the Portuguese establishment, and that he participated in the political controversies of the first decade of the 20th century.

In a work presented as a translation under a pseudonym (Junius), *A Monarchia e a Democracia: estudo analytico e comparativo*, Lisboa: J. A. Rodrigues & C.A, 1900, Almeida takes part in the hot controversy between monarchists and republicans, revealing his preferences for monarchy and presenting quite conservative views on the need of order and social hierarchies.

A 'certamen' entitled *Carta em verso [...] de João de Deus; Resposta de Francisco de Almeida [...]*; *Carta de D. João da Câmara [...]*, Lisboa: Livr. Moderna, 1904, probably published on the initiative of Almeida himself, offers an exchange of points of view about the evils of modern life and society, made in verse. The first poem is by João de Deus, the second one is by Francisco de Almeida, who makes a praise of João de Deus' intellectual and human profile. The themes and style of this exchange are typical of the so called "1870's generation". We can clearly identify some writing patterns of Antero de Quental and Eça de Queirós and a similar way of facing social issues with irony and disillusionment. The time of this poetic exchange between João de Deus e Francisco de Almeida saw the fading away of the enthusiasm that had brought some young intellectuals from Coimbra – amongst whom, as above said, Antero de Quental and Eça de Queirós – to promote a series of conferences (called *Conferências Democráticas do Casino*) and other events through which the opposition to the ultra-romantic and academic conventionalism of the mid-19th century literature was promoted, and with the latter, a more general reaction to the cultural stagnation of contemporary Portuguese bourgeoisie, acquiesced in the Fontista well-being. The members of the so-called *Geração de 70*, once dispersed, will meet again only at the end of the century (1887-1893), with the new name of *Vencidos da Vida*,

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<sup>9</sup> The bibliography on almanacs and their history is wide albeit sometimes too heterogeneous, and consequently quite unreliable. See however, only concerning the Lusophone area, Guerreiro and Correia (1986); Priore (1997), and Brandini Park (1999).



just because they shared the same disappointment and the consciousness of not having achieved that social change they had expected to produce<sup>10</sup>.

Finally, an occasional publication entitled *Conferencia feita pelo Ex.mo Sr. D. Francisco de Almeida na sessão solene da Festa da Árvore*, [...] promovida pela Sociedade de Educação Social de S. João do Estoril; e a qual, por proposta do Ex.mo Sr. Lourenço Correia Gomes, D. Administrador do concelho de Cascaes, [...], a Direcção da Sociedade mandou imprimir para ser distribuída pelos alumnos da escola, Lisboa: Tip. Mendonça, 1914, offers us the picture of an old man who is called to make a public speech in a context he should like very much: an association for popular education. In his speech, Almeida insists on topics we already know: Importance of charity, alphabetization, useful reading.

The coherence between these activities and Almeida's interest in Hübner's booklet is evident.

On the one hand, popularisation and useful knowledge are still at the forefront. On the other hand, the emergence of conservative views is not inconsistent with the attractiveness of the small manual of political economy at the time at which he had been published. Almeida, like Cunha in Portugal and the *laissez-faire* European generation of mid-nineteenth century shared the same idea of conservative modernisation, of 'liberty and order' guaranteed by the efficiency and 'governmentality' (Foucault) of market laws.

## 6. Further editions of *Manual da Infancia*

### 6.1. The second Lisbon edition

The second edition of *A Economia politica posta ao alcance das crianças* was published in 1884. The only visual difference between the first and the second edition is Almeida's name put on top of the coversheet as translator (in the first edition the same layout appeared only in the front page). The content is the same. However the whole translation has been submitted to revision, and the result is a text with many stylistic and orthographic changes. As Almeida published two years later his own textbook on orthography, *Orthographia Portugueza*, a question is whether the changes in the 1884 edition are consistent with it. The answer cannot be unequivocal, as generally speaking the revision is coherent. However there is also a puzzling coexistence of different orthographies.

This fact is not surprising in itself. Until the 20th century the current Portuguese orthography was etymological and not strictly fixed, and the coexistence of different orthographies was even more evident in the 19th century. Significantly, in the 1870s José Barbosa Leão triggers a justified controversy on the need (felt as imperative) to adjust the Portuguese orthography into a phonetic sense<sup>11</sup>. Another participant in this controversy was a polymath, João Félix Pereira<sup>12</sup>, and the question became so heated to come to the attention of the Secretary of State for Trade, António Rodrigues Sampaio. To him Barbosa Leão dedicated one of his works on this subject<sup>13</sup> *Considerações sobre a Ortografia Portuguesa* (Porto, 1875). Furthermore, Aniceto dos Reis Gonçalves Viana published in 1885 *Bases da Ortografia Portuguesa*, a systematisation of a new and more modern phonetic orthography. Francisco de Almeida not only ignored Barbosa Leão and Viana's innovatory dictates in his textbook, but he ignored them in his revision of Hübner's text, reviewing the orthography in an opposite direction: again, a sort of backward looking, strictly etymological rewriting.

