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IN THE NAME OF "STRAIGHT CONDUCT", MUTUAL HELP, HONEST INDUSTRY AND PEACEFUL  
COEXISTENCE: REFLECTIONS ON INSTRUCTION AND MORAL EDUCATION (1824-1827)

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**Dossier: Independence and instruction in  
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COEXISTENCE: REFLECTIONS ON  
INSTRUCTION AND MORAL EDUCATION  
(1824-1827)**

José Gonçalves Gondra\*

**ABSTRACT**

In this article, I explore part of Silva Lisboa's production, where he reinforces state religion and the articulation between science and revelation, a condition to reach a "higher stage", whose best example could be seen in Great Britain. In my view, with the Constitution of the Brazilian Empire, it was necessary to outline the grounds for a *straight conduct*, thus associating moral science and theology as a strategy to fight the *catechisms of libertinism*.

**Keywords:** José da Silva Lisboa, Moral education, Viscount of Cayru.

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## **EM NOME DA "RECTA CONDUTA", AJUDA RECÍPROCA, HONESTA INDÚSTRIA E CONVÍVIO PACÍFICO: REFLEXÕES SOBRE INSTRUÇÃO E EDUCAÇÃO MORAL (1824-1827).**

### **RESUMO**

Neste artigo, exploro parte da produção de Silva Lisboa, na qual reforça a religião de Estado e a articulação entre ciência e revelação, condição para se atingir um estágio mais elevada, cujo melhor exemplo poderia ser verificado na experiência da Grã-Bretanha. Para o autor, com a Constituição do Império do Brasil, cabia delinear as bases para se formar uma *recta conducta*, associando, assim, ciência moral e teologia como estratégia de combate aos *catecismos da libertinagem*.

**Palavras-chave:** José da Silva Lisboa, Educação moral, Visconde de Cayru.

## **EN NOMBRE DE LA "CONDUCTA RECTA", LA AYUDA MUTUA, LA INDUSTRIA HONESTA Y LA COEXISTENCIA PACÍFICA: REFLEXIONES SOBRE LA INSTRUCCIÓN Y LA EDUCACIÓN MORAL (1824-1827)**

### **RESUMEN**

En este artículo, exploro parte de la producción de Silva Lisboa, en la que refuerza la religión de Estado y la articulación entre la ciencia y la revelación, condición para alcanzar un estadio superior, cuyo mejor ejemplo se pudo comprobar en la experiencia de Gran Bretaña. Para el autor, con la Constitución del Imperio de Brasil, era necesario delinear las bases para formar una *conducta recta*, asociando, así, la ciencia moral y la teología como estrategia para combatir los *catecismos del libertinaje*.

**Palabras clave:** José da Silva Lisboa, Educación moral, Vizconde de Cayru.

## **AU NOM DE LA "BONNE CONDUITE", DE L'AIDE RÉCIPROQUE, DE L'INDUSTRIE HONNÊTE ET DE LA COEXISTENCE PACIFIQUE: RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'INSTRUCTION ET L'ÉDUCATION MORALE (1824-1827)**

### **RÉSUMÉ**

Dans cet article, j'explore une partie de la production de Silva Lisboa, dans laquelle elle renforce la religion d'État et l'articulation entre science et révélation, condition pour atteindre un degré supérieur, dont le meilleur exemple pourrait être vérifié dans l'expérience de la Grande-Bretagne. Pour l'auteur, avec la Constitution de l'Empire du Brésil, il fallait délimiter les bases pour former une *conduite pure*, associant ainsi la science morale et la théologie comme stratégie pour

combattre aux *catéchismes du libertinage*.

**Mots-clés:** José da Silva Lisboa, Éducation morale, Vicomte de Cayru.

## INTRODUCTION

Beside maps, flags, teaching instruments of the history of Brazil, public interventions, such as the “stage background” painted by Debret, to order for the coronation and consecration ceremony<sup>1</sup> of the first Brazilian emperor; the hymns (independence<sup>2</sup>, flag and national, for example) become part of a set of other signs intended to compose a certain representation of the Brazilian Empire.

On December 6, 1822, four months after the elaboration of the Anthem of Independence, the front page of *O Espelho* described the celebrations held during the coronation and consecration of “YOUR IMPERIAL MAGESTY<sup>3</sup>”. According to the narrative, “the night did not put an end to such affectionate demonstrations, but was more beautiful and serene than what had promised the inconstancy of the day”. When trying to give “a little idea of the splendor of the show”, the editor emphasizes the silks in the boxes, the 200 beautiful crystals used in the lighting, the fine porcelain jars with flowers, the luxurious details of the imperial gallery (...). It also highlights the “stage background” prepared to be used at the São João Theater, site of the ceremony. According to the article, it could be seen on the stage background the ingenious allegory of Mr. Debret, which represented America on a high throne, to which coconut trees served as columns, whose canopy illustrated - Independence, or death. On the right, the

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<sup>1</sup> According to (SCHWARCZ, 2000, 2002), it was the greatest of our acts. From the balcony of the Imperial Palace, he spoke for about an hour to a crowd of about 3 thousand people. Then, he went to the Imperial Chapel, where he attended the *Te Deum*, then went to the Palace, for the hand-kissing ceremony and, at night, attended the São João Theater. The manufacture of the first Emperor of Brazil resorted to many other festivities, such as the one that occurred before, on October 12, the birthday of D. Pedro I. On this other symbolic date, there was the ceremony of his acclaim as Emperor of Brazil, an event remembered in *O Espelho*, on December 3, in the following terms: “Brazil, supplanting despotism, and anarchy, had raised, on the glorious October 12, a new throne, built on the love and gratitude of a generous people, which had been established on such solid bases, had persisted unshakable, in spite of undermined intrigues and blatant aggressions. [...]”.

