
Horse racing and the transition between rural and urban aspects in Curitiba (1854-1873)

Corridas de cavalos e a transição entre o rural e o urbano em Curitiba (1854-1873)

Leonardo Gomes*

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8866-2054>

Abstract

This article aims to discuss the relationship between horse racing and debates related to rural and urban aspects in Curitiba between 1854 and 1873. The time frame ranges from the date of the first announcement of horse racing events in newspapers and the year in which an exclusive place for such events began to operate in Curitiba. We resorted to sources as newspapers, decrees, laws and regulations of the Province during the given period. Finally, we consider that horse racing indicated the transformations the city incorporated, regarding the dynamization of urban aspects to the detriment of rural ones.

Keywords: Entertainment History, City History, Curitiba, Horse Racing, Urbanization.

Resumo

O presente artigo tem como objetivo discutir sobre a relação das corridas de cavalos com os debates ligados aos aspectos rurais e urbanos que se situaram em Curitiba entre 1854 e 1873. O recorte temporal considera a data do primeiro anúncio em jornais de iniciativas envolvendo corridas de cavalos, bem como o ano em que um espaço exclusivo para as corridas passou a funcionar em Curitiba. Como fontes foram utilizados jornais, decretos, leis e regulamentos da Província durante o período em tela. Ao final, foi possível considerar que as corridas de cavalos foram indicadores das transformações que a cidade incorporava, especialmente no que diz respeito a dinamização de aspectos urbanos em detrimento de rurais.

Palavras-chave: História da Diversão, História da Cidade, Curitiba, Corridas de Cavalos, Urbanização.

*PhD student in Education - UFRJ. E-mail: gomesleo.ufpr@gmail.com

Introduction

Horse racing took place in some cities in Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro, which, by all indications, recorded the first moments of this dynamics in the country, on the beaches of Botafogo in the first decades of the 19th century¹. Races were also organized in São Paulo², Campinas³ and Porto Alegre⁴. They were quite similar to each other, but also presented peculiarities related to the progressive discourses that implied such activities as useful for urban development⁵. However, there is little research on equestrian experiences in other Brazilian cities⁶, a topic that allows us to focus on different urban dynamics, providing us the possibility of reflecting on which discourses these practices have structured.

Considering the distinct character of horse racing experiences in different places a question arises: how would this activity have been organized in Curitiba? In the 19th and 20th centuries, the city, as well as the aforementioned ones, underwent intense transformations linked to the circulation of progressive ideas, but with its specificities.

¹ MELO, Victor Andrade. 'We Have Persons with a Passion for Both the Sea and the Land': The First Representations of Sport in the Brazilian Press (Rio de Janeiro; 1851-1855). *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, v. 31, n. 10, 2014, p.1232-1244

² GOIS JÚNIOR, Edivaldo. O esporte e a modernidade em São Paulo: práticas corporais no fim do século XIX e início do XX. *Movimento*, v. 19, n. 4, 2013, p. 95-117

³ MONTENEGRO, Nara Romero; SOARES, Carmen Lúcia. Corridas de cavalos em Campinas: das ruas e dos quilombos ao hipódromo (1870-1898). *Pensar a Prática*, v. 21, n. 2, 2018

⁴ PEREIRA, Ester Liberato; BATAGLION, Giandra Anceski. *Across racecourses meadows of Pelotas-RS: southern horse racing in the transition from the 19th and 20th centuries*. In: A sombra das chuteiras meridionais: QUINSANI, Rafael. Editora: Pfi. 2021. KARLS, Cleber Eduardo. *Modernidades sortidas: o esporte oitocentista em Porto Alegre e no Rio de Janeiro*. Dissertation, Comparative History, Institute of History, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, 2017

⁵ The notion of progress is guided by the perceptions described by Azevedo (2016), who characterizes what this expression meant on national soil during the period studied. In general, for the author, the term represented an attempt to overcome characteristics considered outdated/obsolete that, in a way, compromised the development of cities and their populations. It was, therefore, a discourse in favor of everything that represented the advancement of the urban and its lifestyle. AZEVEDO, André Nunes de. *As noções de progresso do Império à República: transformações recônditas em uma mesma terminologia. Outros Tempos: Pesquisa em Foco-História*, v. 13, n. 22, 2016, p. 69-88.

⁶ In addition to the studies already mentioned, it is worth consulting the works of Sette (1978), who mentions the horse races held in Recife, and Rocha Junior and Santos (2011) in Salvador. ROCHA JUNIOR, Coriolano Pereira; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Fernando Reis do. *Futebol em Salvador: o início de uma história (1899-1920)*. *Movimento*, v. 17, n. 3, 2011, p. 79-95. SETTE, Mário. *Arruar, história pitoresca do Recife antigo*. Governo do Estado de Pernambuco, Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1978.

The works of Capraro⁷ and Souza⁸ characterize horses and their use in races, especially in specific spaces for the practice, as contributors to the formation of the capital of Paraná. Moraes e Silva⁹ also addresses the equestrian modality by mapping a series of amusement places in Curitiba from the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. The author sees these racing places as beneficial to the spread of the sport – a social manifestation that spread out across the country, in tune with modernization discourses.

However, the aforementioned authors addressed a time frame subsequent to the present research, although previous studies had provided details about horse racing, reinforcing nuances of the activity as an effort linked to the idea of advancing urbanity in Curitiba. Additionally, they did not specifically focus on the potential of experiences with horses, specifically as dynamics that allow us to perceive such moments as strategies that can show traces of ongoing urbanization. From this background, this article aims to discuss the relationship between horse racing and debates related to rural and urban aspects of Curitiba between 1854 (date of the first newspaper advertisement of initiatives involving horses) and 1873 (when an exclusive place for the races started to work in the city).

It is necessary to establish our understanding of the categories of rural and urban. In summary, we are aligned with Rodrigues' classification¹⁰, which systematizes the conceptual definitions of rural and urban provided by the international and national bibliography, proposing a classification considering three crucial dimensions for the distinction and approximation between rural and urban. They are: demography, economic development and ways of life, aspects that we approach throughout the text.

To achieve the objectives, we resorted to newspapers, decrees, laws and regulations published within the respective time frame in the Province We kept in mind the need for caution and questioning of possible biases in the

⁷ CAPRARO, André Mendes. *Foot-ball, uma prática elitista e civilizadora: investigando o ambiente social e esportivo paranaense do início do século XX*. Thesis, História, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 2002.

⁸ SOUZA, Jhonatan Uewerton. *O jogo das tensões: clubes de imigrantes italianos no processo de popularização do futebol em Curitiba (1914-1933)*. Thesis, História, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 2014.

⁹ MORAES E SILVA, Marcelo Moraes. *Novos modos de olhar outras maneiras de se comportar: a emergência do dispositivo esportivo da cidade de Curitiba (1899-1918)*. Dissertation, Education, State University of Campinas, 2011.

¹⁰ RODRIGUES, João Freire. *O rural e o urbano no Brasil: uma proposta de metodologia de classificação dos municípios*. *Análise Social*, v. 49, n. 211, 2014.

mediations generated by these documents. After all, as Le Goff¹¹ points out, such materials are instruments of power and are therefore not innocuous, but rather the result of conscious sampling by the society that produced them.

The newspaper used is *Jornal Dezenove de Novembro*, which had an eclectic profile. The editor was Candido Martins Lopes, from Rio de Janeiro, who had been publicly invited by the President of the Province at the time, Zacarias Góis e Vasconcelos, to start the first typography in Curitiba. The newspaper circulated from 1854 to 1890 and portrayed municipal events as much as possible. According to Corrêa¹², the establishment of a local newspaper represented a unique milestone for the young capital, as the literate population read about the city, as well as various matters of the country and the world in leaflets.