10 See Tocco (2011), pp. 164-177.

11 See Barbosa Leão (187?); (1878, containing the document we cited in the main text); and (1879).

12 Sull'argomento redige la Carta sobre a Orthographia Portugueza dirigida ao Sr. Dr. José Barbosa Leão, 15 pp. (Pereira 1879).

13 Contrary to what we can imagine, Barbosa Leão (Parada, 1818 – Porto, 1880) was not a linguist. He was a surgeon. Curiously, however, none of his publications concerned medicine. Besides orthography, he wrote on political and economic subjects (see Barbosa Leão 1867; 1868; and 1881).



Among the examples of formal changes in the 1884 edition, let us consider the following examples:

1877 edition

“Imaginal a ausencia de um governo que formule as leis, e de funcionarios que as executem. Imaginal um visinho apoderando-se da fonte e não permitindo a ninguem o tirar agua d’ella sem pagar. ... semelhante ... criança ... ridiculo ... visinho ...” (Hübner 1877, p. 117, our emphasis).

1884 edition

“Imaginal a falta de um governo que formule as leis, e de funcionarios que as executem. Imaginal um vizinho que se apodera da fonte e não permite a ninguem o tirar agua d’ella sem pagar. ... semelhante ... creança ... rediculo ... vizinho ...” (Hübner 1884, p. 117, our emphasis).

And the following example offers a case of more extensive stylistic revision:

1877 edition

“Bastaria repartir entre os pobres a propriedade dos ricos, dizem os Communistas ou Igualitarios. Mas nós vimos n’este livro o que é a propriedade, e sabemos que ninguem tem direito a ella senão aquelle a quem pertence. Supponhamos, comtudo, que somos bastante injustos para não tomar em consideração este direito; bastante imprudentes para avaliar a propriedade. Conseguil-o-hiamos? Ides vel-o” (Hübner 1877, p. 131, our emphasis).

1884 edition

“Bastaria repartir pelos pobres a propriedade dos ricos, dizem os Communistas ou Igualitarios. Mas nós vimos n’este livro o que é a propriedade, e sabemos que ninguem tem direito a ella senão o dono. Supponhamos todavia que a injustiça nos leva a desprezar esse direito, e que temos a imprudencia de abolir a propriedade” (Hübner 1884, p. 131, our emphasis).

There are however a couple of more substantive changes. These changes can be found in two passages in which the first edition translated almost literally some praises to the Christian God and Creator for his benevolence in providing the world with harmonious economic laws. In the second edition Almeida intervenes with a personal reinterpretation, replacing God with a cooler reference to the work of nature:

1877 edition

“6 – Bemdito sejaes, Senhor, que tão bem fizestes tudo quanto criastes, e nada produzistes em vão, visto como nos destes o engenho necessario para tirar proveito de cousas na apparencia tão inuteis! Or bem, os homens, que se apoderam de todas essas cousas, para lhes dar a utilidade que n’ellas buscamos, são os fabricantes e os artifices” (Hübner 1877, p. 79, our emphasis).

1884 edition

“6 – Or bem, os homens, que ajudados e dirigidos pelo engenho de que a natureza os dotou se apoderam de todas essas cousas para lhes dar a utilidade que n’ellas buscamos, são os fabricantes e os artifices” (Hübner 1884, p. 79, our emphasis).

“5. – O agricultor acha-se n’uma situação muito feliz. A sua profissão não o obriga a viver na cidade, nem a sentar-se atraz de um mostrador ou n’uma officina; tem sempre á vista ás obras de Deus, e mais frequentemente do que o negociante ou o fabricante, tem occasião de admirar a sua sabedoria e a multiplicidade dos seus beneficios” (Hübner 1877, p. 111, our emphasis).

“5. – O agricultor acha-se n’uma situação muito feliz. A sua profissão não o obriga a viver na cidade, nem a sentar-se atraz de um mostrador ou n’uma officina; tem sempre á vista ás obras da natureza, e mais frequentemente do que o negociante ou o fabricante tem occasião de admirar as maravilhas da criação” (Hübner 1884, p. 111, our emphasis).



Such changes must have a meaning and a precise aim. It is hard to understand Almeida's intention. But it is fascinating to think that he aimed to launch a message to his readers. Did it mean that Almeida's access to the Lisbon elite had entailed something like an affiliation to Freemasonry, and that these changes were a signal of this?

## 6.2. The Macau edition, 1892

The edition published in Macau in 1892 is almost identical to the 1884 edition. There are only some variants that can be interpreted as simple misprints or the fruit of the ignorance of proofreaders.

The only original element in the front page is the mention of the reasons for this edition: "Reprinted for the use of students of the Escola-Central of Macau".

Macau was a Portuguese settlement since the 16th century. For centuries a large volume of trade and migration between China and Europe passed through it. After the Opium War (1842), however, Great Britain obtained the control over Hong Kong, a close and better situated port than Macau. This fact caused the decadence of the Portuguese city. In 1887, a treatise between Portugal and China sanctioned the Portuguese sovereignty over Macau.