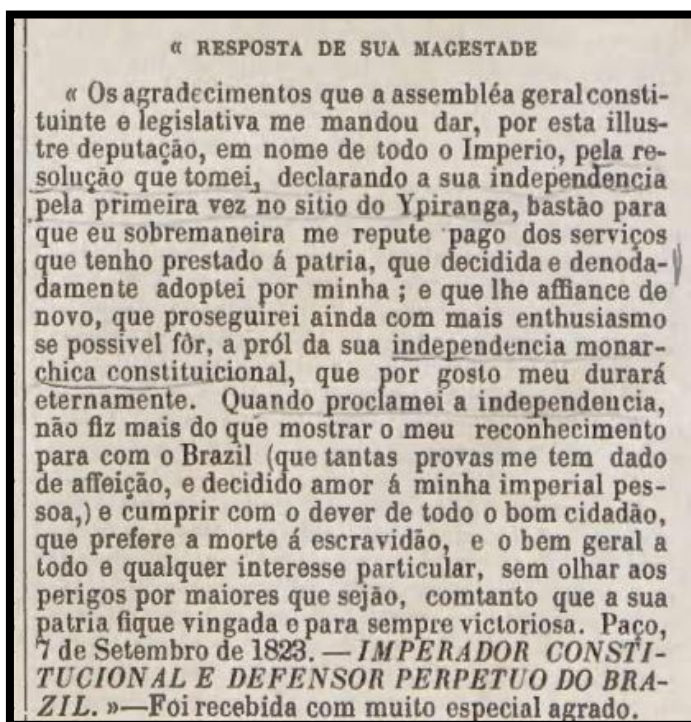
<sup>2</sup> On August 16, 1822, the bookseller, journalist, politician and poet Evaristo da Veiga wrote a lyric of what would come to be recognized as the *Anthem of Independence*, with the initial melody of the Portuguese maestro Marcos Portugal, with a second melody from the first emperor of Brazil.

<sup>3</sup> Highlight of the print. Available at <http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=700916&pesq=%22Debret%22&past=a=ano%20182> Accessed on April 10, 2020.

Constitution; on the left, the shield with the initial letter of the august name of YOUR IMPERIAL MAGESTY, and a canoe overlaid. In the work of the French painter, there are several emblems of fertility, abundance, inner trade and martial strength of this country, based on the independence and gratitude to the immortal hero who adopted it for Fatherland, recreating the eyes and favoring the exercise of the imagination, finished the editor.

Through these and other related expedients, evoked in different situations, an attempt was made to forge an official history of the “free country”, independent, monarchical and constitutional, as Emperor D. Pedro I had expressed on September 7, 1823, representation widely disseminated in literature, theater, cinema, in schools and in other forms of communication and the production of a *national* memory.

**Figura 1-** Annaes da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte (9 de setembro de 1823).



**Source:** Senado Federal<sup>4</sup>

However, access to other collections, little or insufficiently worked, moving away from a proud, heroic and epic perspective, allows one to observe mediations, conflicts and disputes in the emancipatory project of Brazil. This text works with official documents such as legislation, annals of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, as well as the public debate observed in print in general, with a focus on speeches and measures aimed at the formation of the people, between 1824 and 1827. In composing a complex documentary nucleus, we sought to avoid falling into causal traps that impoverish the understanding of a special phenomenon in the processes of nation building and its ordinary links with the different strategies and mechanisms designed to tailor the people and the nation.

For the purposes of this work, considering investments in the field of historiography, with special emphasis on collections organized by Holanda (2004) and Silva (2018), it is possible to observe an important detachment from the official narrative. In the case of the 11 volumes of the collection organized by Holanda, the emphasis is on examining a complex process in which economic, political and diplomatic aspects are intertwined<sup>5</sup>. The enterprise was structured in three divisions, with two volumes dedicated to the colonial period<sup>6</sup>, five to the empire<sup>7</sup> and four to the republican period<sup>8</sup>, until 1964, constituting a landmark

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<sup>4</sup> Disponível: [https://www.senado.leg.br/publicacoes/anais/pdf-digitalizado/Anais\\_Imperio/1823/1823%20Livro%205.pdf](https://www.senado.leg.br/publicacoes/anais/pdf-digitalizado/Anais_Imperio/1823/1823%20Livro%205.pdf). Accessed: 12 jul. 2021.