We understand that commenting on the city's history through an urbanization indicator¹³ such as public pastimes can be a fertile ground for the production of new perspectives in relation to the role played by seemingly fortuitous actions in everyday life. Therefore, we seek to contribute to the history of the city in conjunction with the history of entertainment.

Rural and city outlines of Curitiba: the ideal scenario for a race

During the second half of the 19th century, Curitiba began to develop its urban fabric when it was established as the capital of the region that had received the title of Province in 1853. The dominance of production and trade of yerba mate on industrial scale boosted the transition from the adherence of rural aspects to others perceived as urban. In this sense, Pereira¹⁴ states that the mate economy directly interfered in the urbanization of Paraná. According to the author, at that moment of emancipation, yerba mate production units were on the outskirts of Curitiba, and therefore depended on the emerging city market to supply almost all their needs - a characteristic that increasingly provided an experience between the countryside and the city.

There were relative persistence and coexistence between the economic development of agrarian production and the formation of the city territory.

¹¹ LE GOFF, Jacques. Documento/monumento. In. LE GOFF, J. *História e memória*. 5. ed. Campinas: ed. UNICAMP, 2003.

¹² CORRÊA, Amélia Siegel. Imprensa política e pensamento republicano no Paraná no final do XIX. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, v. 17, n. 32, 2009.

¹³ For a wider debate on entertainment as a urbanization indicator see Dias (2020).

¹⁴ Pereira, op. cit.

Thus, it is possible to consider a certain adjustment and hybridity¹⁵ of experiences and representations that directly affect the needs of daily life. The newspaper *Dezenove de Dezembro* had already published the population's wishes for infrastructure improvements in the city:

The width of the streets, which must not be less than 7 to 8 fathoms, the uniformity of the length of the blocks, certain architectural conditions in the houses, which put a brake on the bad taste and the terrible routine of crippled constructions, and a sewage system of water to avoid the monstrous amount of mud that clogs up the streets after any rain: all of this deserves serious attention from our municipality. There is no lighting, the sidewalks are horrible: no one dares to stroll at night for fear of falling into a ravine or ending up gored by an ox.¹⁶

The anxiety regarding the needs of improvement in the city increased as it became the seat of the provincial government, with new pamphlets and moreover the expansion of yerba mate production. The local newspaper began to cover topics related to street paving, sewage systems, lighting and construction. It should be considered that such material improvements, seen as useful for the development of Curitiba, as the source above reinforces, were still little or absent in the young city. Conversely, reality was that of bumpy streets, animals on the roads and other nuisances.

Based on Rodrigues' notes¹⁷ regarding the classifications of rural and urban, the way of life is a central point of analysis. In the case of Curitiba, we can consider that the improvements that the population yearned for as well as the obstacles ahead, are indications of the traffic and/or hybridity, between the rural and the urban aspects, that the city was going through. Moreover, if we consider that the main form of economic development in the region was yerba mate production, we can better realize how much the advancement of urban space was deeply linked to the needs and prosperity of rural space.

To remedy the rural features of the city structure and the population's habits, some legal measures were formulated to avoid possible mishaps, as illustrated by the municipal rules below:

¹⁵ Scholars who discussed rural and urban aspects have approached this hybridity in many Brazilian cities. See ROCHA, Fernando Goulart; PIZZOLATTI, Roland Luiz. "Cidade: espaço de descontinuidades". *Estudos Geográficos*, 2005, p. 46-53.

¹⁶ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 29/04/1854, p. 3-4.

¹⁷ Rodrigues, op. cit.

Art. 7 The rearing and conservation of pigs loose in the streets of the town is prohibited; animal found will be killed and handed over to their owners, who will pay the expenses for the slaughter. If the owner does not appear, they will be auctioned and the proceeds collected in the municipal safe.

Art. 9 Those who have dogs, either hunting or guard dogs, with the exception of bird hunting dogs or catch dogs, must keep them muzzled to prevent them from harming bystanders, otherwise they will be fined on 8U000 rs. Stray dogs will be killed and buried at the expense of the council. Art. 7 and 9.¹⁸

The new province aimed to implement a number of standards. Parameters for the urbanization of the streets complemented measures to refine habits still linked to the countryside, such as the presence and breeding of animals in public space. According to Lopes¹⁹, the idea of urbanization in Curitiba was almost a set of actions and thoughts that envisaged a social dynamic aimed at updating/renovating the city and the habits of its population. In this sense, changes in the urban space should be accompanied by a remodeling of the subjects' habits.

Even though horses were ever-present in Brazilian life in the 19th century, with day to day economic and symbolic importance²⁰, they did not escape the necessary rules in the face of the urban coexistence that was being established. The habit of galloping, according to Pereira, was an authentic passion of the people of Paraná, and was controlled and supervised in the public scene:

Art. 36. It is forbidden for any person to gallop or run on horseback through the streets of the town unless with recognized mastery. Offenders will be fined from 2 to 4\$000, and twice as much for recidivism. The provisions of this article include children, families, households and slaves.²¹

In addition to the simple act of horse riding, the format of entertainment through racing also became legally supervised. Article 15 of 1854, in the provincial regulations, shows the measures put in place:

¹⁸ Coleção de leis, decretos e regulamentos da Província, 22-04/1856, p. 17.

¹⁹ LOPES, Luís Fernando Lopes. *O espetáculo dos maquinismos modernos: Curitiba na virada do século XIX ao XX*. Dissertation, Programa de pós-graduação em História, Universidade de São Paulo, 2002.

²⁰ DEL PRIORE, Mary. *Jogos de cavalheiros: as atividades físicas antes da chegada do esporte*. História do esporte no Brasil: do império aos dias atuais. São Paulo: UNESP, 2009.

²¹ Coleção de leis, decretos e regulamentos da Província, 18/04/1854, p. 11.

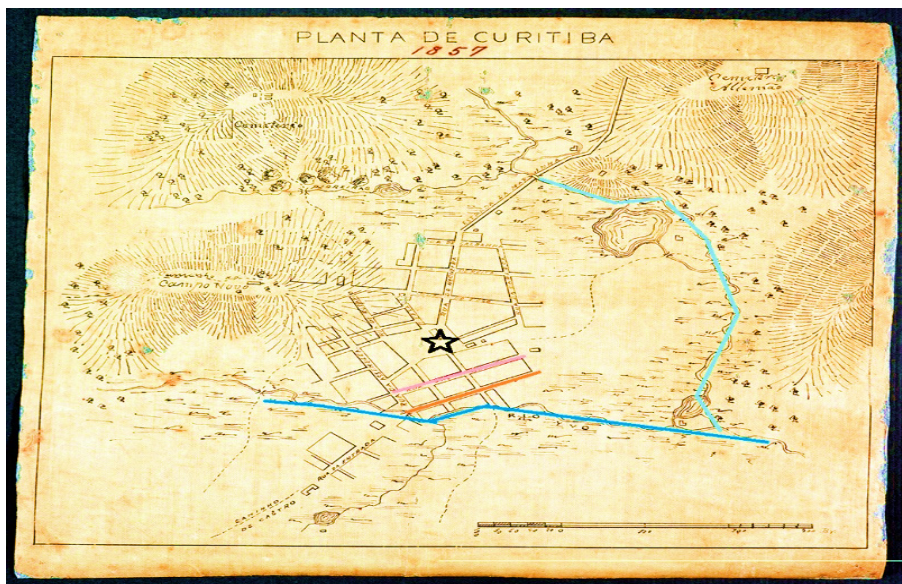
Art. 15. Horse racing is allowed only in settlements authorized by the police, upon prior payment of 16U000, that is the verbal or written bet. When the bet exceeds 150U000, more will be paid for the 14U000 license. The Offender will pay the double, not complying literally with the above precept. Official part - Provincial Government. Licenses for betting.²²

Horse use as it had been carried out, whether for galloping or racing, represented a certain rurality to be fought. This is evidenced in the legal orders for its normalization. Such events should take place in authorized spaces and restricted to those who had licenses. Apparently, the presence of animals in the streets was a nuisance for pedestrians. In addition, horse use for hobbies was a tradition from rural areas, which did not match the civilizing parameters that were stimulated at the time.