As the Hübner edition appears to be strictly connected to primary education in Macau, it is useful to point out what was the situation in this domain in the second half of the 19th century. After 1836, there had been a renovation of education based on the same liberal ideals that had spread in the mother country after the revolution of 1820-21. The main centre of Portuguese education in the colony was however a religious institution, the Seminary of São José, which included a lyceum and a commercial school. This turned to be a weakness when, in 1871, the government decreed the expulsion of foreign missionaries from Macau Catholic schools, thus determining the crisis of the Seminary.

This fact encouraged a group of local eminent persons, led by Pedro Nolasco da Silva, to create the Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses, which established an Escola Comercial in 1878. Pedro Nolasco da Silva was a pivotal member of the local elite: he repeatedly covered important roles in the government of Macau, becoming inter alia first head of Expediente Sínico (the organisation facilitating contacts between China and Portuguese administration) in 1885, and later president of the Leal Senado; he was active as a journalist, translator from Chinese, patron, and entrepreneur. The founding of the Escola Comercial was an important preliminary event to the opening, on 3 September 1883, of the Escola Central de sexo masculino, as the latter was a joint venture of the government, the Leal Senado and the Escola Comercial. The Central School thus became the most important institution for public primary teaching in Portuguese in Macau. First director of this school was Patrício José da Luz, who devoted the rest of his life to this institution and later became Secretary of the Leal Senado. This event was followed in 1895 by the foundation of the Escola Central de sexo feminino.

It is possible that behind the Macau edition of Hübner there is one of these personages: either Pedro Nolasco da Silva (remember that the publisher of the booklet is "Comercial", i.e. the press of the Escola Comercial), or Patrício José da Luz (first director of the Escola Central). And it is fascinating to imagine that through this edition Hübner's moral political economy reached not only the young generations of Portuguese settlers that attended the School, but also the minority of pupils sent by their Chinese parents to that institution<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> According to the census of 31<sup>st</sup> March 1927, in the population of Macau 3.575 were Portuguese, 144.296 Chinese, and 585 foreigners. See Inglis (1929), p. 24. In the same year, there were 125 schools in the colony, including a lyceum, a seminary, some missionary schools and schools subsidised by the government (comprehensive of the Escola Comercial and of a Colegio para meninas. At primary school level there were 12 municipal schools and 102 for the Chinese population. Only in six institutions the teaching was entirely in Portuguese, while in two of them the languages of teaching were both Portuguese and English, and in 15 Portuguese and Chinese. In all other school the only language employed was Chinese (*ibid.*, p. 97).





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## 7. Conclusion: Almeida and Hübner

As we have observed in this paper, the translation of Hübner's textbook was made at a turning point of Almeida's career: after his early beginnings as the author of works containing satirical essays, criticism of morals, and gossip, Almeida had an extraordinary experience in Latin America in the 1860s, emerging as a journalist and cultural entrepreneur among the intelligentsia of Buenos Aires. In Argentina he experienced the intellectual stimuli of a dynamic and cosmopolitan society, a new nation enlivened by liberal ideals and entrepreneurial initiatives. He probably learned to appreciate the typical advantages enjoyed by the members of the social and political establishment.

Back to Lisbon, he put in place a strategy of access to the Portuguese elite, and chose as his personal bridgehead the domain of public and popular education, as testified by his relationships with Cunha and João de Deus. The hypothesis of his affiliation to Freemasonry, if confirmed, might provide a further element to our reconstruction. Hübner's translation was not only the first act of his new entry into Portuguese public life but also the signal of the role he attributed to himself: being the promoter of moderately progressive ideals, a consultant of the reformers of public education, a populariser of useful knowledge, and the author of textbooks, grammars and dictionaries that lay open on the desk of every student and every learned person.

As to the translation of Hübner's textbook, Almeida's choice was revealing of a plan to promote a conservative modernisation of Portugal through popular paternalistic education and the spread of useful knowledge. The monarchical ideals he defended at the turn of the 20th century were fully consistent with the blend of laissez-faire, economic harmonies, defence of private property and moralisation of citizens through market laws that characterised Hübner's work. On the other hand, there is a consistency between Almeida's activity as a translator and his lexicographic and grammatical production. Both aimed more at education and popularisation than at scientific, normative and theoretical contribution. Political economy, technology and foreign languages were conceived as equally indispensable and complementary tools for the opening of Portugal to international exchanges, for the import of new discoveries. They were the cornerstones of a pedagogy for the full participation of Portuguese citizens in the governmentality of market society.

Apparently, Almeida's contribution was taken seriously by some members of the Portuguese intellectual and political establishment. This does not mean that Almeida emerges as a towering personage in the Portugal of the late 19th century. Almeida was certainly a brilliant polymath. But very often he appeared superficial and hasty, as revealed by the many inaccuracies of his works, by his suspect plagiarism, and by the conservatism of his ideas about grammar and orthography. Although he contributed to the spread of political economy in Portugal, his connection with the state of this academic discipline appears to be quite weak.

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