<sup>5</sup> In the ear of volume VII, it appears that the collection was organized by a generation of intellectuals, who often express different points of view, from different angles of approaches. Taken as a whole, it states that an attempt was made to discard both a triumphalist view and a predetermined view of history. The anonymous text (which can be attributed to the organizers/editors) also indicates that the issues (dealt with in the collection) “open up from the intersection between socioeconomic, cultural conditions, etc ... and the possible options of human beings who make history.” (HOLANDA, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> I- From discovery to territorial expansion, II- Administration, economics, society.

<sup>7</sup> III- The process of emancipation, IV- Dispersion and unity, V- Reactions and transactions, VI- Decline and fall of the Empire, VII- From the Empire to the Republic. Volumes III, IV, V and VI were assisted by Pedro Moacyr de Campos.

<sup>8</sup> VIII- Structure of power and economics (1889-1930), IX- Society and Institutions (1889-1930),

of the “brasilianas” and the specialization of historiography of Brazil. In a similar way, half a century later, the collection of 5 volumes, directed by Shwarcz, does not pretend to be a general history of Brazil<sup>9</sup>, since it does not deal with the colonial period. The established cut refers to Brazil-nation, with a focus on population, politics, economics, culture and international relations<sup>10</sup>.

In contrasting these two initiatives, we sought to observe the regularity and diversity of narratives about Brazil, in investments that gather several specialists as a resource to organize and deepen reflections on *national* history. This common trait gives rise to another; the type of visibility and legibility given to the problem of the formation of the people. As a rule, this theme is covered in studies on literature, prints in general, arts, theater, music, religion; elements that, undoubtedly, are linked to the various institutions, knowledge and strategies aimed at interfering with and ordering the course of life. However, the more formal education processes still occupy a very marginal position in this general historiography. At most, there are generic references to some higher education programs and secondary education. The “schools of first letters” are frequently absent from these initiatives, even though they are aimed at the population as a whole, gradually becoming mandatory throughout the 19th century.

The exception, in the case of education in the Empire, is due to the chapter by Werebe (2004), which is part of volume IV of the “*brasiliana*” directed by Holanda (2004)<sup>11</sup>. In this chapter, the author addresses the issue of teaching around ten topics<sup>12</sup>, supported by five authors: Fernando de Azevedo, Primitivo

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X- Society and politics (1930-1964), XI- Economics and culture (1930-1964).

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the collection, cf. Venâncio; Furtado, 2016.

<sup>10</sup> I- Colonial Crisis and Independence: 1808-1830. II- National Construction, 1830-1889, III- Opening to the World, A: 1889-1930, IV- Looking Inward: 1930-1964, V- Modernization, Dictatorship and Democracy: 1964-2010. The volumes were organized, respectively, by Alberto da Costa e Silva, José Murilo de Carvalho, Lília Moritz Schwartz, Angela de Castro Gomes and Daniel Aarão Reis.

<sup>11</sup> It is precisely the 17th chapter, the last of Book IV, entitled “Spiritual life”. The first edition of this volume was published in 1971. In the volumes dedicated to the Republic, there is also a chapter dedicated to education. In this case, it is the work of Nagle (2006), being the first edition of this volume from 1977.

<sup>12</sup> Namely: Educational heritage of Brazil-Colony; Installation of the Portuguese Court in Brazil;



Moacyr, Liberato Barroso, Lourenço Filho and Georges Cogniot. It is, therefore, a bibliographic review that, except for the only reference to Barroso and Cogniot, the others are considered protagonists of the so-called new school movement in Brazil, which produce a narrative very oriented by the foundations that organize and legitimize the reforms and initiatives to which they are committed. In this way, as can be seen throughout this chapter, the history of Brazilian education corresponds to a list of failures (or miseries<sup>13</sup>), waiting for those who could redeem the country from the failures it had accumulated. For it, in summary form, it could be said that

the Republic found the country, in the educational field, with a very precarious primary school network, with a predominantly lay and incapable faculty; a secondary school attended exclusively by the children of the economically favored classes, supported mainly by private individuals, providing literary education, completely disconnected from the needs of the nation; higher education distorted in its objectives, and yet - perhaps this is the worst inheritance received - with the distortion of the spirit of education, in all levels of education (WEREBE, 2004, p. 442-443).

With regard to specific works in the field of the history of education, different from the generalizing and homogenizing synthesis proposed by Werebe, there is the existence of investigations that have sought to understand the complexity of the phenomenon of training, the strategies, agents and knowledge mobilized in the constitution of the training apparatus, in which different school properties are highlighted<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, research focusing on the process of

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Popular education; High school; University education; Decentralization of education; Freedom of education; Projects and debates in the Constituent and Legislative Assembly; Rui Barbosa's opinions; Education at the end of the Empire.

<sup>13</sup> Term enshrined in the book that the professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences of the University of São Paulo writes, with the first edition dated 1963, which establishes the binary way in which it operates, a mark that also appears in the chapter of the collection on the Brazilian Empire. In this regard, cf. Werebe, 1970.