However, despite certain desires for growth and initiatives to monitor postures, the capital of Paraná, in its first years of emancipation, made little progress. There were few streets, a few houses, a small trade and an early entertainment market. Some of these aspects can be seen in the city plan below:

²² *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 11/11/1854, p.1.

Figure 1 – Plan of Curitiba, 1857.



Source: Curitiba City Hall of (Casa da Memória Collection)

Flores St, the main *locus* of modern aspects of the city at that time, is highlighted in pink (currently XV de Novembro St). The street was paved and was the location of the newspaper *Dezenove de Dezembro*. The figure in black represents the square of the main church, currently Tiradentes Square. The orange line corresponds to the former Comercio Street (currently Marechal Deodoro St), which provided a variety of shops to the public.

Ivo River is in dark blues, while Belém River is presented in light blue.

The figure shows a relatively small space with regard to urbanization. With less than 12 streets, Curitiba was still discreet and typically colonial, despite having been the capital of the province of Paraná for four years. According to the report²³ of the president of the province, in 1854 the city had a population of about 6,213 free inhabitants and 578 slaves.

We were unable to accurately detect how much of the population performed functions related to agriculture and/or activities related to professions offered in the city. Despite this, we obtained other demographic information. Among the free subjects, 1,275 had the right to vote²⁴ and thus to

²³ See Relatório do Presidente da Província Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcellos, 15/06/1854, p. 145.

²⁴ For more information on who had the right to vote in Curitiba during this period, see Cardoso (1974). CARDOSO, Jayme Antonio. *A população votante de Curitiba (1853-1881)*. Thesis, History, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 1974.

choose occupants of political offices. Of these, 1,089 declared their occupation as ploughman or others functions linked to peasant work. The remainder registered using their time in the reduced labor market of the city, in functions such as scrivener, inspector, military positions, doctors, carpenters, among other common services in the urban sphere. These demographic numbers of Curitiba explain how much the development of the city was intertwined with the expressions of the countryside, numerically evidencing the representativeness that rural activities held. In this same period (1857), the city underwent its first more intense urbanization attempt, planned by the French engineer Pierre Taulois. He suggested changes in the circular shape of the city and the expropriation of spaces in the center, to develop an urban layout with more right angles.

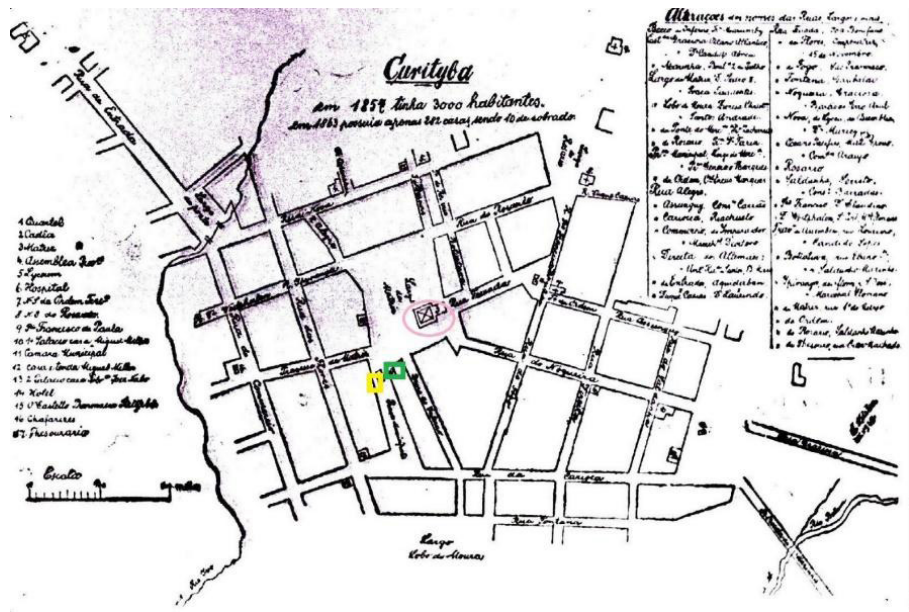
Gradually boosted by the profits from the agricultural production of yerba mate, and the arrival of people designated to forge it, the city gained new streets and a rectangular layout that would improve its urban fabric, which led to the appearance of the first buildings, theaters, clubs and schools. These changes are reported by the German traveler Robert Christian Avé-Lallemant in 1858:

I arrived in the capital city of Curitiba. Perhaps that is why the city of about 5,000 inhabitants surprised me so pleasantly. Naturally, there is nothing great or grand about it. In everything, in the streets and houses and even in men, a double nature is recognized. One is that of old Curitiba, when it was not yet the capital of a Province, but a modest central place, the fifth district of São Paulo. There, one sees unpaved streets, wooden houses and all kinds of slovenliness, dirty corners and disorderly squares, next to which there are many things in ruins and one cannot fail to recognize evident decay and backwardness. In the second nature, on the contrary, decisive regeneration is expressed, although no grandiose Renaissance style appears. Since the arrival of the President and the administrative staff, Curitiba has had its palace. Naturally, it's a simple ground floor and has an unpretentious, modest appearance, but it's beautiful and tidy. For the military force a headquarters was built, which can be seen from afar and produces a beautiful effect. A jail was built. (...) In addition, the provincial Chamber of Deputies, the Treasury and many other things were built; in short, Curitiba,

the old stunted village, marches with energy towards a new development.²⁵

Such report demonstrates a moment of transition, albeit slowly, from an infrastructural framework with certain rural aspects to another linked to the urban. The city was beginning to roar with events, notably marked by the city’s ideology. In 1858, the military barracks, the Chamber of Deputies, the jail, hotels, hospitals, fountains and treasuries were built, as shown in the plan below:

Figure 2 - Plan of Curitiba. 1863.



Source: JWS Portal Collection, available at: <https:jws.com.br>

The main square is depicted in light pink. The barracks are shown is yellow the jail in green.

In 1863, Curitiba becomes slightly more rectified and has more streets compared to the 1857 plan. We also notice new structures such as the barracks and ten townhouse-type houses, evidencing attempts to formulate common environments and other necessities for urban life. Ten years after the establishment of the province, the region, especially downtown, began

²⁵ AVÉ-LALLEMANT, 1858, p. 273. AVÉ-LALLEMANT, Robert. *Viagens pelas províncias de Santa Catarina*. Paraná e São Paulo, 1858.

to shape. According to Martins' demographic surveys²⁶, in the Main Square region alone there were already 43 townhouse-type houses.

With the structuring of new institutions, the persecution of certain customs that were not consistent with the emerging scenario intensified. Gambling, such as playing cards and dice, for example, were banned, as they represented an affront to morality²⁷. In the newspapers, horse racing was also moderated:

Art: 7ª Horse racing is not allowed if not in the lanes of the village, with the license of the police authority, upon payment of 10\$000, whatever the amount of the bet. Contraventors, in addition to the tax, will pay a fine of 3\$000.²⁸

The measures were characterized as disciplinary strategies of interference in everyday life. In a way, they determined habits and shaped desirable behaviors in the subjects. The price of the fee charged to encourage racing stipulated in the decree was not an exorbitant amount, especially for an ascendant agricultural class. The price²⁹ was similar to that of an annual subscription to the *Dezenove de Dezembro* newspaper, which cost 8\$000³⁰. Those who could afford the annual membership fee of a bulletin were able to take a chance on the races. It must be considered that the fee charged represented an attempt, even an initial one, to supervise the practice and probably keep away the less well-off.

In one of his reports on the development of Paraná, provincial president Zacarias de Góis e Vasconcelos explains his impressions regarding the horse races held in the region, bringing more details about the pastime in that period:

There is a highly effective means of stimulating and promoting improvements in this branch of industry in countries that value it: I refer to hippodromes, or squares for horse races and exercises. The races that the sons of this land are so fond of would be a useful rejoinder to the hippodromes, if they ceased

²⁶ MARTINS, Romário. *História do Paraná*. Prefeitura Municipal de Curitiba, 1995.

²⁷ Coleção de leis, decretos e regulamentos da província, 17/03/1858, p. 18-19.

²⁸ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 22/04/1858 p.1.

²⁹ The price to enter another common entertainment of the period, dances, was 1\$000. Boxes for this same pastime cost 5\$000. In comparison, a cheese produced by local traders cost 3\$000. This indicates that the fees for the races were not far removed from everyday products. See *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 01/04/1857, p. 4.

³⁰ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 01/04/1854, p. 1.

to be a pure game as they currently are, had a different direction and were held under different perspectives. What are the races at present? An occasion for gambling and brawling and ill-will among the people, and nothing more.³¹

The president's reports indicate that the entertainment still had little infrastructure; the way it was then carried out was a sign of backwardness, disorder and immorality, a true symbol of an archaic traditionalism that should be left in the past. However, he realizes that if the practice took other directions, there could still be a promising future. In the government's view, if horse racing followed models of what was happening in other countries, the practice could be seen differently. The races promoted in the city should mirror those whose practices were already better structured, especially within institutionalized characteristics close to a logic consisting of rules, infrastructure, prizes and codes of honor. Thus, entertainment could become a useful asset for the prosperity of the city and the customs of its population.

Perhaps one of the main elements that supported the presence of such dynamics in the city in the midst of the ills observed by the ruler was this progressive potential seen in horse racing in other locations, along with the population's appreciation for the animal. It is also worth considering the flexibility of speech, in an attempt to reconcile speeches in favor of and against the practice. Carneiro³² points out that this was one of the characteristics that marked the administrative trajectory of Góis e Vasconcelos in the region: a true peacemaker.

In this wake, we can find debates that portrayed horse racing as a useful element or not for urban centers in chronicles published in *Dezenove de Dezembro*:

Races are the most powerful incentive for improving horses, , which in so many ways have become indispensable both as an auxiliary in soil work and as an engine of transport and defense of the country. Such is the taste of the European aristocracy for such a subject, that the celebrated cosmopolitan society of the Jockey Club flourishes in Paris, whose main aim is the improvement of the horse throughout the world. The races of the *Prado Fluminense* in Rio de Janeiro, cannot be ignored by the illustrious editor of the *Correr da Penna*, that they were honored

³¹ GÓES E VASCONCELOS, Zacarias. Relatório. *Presidente da Província do Paraná*. Curitiba, 1854, p. 145.

³² CARNEIRO, Newton Issac da Silva. *A arte paraense antes de Andersen*. Boletim Informativo da Casa Romário Martins, 1980.

by the presence of our sovereign and enjoyed his special favor. J.³³.

The fellow who signed the essay as J. demonstrates some understanding of the forging of a global horse trade. The development of an equestrian entertainment market and the benefits of improved horse breeds are noted in other countries, especially those where modernizing processes were more advanced. These elements, for the writer, could and should be implemented in Curitiba, since it intended to become a city that followed models established in large centers. Therefore, the presence of the horse became extremely important for the advancement of the city. In the following lines, the same chronicler tensions a debate in response to the considerations of President Zacarias de Góis e Vasconcelos regarding the races:

Therefore, in the presence of such illustrious examples, races cannot be considered as a barbaric amusement; and, as Mr. Councilor Zacarias inculcates in his first and very brilliant report to the legislative assembly of this province, they must be an effective stimulus for the progress of an important, albeit very backward, industry in our land. J.³⁴

For the writer, the races were not a barbaric amusement as was, in parts, observed by the governor of Paraná. In his view, provided they were formulated with the best structure, they could be useful for the development of the region. The following week, in a new column, another writer also explains his perceptions regarding horse entertainment in Curitiba:

The *races*, made there on any plateau, and run by any conductor (active and passive); spectacle for all kinds of spectators, who risk, in bets subject to the supposable misfortunes of uncertain victory, this or that part of their fortune, or that of others, are not the regular equestrian exercises of ancient and modern Europe, nor this beautiful amusement of *Prado Fluminense*. The races used in our province are not even made for riding exercises; as they are made, they do not serve this incentive that Mr. Zacarias had in mind, in fact intending that they be *regularized*.³⁵

³³ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 18/06/1856, p.1-2.

³⁴ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 18/06/1856, p.1-2.

³⁵ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 25/06/1856, p.1-2.

The speeches above reflect characteristics not only of the races, but also of Curitiba. They show the transition in the city and its daily life, moving towards the structuring of a series of attributes, whether infrastructural or gestural. Equestrian events were still held on the outskirts of the city, with little organization and modest supervision. Consequently, they were surrounded by morally dubious aspects, such as gambling involving violence. In addition, there was no entry fee - which allowed the presence of subjects with the most varied intentions. However, we must remember that the speeches in the newspapers reinforced the potential for better conformation of entertainment, especially noting it as a useful stimulus in the dissemination of a horse trade in the region, as well as models of behavior seen in other cities in which urbanization ideas were more advanced. The columnist followed up the drafting by detecting new points:

In big cities, where luxury in horseback riding and driving vehicles can be flaunted, the most beautiful are also preferred. But are horses just to win bets in races really what we need? Races do us real harm. They give rise to public demoralization on a grand scale. We have been victims of petty theft, occasioned by the desire to have something of value for a bet.³⁶

We understand that the somewhat idealistic vision of the first chronicles around dynamics was an intention. However, it was still a scenario far from the reality that was being built. Curitiba, at this time, did not even have a specific structure for equestrian activities, as was already the case in the country's capital at the time (Rio de Janeiro) and in Europe. Nor did there exist horses with the desired genetic improvements. The hobby was maturing, located in a capital that also sought to strengthen more solid lines of its urbanization.

The debate has not ceased. When explaining a certain delay in the races and the quality of the horses, a reply by another writer, still in the same pages of the periodical, read:

Statutes should be drawn up; judges should be appointed for the bets in the races to avoid fraud; penalties should be set for those who commit them; prizes should be established for the winners; all classes of society should run in turn (if they wish); do not allow entry to arenas (if you prefer them to circuses), if not to those who have some lawful income, from which they can take with them to pay an entry fee, for the profit of the association,

³⁶ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 25/06/1856, p. 1-2.

if for this purpose they apply it; let the gallantry and advantages of the runner also consist in presenting the most beautiful horse; in riding better; that then it will be possible to achieve those advantages, which will motivate in Europe the creation of the harahs, of which Mr. J. has spoken. J.³⁷.

With somewhat moralizing arguments, the anonymous writer ends up providing notions to remedy the debates about the poor quality of the races and the animals in the region. For him, bureaucratic, institutionalized and educational measures needed to be taken to try to maintain the order of equestrian events. There should be judges to oversee the tests and betting, to prevent fraud. The rules had to be pre-defined, as well as the entry of subjects - whether practitioners, owners or spectators - should be charged to control the dynamics and foster improvements to the environment where these activities would be carried out, strengthening a harmony of races in the face of the patterns of everyday life that was established.

In addition, the encouragement of horse breeders was emphasized in the publications - these people should also win prizes, encouraging them to take care of and further improve the quality of the animals and thus possibly foster a stud market in the region. Although none of these elements are still in force in the races in Curitiba, it is noteworthy that most of these parameters, signaled by the anonymous author, were similar to the experiences carried out in Rio de Janeiro and Europe³⁸.