<sup>14</sup> In this regard, check the specialized journals in the area (*Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*. <http://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe>; *Revista História da Educação*. <http://seer.ufrgs.br/asphe>; *Cadernos de História da Educação*. <http://www.seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/>), as well as the annals of the Brazilian Conferences of

political emancipation is still scarce, with a view to exploring this dimension in projects for the nation that is not a simple and tiring enumeration of failures, nor a list of the great achievements of Brazilian education.

In this study, investment seeks to contribute to filling aspects of this gap. To this end, we seek to support the argument that there is an important connection between the emancipation process and measures designed to tailor populations. Thus, in this exercise, I focused on some statements and initiatives aimed at moral formation, while considering that this issue mobilizes a complex discussion about the so-called “integral formation”, that is, physical, moral, intellectual and religious<sup>15</sup>. Finally, we tried to think about how the process of independence has been taught to future generations of teachers, based on the study of two classic cases in the historiography of Brazilian education.

## **FOR A STRAIGHT, SOLID AND ORTHODOX CONDUCT IN NATIONAL INSTRUCTION**

A multiple man, José da Silva Lisboa<sup>16</sup> played a variety of roles

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the History of Education, available at <http://www.sbhe.org.br/anais-cbhe> Accessed on April 11, 2020. See also Gondra; Schueler (2008) and Gondra (2018).

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the debate on comprehensive education, from a medical and hygienic point of view, cf. Gondra, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> According to Kirschner (2009), born in Salvador, upon returning to the colony, José da Silva Lisboa began an administrative trajectory in the Portuguese monarchy where he stood out for his loyalty to the Portuguese Crown. In the captaincy of Bahia, the Luso-Brazilian held the positions of ombudsman, royal professor and deputy of the Bureau of Inspection of Agriculture and Trade. In 1808, at the invitation of prince D. João, he moved to Rio de Janeiro, where he was appointed director and censor of the Royal Printing and deputy of the Board of Trade. During the period of independence, he served in the press, participated in the Constituent Assembly in 1823 and was senator of the empire from 1826 to 1835. Among the various favors he received from D. Pedro I, stand out the title of Baron in 1824 and that of Viscount, in 1826. That same year, by D. Pedro I, senator of the Empire, a position he held until his death on August 20, 1835, given the live position at the time. Throughout his life, the Portuguese-Brazilian official produced a significant amount of writings of the most diverse nature. The interpretations contained in this book about the Viscount, his work and his performance show different positions in the face of political and economic problems of a given time. Thus, issues that mobilized Brazilian intellectuals, such as national industrialization, political authoritarianism and the role of the intellectual before the State, found in Cairu a reference both for exaggerated praise and for exacerbated criticism. But it was the Viscount's loyalty to the State, both

throughout his life (1756-1835), one of which was that of Inspector of the Literary and Scientific Establishments of the Kingdom, a position created by the decree of February, 26 1821, with the purpose of promoting public education in Brazil, believing that this is the best way to obtain the appreciable goods of happiness, power and reputation of the State. In this position, he mobilized for the creation of a mutual education school through the decree of April 13, 1822, which provided for the free admission of, “up to 270 boys, from the age of 7 years and up, to whom the government provides paper, pens and more material for education”<sup>17</sup>.

After the official independence of Brazil (1822), he maintained a regular alignment with the constitutional monarchy project. In this condition, he wrote about different subjects, in different media, as shown by Rocha (2001) and Kirschner (2009). In taking this position, following the writings of the Viscount of Cairu, it allows to perceive the tones and counter tones of the debates regarding the direction of the Brazilian nation building project<sup>18</sup>.

In this investigation, we analyzed one of its manifestations, which appears diffusely throughout his production, with centrality in four of his books<sup>19</sup>. It is a question of moral formation, guided by a double boundary; the legal-political order and postulates of Catholic doctrine. Manifestation that, in turn, takes place in very specific microclimates. In the case of the two initial books, this is a publication that takes place in the interregnum between the constitution granted<sup>20</sup> and the beginning of the work of the first Brazilian parliament, in 1826.

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Portuguese and Brazilian, that contributed to the construction of his memory, which is still controversial today. For Rocha (2001), the title of baron was granted in 1825. In the entry of the dictionary of Blake (1883) and in the book of Montenegro (2000), this information does not appear. For Araujo (2020), services to the State and to the Bragança dynasty were recognized with the titles of Baron (1823) and Viscount of Cairu (1826).

<sup>17</sup> This school was under the responsibility of three principals, Lieutenant Colonel José Saturnino da Costa Pereira, Lieutenant Colonel João Paulo dos Santos and Doctor João da Silveira Caldeira. The teacher was Francisco Joaquim Nogueira Neves. Cf. Almanach of Rio de Janeiro (RJ), 1824, p. 281-282. The edition of this almanac, from 1825, p. 255-256, informs the substitution of one of the principals, maintaining the same teacher. However, it informs that the said decree dates from April 13, 1823.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding tensions in the independence process of Brazil cf. Neves (2009).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Lisboa (1824, 1825, 1827 e 1827a)

<sup>20</sup> The first National Constituent Assembly was convened by D. Pedro on June 3, 1822, installed

The books of 1827 are contemporary with the debates over the first law for general education in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate, of which Cairu becomes part, from 1826. Therefore, through this material the dimension of public man, or man of letters, as Kischner defends (2009), committed to the defense of a common project for the Brazilian Empire.