Arguments about the need to improve the horses, the inspection and civility of the races continued to be addressed in speeches. Next, we will see how the practice accompanied the processes discussed as fundamental to its maintenance in the city.

Horse racing, bureaucratic and fiscal measures in an urbanizing Curitiba

As seen above, the discourses pro-horse racing in Curitiba in the local press revolved around the imposition of rules for a better organization. In addition, the narratives implied a demand for codes of conduct for those who attended the races in order to preserve, in a way, the morality of this custom and make it amenable to appreciation in the rising urban life. A journalistic

³⁷ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 25/06/1856, p. 1-2.

³⁸ MELO, Victor Andrade de. *Cidade "sportiva": primórdios do esporte no Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará/Faperj, 2001.

essay explains a series of measures seen as useful for improving horse breeds, animal care and the correct way to conduct horses:

Foals that are to be stabled should be kept from the time they are weaned; however, they should be turned loose at least once a day. They are usually tied to the manger, and so as not to injure themselves with any object, as is natural, given the liveliness of age; and it is well to leave them free for some time, because exercise is very necessary for them. As long as they have not acquired a certain degree of strength, they should not be fatigued by walking long distances or by being forced to graze at long distances. The upbringing of the foal not only consists in avoiding everything that may be harmful to its physical development; it is also necessary that it does not acquire vicious habits. Boys must be prevented from stimulating them by shouts and gestures, or from tormenting them in any way; dogs must also be prevented from chasing them, and anyone from burdening them with weights of any kind.³⁹

The author of the essay was Frederico Leopoldo Cezar Burlarmaque, a native of Piauí who would later gain notoriety in Rio de Janeiro as head of the national museum. With extensive experience in biology, he describes a series of indicators of the most correct way to breed horses and develop their riding skills. Regarding the teaching of the art of riding, Burlarmaque proposed exercises:

The art of teaching a horse consists in making it learn what a man commands it, and in making it obedient to his commands.

1st LESSON – Leash exercise

A bridle is put over the horse's mouth, and a halter is put over it, to which a long rope or guide is attached. The horse exercises in a circle, around the pawn that serves as the center. This exercise is done in an arena, or on a plateau.

The first lessons must be very short. They should become more lasting as the horse understands what is required of it. The horse does not do everything either because it does not understand or because it cannot; in either case punishment can teach him nothing. As soon as the horse begins to understand what is being taught, put the saddle on it, then a simple bridle, then a folded bridle, and finally the bridle armed with a thin bridle.⁴⁰

³⁹ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 28/11/1857, p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 28/11/1857, p. 3.

It is observed that Frederico Burlarmaque⁴¹ presented a kind of compendium of equine subjects, addressing lessons that characterize leash and taming exercises. This was a sign that the art of riding and caring for the horse was on the agenda of studies on Brazilian soil. Another point is that if we take into account that the newspaper *Dezenove de Dezembro*, as Pezzole⁴² emphasizes, was in tune with the progressive ideals pursued in Curitiba. This is a potential reason for the publication of criteria and debates to improve equine breeding. After all, in this way, the journal stimulated speeches about the benefits of horse trade in the region that would, consequently, increase the improvement of experiences with horse racing.

Horse racing continued to be reported in the newspapers in the same decade and was still subject to scrutiny, mainly for not being held in the city.

Horse racing is allowed only in the suburbs of the village, provided that permission has been obtained from the police, who will be shown in advance to have paid the amount of 20\$ rs. of municipal imposition for the licenses. Offenders, in addition to that imposition, will suffer 8\$ rs. A fine, and in cases of recurrences will suffer more twenty days of imprisonment.⁴³

As we indicated in previous pages and as Santos⁴⁴ points out, at this moment a discourse in favor of the consolidation of urban life over the life and customs of the countryside was being strengthened in Curitiba. For the sake of urban control, the need to discipline certain forms of sociability and custom was imminent, even if they promoted changes in traditions, habits and ways in which the population interacted with spaces and times. Therefore, certain habits should be supervised to be carried out or, if they did not occur according to the regulations, they should be extirpated - horse racing, in this scenario, was an example of such tension.

As Curitiba grew with new roads, bridges, public markets, town halls and paved streets, a hunt for behaviors linked to the countryside was even more evident. These gestures represented the “old” rustic drover, bringing

⁴¹ Figueiroa describes the man from Piauí as one of the most notable naturalists of empire times, and his vast knowledge of the natural sciences may have been one of the reasons for his studies into the causes of horseback riding. FIGUEIROA, Sílvia Fernanda de Mendonça. *Ciência e tecnologia no Brasil Imperial* Guilherme Schüch, Barão de Capanema (1824-1908). *Varia história*, v. 21, 2005, p. 437-455.

⁴² PEZZOLE, Dino Ricardo. *Jornal Dezenove de Dezembro*. Final Paper, Major in Design, University Tuiuti of Paraná, 2006.

⁴³ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 07/04/1858, p.1.

⁴⁴ SANTOS, Carlos Roberto Antunes. *Vida material e econômica*. Curitiba: SEED, 2001.

the representation of the rural environment to the city, and therefore going against the urban desires that were moving towards a better structuring. In this way, horse racing, as it was done, represented a way of life that symbolized the rural, the countryside, the agrarian. They should gain new props in order to establish themselves as an eminently urban element, if they wanted to remain within the city. During this period, we can say that the practice was still composed of a hybridity of elements, mostly rural rather than urban.

Taking this into account, we consider that the prosperity of the structure of the capital of Paraná should be accompanied by the refinement of gestures; it was not enough to have paved streets, buildings and other usual elements in urban centers. It was also essential to advance in the ways of behaving, acting and enjoying this conforming lifestyle - aspects that are clear in some articles that the Curitiba City Council promoted:

Art. 16: Owners are obliged to pave the fronts of their properties in the width of ten palms [2.2m] in the streets and squares, and eight [1.76m] in the lanes and alleys, within the period that is marked by the inspector, which will never be less than six months and greater than twelve, following in the paving the leveling that, in view of the engineer's plan, is determined by the inspector: the contraventors fine of 20\$000, and the work to be done at their expense, by those in charge of the City Council.⁴⁵

Art. 81. Showing up in a public place dressed indecently, or in any way that offends morals and good customs; penalties from 4\$ to 10\$000 and from 1 to 3 days in prison.

Art. 83 Any person who, in a public place, insults another person with infamous or indecent words, or gestures of the same nature, shall be punished with a fine of 20\$000 and placed in custody at the order of the inspector, until the fine is paid, and if he has nothing to pay, he shall be imprisoned for 8 days.⁴⁶

Modern houses and streets in juxtaposition with civilized postures were the main ambitions of a Curitiba that desired progress. Pereira⁴⁷ highlights details of this relationship between the emergence of constructions and the need for the education of gestures due to these advances. By exemplifying how the construction of a curb had an impact on the social dynamics of the inhabitants of the capital of Paraná, the author reveals the effects of these

⁴⁵ Coleção de leis, decretos e regulamentos da Província, 11/07/1861, p.60.

⁴⁶ Coleção de leis, decretos e regulamentos da Província, 11/07/1861, p. 70.

⁴⁷ Pereira, op cit.

urban improvements on some customs. What today is a simple common element in any city, in that period represented innovation, material progress. The functions of the curb were the same as the current ones, that is, to separate the streets for vehicles from the space for pedestrians. However, in a city where horses were left tied anywhere, this division generated the need for regulations and new instructions. With the curb, the marginal side of the road was intended for walking. The presence of horses, in turn, would certainly hinder the walks, making them discontinuous by the traffic of animal traction vehicles. Therefore, normative measures became necessary as well as their indispensable learning by the population.

Art. 29 Tying any animal to doors, windows or any other place, or having it stand on the sidewalks in such a way as to impede traffic: penalty of 2 to 4\$000.