The books focused on the theme of morals were structured in topics, in which the author unfolds the reflections on the central issue, recognizing the interlocutors aligned with their positions, as well as those who deviate from it. For this purpose, volume I<sup>21</sup> contains 21 chapters and the second, 18. This material, published shortly after the granting of the first Constitution, is preceded by a dedication “To your imperial majesty”, when the author seeks to justify the relevance of the book he had written. For Lisboa, the decay of public morals was a general object of censorship, due to the contagion of infidelity, propagated in the revolutions of both hemispheres. He anticipates, from the beginning, his commitment to public morality and objection to abrupt changes. In these terms, he appeals to D. Pedro I who, by virtue of his character, should sponsor the studies of doctrines that could contribute to the formation of citizens of heroic

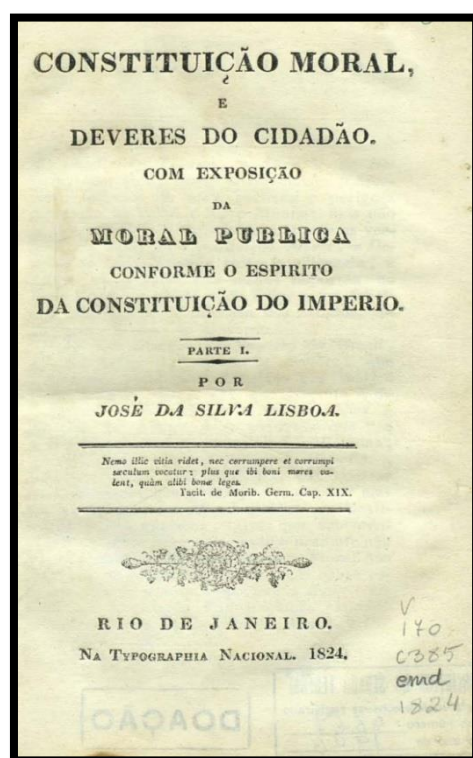
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on May 3, 1823 and dissolved, six months later, on November 12, 1823. The elaboration of the first Constitution was delegated to ten upright men, lovers of the imperial dignity and freedom of the peoples” that became part of the Council of State, based on the Decree of November 13, 1823, which creates and appoints its members: “If I, by decree of the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, dissolved the Constituent and Legislative General Assembly, and also promised a draft Constitution, which should (as I have decided for the better) be sent to the Chambers, for them to make their observations, that seem fair to them, and that they will present to the respective Representatives of the Provinces, to make the appropriate use of them, when gathered in an Assembly, which legitimately represents the nation: And how to do such a project with wisdom, and appropriation of the lights, civilization, and places of the Empire, it is indispensable, that I summon men of honor, and lovers of the imperial dignity, and of the peoples’ freedom: I wish to create a Council of State, which will also deal with the largest businesses, and which will consist of ten members; my six current Ministers, who are already State Councilors, by the Law of October 20 last, the Judge of Palace Antônio Luiz Pereira da Cunha, and the Councilors of Fazenda Barão de Santo Amaro, José Joaquim Carneiro de Campos, and Manoel Jacinto Nogueira da Gama: who will receive 2:400\$000 per year, wages that other jobs they have will not reach this amount. The Minister and Secretary of State for Business of the Empire, has thus understood it, and has it executed, issuing the necessary orders. Palace on November 13, 1823, 2<sup>nd</sup> of Independence and Empire. Francisco Villela Barboza”. Cf. Brasil, 2020; Lynch, 2005.

<sup>21</sup> The cover (Figure 2) anticipates two elements that order the reading. The first consists in the reinforcement of the constitutional monarchy and, the second, the erudite character of the author, as he employs an epigraph from Tacitus, a Roman senator and historian, known for his contributions about power in Rome in his time (56-117 AD)

public spirit and, at the same time, excite virtuous emulation in Brazilian wisdom. At the end of this manifestation, he classifies the book as a "literary synopsis of a science that must be a very essential part of PUBLIC INSTRUCTION".

**Figure 2** – Book cover “Constituição Moral...” (1824)



**Source:** Senado Federal<sup>22</sup>

The dedication anticipates and synthesizes central points of the narrative, indicating the author's ties and positions alongside public order and morality, against the revolutionary dangers he identifies, especially in France, an element accentuated by the spread of pernicious books and adherence to anchored doctrine exclusively in the “goddess of reason”, with repercussions in Brazil, when he points out the existence of revolutionaries who have been slaughtered in Brazil

<sup>22</sup> Disponível: <http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/handle/id/185611>. Accessed: 12 jul. 2021.

or already wide open in Pernambuco<sup>23</sup> who, according to him, came to propose a disloyal manifesto that should serve as the basis for a Constitution without religion. For him, the best antidote would be found precisely in religion. According to Lisboa:

If, at some moment of madness, we rejected the Christian Religion, which until now has been our coat of arms and comfort, and a great source of our civilization and other nations, we are justly afraid that the void will be filled by the most incoherent, pernicious and vile of all superstitions. (LISBOA, 1824, p. 2)

As can be seen, the volumes dedicated to the moral constitution and duties of the citizen<sup>24</sup> have a marked doctrinal tone. According to Kischner (2009, p. 266), the man of the State, calls attention to the importance of the existence of a solid moral base for the political construction. In agreement with this author, these volumes were published at a critical moment, indicating commitment of Lisboa to the eradication of any element considered harmful to civil order. Thus, the expedient consists of tracing the moral bases of the Brazilian Empire as a strategy to combat the storm of revolutions. This, according to this author, is a Catholic reaction to a world contaminated by the revolutionary spirit.

Reaction that is anchored in the speeches that organize and sustain the arguments of the Bahian scholar, and of disapproval to those who disseminate the doctrines considered harmful. In general, the support for the postulations that he defends stems from an England literature, placed in opposition to a group of French writers, with abundant references to authors of antiquity to further tone the binarism that ends up organizing the narrative of Lisboa.

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<sup>23</sup> This is a reference to the Confederation of Ecuador. About this movement, cf. Brandão, 1924.

<sup>24</sup> Volume I has 182 pages and volume II has 295 pages in the digitized version, with which we work. According to the *Diário de Rio de Janeiro*, of February 28, 1825, volume I cost 800\$00. In this same print, the purchase, sale and rent of slaves, shoes and various services were also announced. A white embroidered scarf, for example, cost 400\$00. The value of a plain scarf corresponded to 240\$00 and one of black silk between 900 and 1000\$00. On May 4, 1825, the press reported the launch of the second volume, for the same amount, which can be purchased at “places of customs”.



In these two volumes, the author reinforces the thesis of State religion, making history a kind of master of life, source of arguments in favor of the articulation and indivisibility between science and revelation, a condition for achieving a higher civilization, the best example of which, for the author, could be verified in the experience of Great Britain. For him, after granted the Constitution of the Empire of Brazil, on March 25, 1824, it was necessary to settle and expose the solid foundations of the “Moral Constitution and Citizens’ Duties”, a condition for the formation of good customs in all peoples of considerable degree of civilization. It is, therefore, that profound association between moral science and theology that has become the centrality of this statement. For the author, it was a necessary antidote to “gallic drugs”, described as more “deadly than poisons of Colchos”. At the end, the Bahian scholar’s discourse is deeply committed to the fight against what the future Viscount calls “catechisms of libertinism”, a necessary part to ensure a moral formation that would guarantee the “straight conduct” of citizens.

The volumes of the “Brazilian school”<sup>25</sup> reinforce Catholic marks as those necessary for a useful instruction for all classes. The first one is structured around 103 topics, starting with the “Coming of Christ”, ending with “Protestation of Faith”. The second book contains two parts. The first with 63 topics, starting with one entitled “Law of Society”, ending with the topic “Good and Evil”. The second part is organized around 41 topics, starting with “Virtue and Vice”, ending with “Admonition to the Christians”<sup>26</sup>.

Published after the General Law of October 15, 1827, the new books have

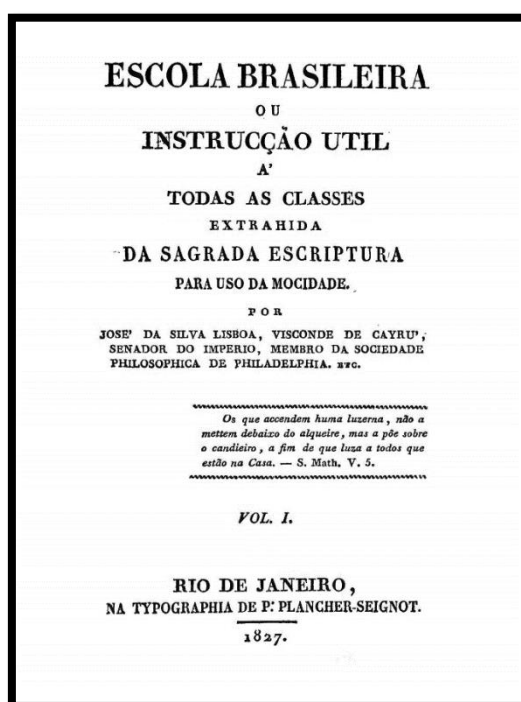
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<sup>25</sup> Volume I has 269 pages and volume II has 293 pages in the digitized version, with which we work. Regarding this publication, cf. Paula & Nogueira, 2017.