Art. 30 Galloping through the streets of the city without justifiable reason, or riding a horse on the sidewalks: penalty of 2 to 4\$000.⁴⁸.

If the marginal roads and their sidewalks under construction were pedestrian space, the streets gained exclusivity for carts, animals and their drivers, who in addition to being careful about the correct place to leave their possessions, should pay more attention to likely bystanders. To the same extent, pedestrians needed to be alert when crossing the roads. Caution and attention became some of the important attitudes to be understood and executed for both actions. Here we perceive an urban metamorphosis in double perception. The search for the legitimization of the city as a modern environment requires the planning and formulation of new dynamics that, when emerged, opens space for new uses and spaces of the city itself, resignifying it. In this way, as the city shapes itself and produces new structures, justified by the discourse of progress, the emergence of new customs that need to be learned and disseminated are put in evidence. Horses and races (and probably other amusements) participated and made this process explicit.

With the advance of urbanity and the refinement of gestures for the experience of and for the city, horse racing began to go through the first bureaucratic processes that brought rules close to what had been debated in local newspapers as fundamental for the maintenance of the practice. In a decree, the politician from Minas Gerais and Bachelor of Law Antônio Barbosa Gomes Nogueira, who at that time (1861-1863) was in charge of the

⁴⁸ Coleção de leis, decretos e regulamentos da província, 11/07/1861, p. 62.

presidency of the province of Paraná, established a series of norms for the races in Curitiba. They ranged from a greater detail of the licenses that were already being charged, to the implementation of a book of slips with the signature of those who paid to perform the dynamics. It even had the name of the horses that would run and the location. All was supervised by a municipal inspector, as reported in the articles from the municipality below:

On races, pairs or horse racing.

Art. 1 The entertainment known by the denomination of careers, pairs or horse racing, can only be done in the municipality, within half a league from the house of the respective block inspector, paying the council for the license previously granted, the amount of 10\$000 .

Art. 2 The license may be granted by the town clerks, who must exist in each block, preceded by payment of the stamp. These people in charge will each have their own receipt book, provided by the city attorney, for collecting the said license amount, with city council income. The receipt must be declared who are those who promote or undertake entertainment, the horses and the day on which the entertainment will take place.

Art. 4 Entertainment promoters or entrepreneurs are obliged to attend the respective block inspector, showing him the license granted by the person in charge of the city hall, the day, time and place in which the entertainment will take place.

Art. 5 The receipt books must be numbered and initialed by the mayor, and those in charge of the collection of this income will report to the latter, however, they must send, every three months, to the mayor's attorney what they have collected, which will give them receipts with which they can also document their accounts.⁴⁹

About six years after the first journalistic report, this was the first more delimited set of rules around the races of horses from Paraná located in the consulted sources. Public authorities controlled all fiscal arrangements. They basically began to charge taxes that were already common around the activity. However, from that moment on, the regulation implemented was a little more detailed, since it required those interested in promoting the practice to obtain a license that had to contain the exact time and place of the dispute, the document being examined by a municipal inspector. These terms made

⁴⁹ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 25/04/1863, p. 1.

it easier to locate and monitor the environments and those responsible for promoting the races, should the dynamics require any intervention.

The so-called straight courts, races or horse races were disputes that basically had the intention of establishing who had the fastest horse. They took place on a straight dirt track, normally played by two or three animals. According to Kilpp, Mazo and Assmann⁵⁰, when exploring the practice in Rio Grande do Sul, there straight canchas had either 300, 400 or 500 meters, and the races of shorter distances were the favorites of the locals. This type of format exhibited a clearer and more exclusive performance of the animal's acceleration, since, at greater distances, the horse would present fatigue and decrease in speed. In the case of Paraná, unfortunately, no allusion to the extent of the pairs was found, nor in this first stage of the races were we able to identify in great detail who were the individuals who competed, their sources of income, professions or any aspects that identified them.

What we know for sure is that these disputes were formulated verbally by the horse owners, and sometimes transcribed by means of advertisements in the printed media, with the intention, probably, of gaining an audience. Thus, without a specific space, nor concrete rules for practice, was how the races were initially structured in Curitiba at the beginning of the second part of the 19th century. Let's look at an example of agreements commonly made in announcement of a possible dispute:

I came across in n. 343 of this sheet an invitation from Mr. Pedro Ferreira Maciel for a race of our horses - Baio and Rosilho -, in the parish of Palmeira, which I reject, not because I fear the triumph of his in any place, but because it is not possible for me to go there, and I still do not agree with his proposals. However, if Mr. Ferreira still believes that it was by some accident and not by superiority that Baio triumphed over his horse, I invite him to a new contract, subject to the following conditions: 1st The lane will be in the surroundings of this city, flat ground, touching the right side in the bay. 2ª The weight of the riders will not be less than 129,54 lbs. With these conditions, the Rosilho is born. In conclusion: if the owner of Rosilho does not have enough confidence in his horse, he is given the option of looking for any

⁵⁰ KILPP, Cecília; MAZO, Janice; ASSMANN, Alice. *Kriegerverein: a constituição da Sociedade de Guerreiros e das primeiras associações esportivas de Teutônia/Estrela (1874-1950)*. Final Paper, Specialization Course, Physical Education, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, 2008.

other horse to come here and ride with mine, without requiring any party. Candido Machado d'Oliveira.⁵¹

The disclosure makes it possible to visualize the simple organization and regulation of horse racing in Curitiba, when compared to other Brazilian urban centers, such as Rio de Janeiro⁵². In addition, it exemplifies the verbal dealings that, despite showing the choice of certain rules and places, were not standardized terms, but agreements dependent on the need for each dispute. Regarding the runners (riders), these were not mentioned, a characteristic that may highlight a scenario where the importance of those who guided the animal was not yet recognized. From the report, it is possible to see that the rider, at least in this dispute, was relatively thin, weighing 129,54 lbs. Certainly, a lower body weight facilitated greater horse performance.

Regarding the subjects interested in promoting the disputes, described in the source above, Mr. Candido Machado de Oliveira was a member of an important political family of Curitiba, being sometimes deputy for the Liberal Party. Colonel Pedro Ferreira Maciel had influence in the municipality of Palmeira, having possession of several farms and animals⁵³. The involvement of men with political trajectories and influences, and with probable economic and social capital, can highlight aspects beyond the expectation provided by the appreciation of seeing the animal's speed. These subjects were usually the owners of the horses, and possibly sought in these disputes prestige and recognition from the people present there - since the fact of being the owner of a fast winning equine could give them a certain symbolic capital⁵⁴, in addition to making their animals even more economically valuable.

In 1866, a brief advertisement draws attention, with the title *Prado Curytibano*:

⁵¹ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 07/01/1863, p. 4.

⁵² For more details on horse racing experiences in the country's capital read MELO, Victor Andrade. *Uma diversão civilizada para um bairro moderno: o hipódromo de Vila Isabel (Rio de Janeiro; 1884-1890)*. *Locus: Revista de História*, v. 28, n. 1, 2022.

⁵³ GOULART, Monica Helena Harrich Silva. *Classe dominante e jogo político na Assembleia Legislativa do Paraná (1889-1930)*. *Revista NEP-Núcleo de Estudos Paranaenses da UFPR*, v. 1, n. 1, 2015.

⁵⁴ Pereira, Mazo e Lyra, when studying the straight canchas in Rio Grande do Sul, also note the presence of wealthy individuals in these events, and also visualize a probable relationship of gaining social and economic status for those who owned winning horses. MAZO, Janice Zarpellon; LYRA, Vanessa Bellani. *Corridas de cavalo em cancha reta em Porto Alegre (1852/1877): uma prática cultural-esportiva sul-rio-grandense*. *Journal of Physical Education*, v. 21, n. 4, 2010, p. 655-666.

PRADO CURYTIBANO.