<sup>26</sup> These books are announced in the press of the time, additional resource to give visibility to the words of Lisboa who made a very regular use of this expedient to guide public opinion. In the *Jornal do Comércio* - Commercial and political sheet, of January 2, 1829, the two volumes are announced for the value of 3\$200, in the section “books for sale”. However, in the same year of publication, 1827, *Diário Fluminense* announced the first volume for 1\$600, which could be purchased at booksellers Veiga & Cia, at Baptista and at Coutinho and Agra. In 1928, this periodical announced the launch of the second volume, for the same amount, for sale in the aforementioned establishments. The announcement of volume I was also published in 1827, in *Gazeta do Brasil: quem quer ser livre, deve ser escravo da lei*.

better defined recipients: parents and educators. New audiences enrolled in the title, which, in turn, are accompanied by credentials that define strategic belongings of the enunciation subject, considering the noble dimension, in high politics and in scientific associations. The epigraph also serves as an element of distinction among privileged readers. It is not a quote in Latin, from a man of antiquity, as in the book of 1824. In the book focused on “useful instruction”, the Viscount uses a parable of Matthew<sup>27</sup> that fulfills two functions, that of bringing the reader closer by dealing with text translated into the mother tongue and that of indicating the horizon of the statement, either by its markedly Catholic trait or by the conception contained in the parable, that is, the commitment to cover all “those in the house”, all classes, the whole nation.

**Figure 3** - Cover of the book "Brazilian School or Useful Instruction ...". (1827)



<sup>27</sup> “Those who light a lamp, do not put it under a basket, but put it on the candlestick, so that it lights up everyone in the House”. S. Matheus. V. 5:15. (cf. Figura 2)



**Source:** Biblioteca Brasileira<sup>28</sup>

The anticipated commitments on the cover of the book are intensified in the dedication addressed to “To the very high and powerful Sir d. Pedro I, constitutional emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil”.

#### SIR

Being constant in one and another Hemisphere the effort of the infidels in overturning the Altar and the Throne, by the introduction of more books, in which the Sacred Scripture appears, it seems convenient the firmness and stability of the Political Building, of which YOUR IMPERIAL MAGESTY was the glorious FOUNDER in the Holy Cross Land, which, in order to exterminate the contagion of the century, instruct and fortify the spirit of the boys in the Teaching of the First Letters with the lesson of original dictates of the Holy Books, which give the internal evidence of Divine Revelation. With this aim I made the present Collection of several relative doctrines, which I understood did not exceed the understanding of childish understandings, and which can improve the good nature of the nascent generation, which is the hope of the Brazilian Nation. (LISBOA, 1827, p. 9)

As in the books of 1824 and 1825, political and doctrinal struggle is treated in terms of rigid polarities. On the one hand, the tenacity of infidels, subversives and contagion. On the other hand, good-natured people, faithful and bearers of the necessary antidote to combat the evil of the century; position taken by the author. In this way, he outlined the terms of the dispute which, in order to be successful, required the support of the Emperor. Upon concluding his dedication, he begs mercy of dedicating the book to the “august person”, fruit of the personal effort and desire to contribute to the “solid and orthodox National Instruction”.

In the impossibility of examining the set of 207 topics contained in the two volumes of *A Escola Brasileira*, we analyzed, in general, some elements that

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<sup>28</sup> Disponível: <https://digital.bbm.usp.br/view/?45000009472&bbm/4220#page/1/mode/2up>. Accessed: 12 jul. 2021.

precede the development of these doctrines. In this case, we selected the items in which it deals with educators, parents and the youth itself, insofar as they constitute the subjects directly involved in the training program that the illustrated Bahian man formulates<sup>29</sup>.

First, however, it is necessary to mobilize some indications that help to understand the endeavor of the *man of letters*. For him, he says that he considered it convenient to give birth for the use of private schools, what he classifies as “Booklet<sup>30</sup>”, which he elaborated because it contained useful instruction for all classes, and could serve as a supplement to the boys' lessons, “making it easier for them to learn Capital Truths in Pure Source in order to form in them a straight spirit, and solid character, that constitutes them good citizens.” (Lisboa, 1827, p. 18)

Formation that should be guided by the Christian Doctrine, according to the teachings of the Holy Mother Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church that, by the existing Legislation<sup>31</sup>, obliged the teachers of the “First Letters” to instruct the disciples of their Schools. For him, no knowledge could be considered more worthy to be part of general education, and the daily exercises of the same Schools, than a Collection of Religious, Economic, and Moral Doctrines, which “will be found in Sacred Scripture, and which are the Columns of Civilization, and venerable Documents of the Social Order, established by the Governor of the

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<sup>29</sup> The program he writes is based on the biblical text, because, for him, “Only the Bible instructs”. For that, he used the approved and current translation of the distinguished theologian Padre Antônio Pereira de Figueiredo. (Lisboa, 1827, p. 30). He is a Portuguese priest (1725-1797) who performed numerous activities, being a Latinist, historian, canonist and theologian. His most important work is the translation of the Latin Vulgate Bible into Portuguese, a project in which he was involved for 18 years.

<sup>30</sup> The dictionary of Pinto (1832) defines a booklet as a book to teach reading and the Christian doctrine.

<sup>31</sup> It refers to the General Education Law of October 15, 1827, especially article 6, which establishes “Art 6 Teachers will teach to read, write the four operations of arithmetic, practice of broken, decimal numbers and proportions, general notions of practical geometry, the grammar of the national language, and the principles of Christian morality and the doctrine of the Catholic and Roman apostolic religion, providing for the understanding of the boys; preferring for the readings the Constitution of the Empire and the History of Brazil”.