On Sunday, the 25th of this month, the race of four horses will take place for the first time, in the place called Balthazar, after the settlements of the style, for which the amateurs of this amusement are invited to be there. The Paissandú.⁵⁵

The news refers to the first mention located in the newspapers about a probable meadow in Curitiba, which appeared to be a specific space for equestrian practices. However, the place called Balthazar did not even continue to be reported, nor did the subject who signed the information as Paissandú continue to make reports in the pamphlets. In this way, the dynamics were carried out without a proper infrastructure, with light regulations formulated from verbal agreements and some simple decrees linked to tax collection. There were also inspections of the locations where the disputes took place, which, despite the involvement of some subjects with public careers, relied on the frequency of individuals with harsh behavior – which not infrequently caused confusion around the events.⁵⁶

It must be considered that the processes of collections and punishments only financial, stipulated and supervised by the city council, were not enough to organize the horse races in Curitiba and lead them on the tracks of what was seen in the great urban centers of the period. This purpose was even evidenced by the head of the police guard Bento Fernandes de Barros:

- One of the objects of municipal policing, which is closely related to preventive policing, and about which the council's ordinances do not establish sufficient provisions, is horse racing, a frequent occurrence in this and other municipalities in the interior of the province, and which has not infrequently been the occasion for serious offenses. This provision only considers the object from the economic side, i.e. in relation to the tax, but fails to consider it from the police side, as is necessary⁵⁷

In the views of the chief of police, greater coercion in relation to the realization of the races was extremely necessary. In this sense, a measure seen by the police to facilitate the control of the races, was that they could not be carried out at a distance greater than half a league (about 2.5 km) from the

⁵⁵ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 21/02/1866, p.4.

⁵⁶ *Ver*, *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 15/02/1868, p. 1.

⁵⁷ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 30/09/1871, p.2.

city⁵⁸, being able, in this way, to arrive in time for more severe punishments for offenders.

In addition, for the police, one of the main problems of this entertainment was the strong presence of rural men, subjects who had not been educated according to urban precepts - bringing to the pastime rude gestures and, not infrequently, violent acts. These individuals still had traits that did not fit the expected behaviors in the public scene, a characteristic that, in a second moment of the police chief's report, became even more evident:

It is well known that in the places where horse races are held, a considerable number of people gather, among whom are the men who are still uncivilized, who are engaged in the services of the field and farming.

It is also known that at these meetings, ordinarily, disagreements arise between the riders or the owners of the horses, who appear in the race, the bystanders taking part in the races by means of bets and exalting themselves very much for their ideas and gross customs to the point of giving fun the character of a dangerous dispute, and which not infrequently has a bloody outcome.⁵⁹

It is noted that the problem with horse racing was not just structural or fiscal. There were subjects who did not share the ways of life thought for relationships in the city, but who still had esteem for the practice and liked to be present in these environments. Despite there were some debates and measures to improving the gestures of riding and treating the animal - or even trivializing and supervising the presence of the horse in some spaces of the city, since its presence was no longer appropriate in some places of the urban fabric that was being formed -, it seems that they were still not very effective. Also, the tolerated behaviors were insufficiently detailed, specifically during this recreational scene.

Until then, most of the measures discussed in the newspapers were not seen as useful for maintaining momentum. It is true that the attendant of the space was expected to behave in a controlled manner. Similarly, horse breeding was also expected to be improved. However, obstacles such as the absence of a specific structure, entry fees, judges for each stage of the competition and details of the behaviors expected in these environments

⁵⁸ Ver, *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 30/09/1871, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Dezenove de Dezembro*, 30/09/1871, p. 2.

prevented the races to approach the way they were practiced in places where the adherence of these characteristics was advanced.

In fact, the unpreparedness of the races seems to be a reflection of a city that was organizing itself within the dynamics of urban life. In the depicted excerpt, Curitiba was beginning its first years as a capital, as well as the elementary processes of urbanization. However, it still had strong rural features. It is enough to think of the sharp influence of the agricultural world in strengthening the economic, social, demographic and cultural life of the city, to the point that most of its population is occupied with agrarian jobs and tasks.

In this set, horse races were good expressions of this hybridism between the urban and rural characteristics of the capital of Paraná. As much as the horse was an rural symbol, it was also the main and most advanced means of travel. The races, while presenting the countryside and rustic side, also figured the prospect of a structural and gestural advance so desired by the city under construction. Thus, like the city, equestrian entertainment needed a better organization, a relationship that would be implemented together with the economic prosperity of yerba mate in the 1870s, enabling a better conformation of the urban fabric of Curitiba, where new actors, social structures and behaviors would be established. Among these is an entity that would elevate horse racing to levels close to those discussed as fundamental to its urban utility. A Jockey Club would be built in 1873 and would begin to energize new scenes of horse racing and the discourses of urbanization desired for the city.

Concluding remarks

The road so far shows us a changing scenario. In the second half of the 19th century, Curitiba, driven by the cultivation of yerba mate, experienced a process of transition from rural to urban features. At the same time, horse racing, a common entertainment at the time, also manifested changes and needs. In this sense, the debates about equestrian dynamics – about their rustic and uncivilized side, and their potential if carried out within certain parameters – took place simultaneously with discussions on the progress of the city and the refinement of the customs of its population, including entertainment in general in that environment.

Thus, highlighting issues about the experiences of horse racing in Curitiba allows us to capture the beginning of the structuring process of

the city marked by ways of life, economic and demographic aspects closely linked to the countryside. In this context, the capital of Paraná experienced a hybridism of rural and urban characteristics, something that extended even to one of the main entertainments of the period. Indeed, horse racing mobilized symbols of the rural world, yet it also offered the potential for spectacles that fitted well with city life.

Amid blunt criticism around discourses linked to the incivility of horse racing, the discursive operation that, in counterpoint, depicted them as manifestations with a progressive potential of a double order seems to have worked: they could promote the emergence of new spaces already seen in cities whose ideas of urbanization were better structured. In this case, especially the strengthening of a horse trade and the construction of jockeys and hippodromes - usual spaces and associations of the institutionalization and bureaucratization of the practice. And they could also bring about the appearance of new public behaviors judged more appropriate in an urban logic, which valued polite attitudes, courteous gestures and, therefore, more civilized.

Finally, we realized that the theme presents great value to cast new eyes on the daily life of the cities. Horse races and other moments of entertainment are part of the urban experience; therefore, they are one more particularity of cities that is worth discovering through the lens of history.

References

AVÉ-LALLEMANT, Robert. Viagens pelas províncias de Santa Catarina. Paraná e São Paulo, 1858.

COLEÇÃO DE LEIS, DECRETOS E REGULAMENTOS DA PROVÍNCIA, Curitiba, 18/04/1854, p. 11,

COLEÇÃO DE LEIS, DECRETOS E REGULAMENTOS DA PROVÍNCIA, Curitiba, 22/04/1856, p. 17.

COLEÇÃO DE LEIS, DECRETOS E REGULAMENTOS DA PROVÍNCIA, Curitiba, 17/03/1858, p. 18-19.

COLEÇÃO DE LEIS, DECRETOS E REGULAMENTOS DA PROVÍNCIA, Curitiba, 11/07/1861, p. 60.

COLEÇÃO DE LEIS, DECRETOS E REGULAMENTOS DA PROVÍNCIA, Curitiba, 11/07/1861, p. 62.

COLEÇÃO DE LEIS, DECRETOS E REGULAMENTOS DA PROVÍNCIA, Curitiba, 11/07/1861, p. 70.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 01/04/1854, p. 1.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 29/04/1854, p. 3-4.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 11/11/1854, p. 1.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 22/04/1855, p. 1.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 06/01/1855, p. 1-2.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 18/06/1856, p. 1-2.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 25/06/1856, p. 1-2.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 01/04/1857, p. 4.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 28/11/1857, p. 3.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 14/07/1858, p. 4.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 07/04/1858, p. 1.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 07/01/1863, p. 4.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 25/04/1863, p. 1.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 21/02/1866, p. 4.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 15/02/1868, p. 1.

DEZENOVE DE DEZEMBRO, Curitiba, 30/09/1871, p. 2.

GÓES E VASCONCELOS, Zacarias. Relatório. Presidente da Província do Paraná. Curitiba, 1854, p. 145.

AZEVEDO, André Nunes de. As noções de progresso do Império à República: transformações recônditas em uma mesma terminologia. Outros Tempos: Pesquisa em Foco-História, v. 13, n. 22, 2016, p. 69-88. Available at: https://www.outrostempos.uema.br/index.php/outros_tempos_uema/article/view/539. Access: Mar 14th 2023. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.18817/ot.v13i22.539>

BAHLS, Aparecida Vaz da Silva. O verde na metrópole: a evolução das praças e jardins em Curitiba (1885-1916). Thesis, History, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 1998.

CARDOSO, Jayme Antonio. A população votante de Curitiba (1853-1881). Thesis, History, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 1974.

CARNEIRO, Newton Issac da Silva. A arte paranaense antes de Andersen. Boletim Informativo da Casa Romário Martins. Curitiba, ano VII, nº 43, 1980, p. 11.

CAPRARO, André Mendes. Foot-ball, uma prática elitista e civilizadora: investigando o ambiente social e esportivo paranaense do início do século XX. Thesis, History, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 2002.

CORRÊA, Amélia Siegel. Imprensa política e pensamento republicano no Paraná no final do XIX. Revista de Sociologia e Política, v. 17, n. 32, 2009. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rsocp/a/CNpXWVv4gFynSFpgr8CtGf/?lang=pt>. Access: Mar 14th 2023. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-44782009000100009>

DEL PRIORE, Mary. Jogos de cavalheiros”: as atividades físicas antes da chegada do esporte. História do esporte no Brasil: do império aos dias atuais. São Paulo: UNESP, 2009.

DIAS, Cleber. Depois da Avenida Central: cultura, lazer e esportes nos sertões do Brasil. 1. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Jaguaritica, 2020.

GOIS JÚNIOR, Edivaldo. O esporte e a modernidade em São Paulo: práticas corporais no fim do século XIX e início do XX. Movimento, v. 19, n. 4, 2013, p. 95-117. Available at: <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/Movimento/article/view/37530>. Access: Mar 14th 2023. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.22456/1982-8918.37530>

KARLS, Cleber Eduardo. Modernidades sortidas: o esporte oitocentista em Porto Alegre e no Rio de Janeiro. Dissertation, Comparative History, Institute of History, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, 2017.

KILPP, Cecília; MAZO, Janice; ASSMANN, Alice. Kriegerverein: a constituição da Sociedade de Guerreiros e das primeiras associações esportivas de Teutônia/ Estrela (1874-1950). Final Paper, Specialization Course, Physical Education, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, 2008.

LE GOFF, Jacques. Documento/monumento. In. LE GOFF, J. História e memória. 5. ed. Campinas: ed. UNICAMP, 2003.

LOPES, Luís Fernando Lopes. O espetáculo dos maquinismos modernos: Curitiba na virada do século XIX ao XX. Dissertation, História, Post-Graduation Program, State Universidade of São Paulo, 2002.

MARTINS, Romário. História do Paraná. Prefeitura Municipal de Curitiba, 1995 [1937].

MAZO, Janice Zarpellon; LYRA, Vanessa Bellani. Corridas de cavalo em cancha reta em Porto Alegre (1852/1877): uma prática cultural-esportiva sul-rio-grandense. *Journal of Physical Education*, v. 21, n. 4, 2010, p. 655-666.

MELO, Victor Andrade de. Cidade “sportiva”: primórdios do esporte no Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará/Faperj, 2001.

MELO, Victor Andrade. Uma diversão civilizada para um bairro moderno: o hipódromo de Vila Isabel (Rio de Janeiro; 1884-1890). *Locus: Revista de História*, v. 28, n. 1, 2022, p. 296-322. Available at: <https://periodicos.ufjf.br/index.php/locus/article/view/33588>. Access: Mar 14th 2023. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.34019/2594-8296.2022.v28.33588>

MIRANDA, Beatriz. Aspectos demográficos de uma cidade paranaense no século XIX, Curitiba 1851-1880. Thesis, História, Post-Graduation Program, Federal University of Paraná, 1978.

MOLINA, Ana Heloisa. “Temos um Passeio Público, digno desta adiantada capital”: espaços de sociabilidades em registros fotográficos do acervo do Museu Paranaense. Curitiba. 1913-1930. *História (São Paulo)*, v. 39, 2020. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/his/a/zNNhRDZzqHvjhYQRwZ3F5nH/abstract/?lang=pt>. Access: Mar. 14th 2023. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-4369e2020013>

MONTENEGRO, Nara Romero; SOARES, Carmen Lúcia. Corridas de cavalos em Campinas: das ruas e dos quilombos ao hipódromo (1870-1898). *Pensar a Prática*, v. 21, n. 2, 2018. Available at: <https://revistas.ufg.br/feef/article/view/47361>. Access: Mar 14th 2023. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.5216/rpp.v21i2.47361>

MORAES E SILVA, Marcelo Moraes. Novos modos de olhar outras maneiras de se comportar: a emergência do dispositivo esportivo da cidade de Curitiba (1899-1918). Dissertation, Education State University of Campinas, 2011.

PEREIRA, Ester Liberato; BATAGLION, Giandra Anceski. Across racecourses meadows of Pelotas-RS: southern horse racing in the transition from the 19th and 20th centuries. 2021.

PEREIRA, Ester Liberato; MAZO, Janice Zarpellon; LYRA, Vanessa Bellani. Corridas de cavalo em cancha reta em Porto Alegre (1852/1877): uma prática cultural-esportiva sul-rio-grandense. *Journal of Physical Education*, v. 21, n. 4, 2010, p. 655-666.

PEREIRA, Magnus Roberto de Mello. Semeando iras rumo ao progresso. Curitiba: UFPR, 1996, p. 133-134.

PEREIRA, Magnus Roberto de Mello. O centauro desfeito. A desconstrução da cultura gaúcha no Paraná do século XIX. *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas–Anuario de Historia de America Latina*, v. 36, n. 1, 1999, p. 197-218.

PEZZOLE, Dino Ricardo. *Jornal Dezenove de Dezembro*. Final Paper. Major in Design, University Tuiuti of Parana, 2006.

RODRIGUES, João Freire. O rural e o urbano no Brasil: uma proposta de metodologia de classificação dos municípios. *Análise Social*, v. 49, n. 211, 2014.

ROCHA, Fernando Goulart; PIZZOLATTI, Roland Luiz. “Cidade: espaço de descontinuidades”. *Estudos Geográficos*, 2005, p. 46-53.

ROCHA JUNIOR, Coriolano Pereira; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Fernando Reis do. Futebol em Salvador: o início de uma história (1899-1920). *Movimento*, v. 17, n. 3, 2011, p. 79-95.

SANTOS, Carlos Roberto Antunes. *Vida material e econômica*. Curitiba: SEED, 2001, p.96.

SÊGA, Rafael Augustus. Maragatos dos Campos Gerais: razões que levam alguns setores da sociedade paranaense a aderir à Revolução Federalista. *Revista Tecnologia e Humanismo*, v. 15, n. 20, 2001, p. 71-80.

SETTE, Mário. *Arruar, história pitoresca do Recife antigo*. Governo do Estado de Pernambuco, Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1978.

ZATTI, Carlos. *O Paraná e o Paranismo*. Clube de Autores, Curitiba, 2010.

Article received for publication on 07/04/2023
Article approved for publication on 21/07/2023