Available at [https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei\\_sn/1824-1899/lei-38398-15-outubro-1827-566692-publicacaooriginal-90222-pl.html](https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei_sn/1824-1899/lei-38398-15-outubro-1827-566692-publicacaooriginal-90222-pl.html) Accessed on April 17, 2020.

Universe.” (idem, p. 19). For the author, such doctrines should produce the healthiest and most permanent effects on the understanding of boys, fixing in memory, in the state of innocence, so that, in certain cardinal ideas, Brazilians could always show themselves as primitive Christians, with the same heart and the same soul.

The details, unfolded in 207 topics, allow to think of the referred booklet as a disciplinary device, understood as part of a complex process in which the different forms of the disciplines come to be used as techniques to ensure a certain order and way of managing the multiplicities.

Disciplinary archipelago destined to a multiplicity difficult to regulate, as well as to increase the utility of each one<sup>32</sup>. Discipline thus allows power to operationalize life in a smooth, subtle and meticulous way, in favor of a circuit of maximum productivity and profitability. In this way, the Cairu polyhedral, when investing in moral education and useful instruction, starts to operate at the level of the microphysics of power, prescribing a complex set of guidelines, operating in a diffuse, interested, astute way, to be capillarized by the school network in formation. It is, therefore, about activating a supplementary resource to interfere with the houses’ reserve, with its customs, routines and variations, which also needed to be normalized. In this sense, the booklet was also a fertile resource that should have an effect on the processes of subjectification, in order to produce a great brotherhood "of the same heart and of the same soul".

To support his formulation, he lists a series of studies, such as those by Mr. Charles Rollin (rector at the University of Paris)<sup>33</sup>, Adam Smith<sup>34</sup>, Edmund

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<sup>32</sup> According to Foucault (1991), disciplinary investment implies a technical process whereby the strength of the body is, with minimal burden, reduced as a political power and maximized as a useful force, that is, to obtain the maximum profitability with the minimum of effort.

<sup>33</sup> Refers to the *Tratado de Estudos*, citing several excerpts from this book.

<sup>34</sup> Refers to book V, chapter III, from *Riqueza das Nações*, in which he addresses the issue of instruction.

Burke<sup>35</sup>, Edmundo de la Borde<sup>36</sup>, Cícero<sup>37</sup> and the Count of Montlosier<sup>38</sup>. The enumeration has a common criterion, in that everyone converges on the imperative need to be educated, based on the sacred texts of the Catholic Church. After clearly explaining these enunciation markers, he addresses the book's three audiences, suggesting a hierarchy among them. In this way, the first exhortation is addressed to educators.

When giving satisfaction to the educators, he claims to have been inspired by the booklet by João de Barros, described as the father of the History of Brazil, author of the *Cartinha de Gramatica da Língua Portuguesa*, first published in 1540. On the occasion of his reissue, more than two centuries later, in 1785, in the prologue, the editor claims to be one of the glorious companies of the Portuguese sage, who had written a *booklet*, with accuracy and clarity, covering the principles of Christianity, in which the boys should “drink”, for the parents’ care in the nutrition of the body could not be seen without penalty, forgetting or remembering late and scarcely to nourish the spirit.

He recommends, however, that educators should always have, for their own instruction, the entire Bible of the translation by Padre Pereira, from the Lisboa edition, for having brief notes explaining the most difficult topics, highlighting some passages from the prophets David and Isaiah which, according to him and the opinion of orthodox theologians, contained the prediction of the sacrifice of “our Redeemer, and the triumph of his Gospel, and the kingdom of God throughout the world”. (Lisboa, 1827, p. 57).

He also highlights the exemplary character of those who “teach the lesson

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<sup>35</sup> Refers to “your admired REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION of France”, in which he argues the National Assembly, for not following the documents of the Sacred Economist.

<sup>36</sup> Refers to book *Espírito de Associação*.

<sup>37</sup> Described as celebrated Speaker and Statesman of the Roman Empire, who, according to Lisboa, implied, that he should be part of the “Liberal Studies of Youth to read and learn by heart the boys the LAW OF THE TWELVE TABLES, to which he give the title of SONG NEEDED”. (1827, p. 27).

<sup>38</sup> Refers to his recent and famous “MEMORY about the RELIGIOUS and POLITICAL SYSTEMA in Part. III. Cap. IV.”

of the First Letters”, because the “*formation of the character of the boys*” depended on such people, due to the kindness of teaching and a good example of obedience to the authorities. As he goes on, he points out that “fortunately, no one sees the bad treatment, and even the cruelty of punishment, of children of one gender and another”, so common in schools, in which the innocent people shuddered before those who should be as fathers and mothers, but who showed to be despots and stepmothers.

It is possible to note that the rhetoric of piety and the humanization of penalties seems to prevail, aligning the Brazilian with a more general movement in favor of more efficient resources in the normalization process. Nevertheless, for him, in the Brazilian Empire, the abandonment of cruelty was especially worthy of recommendation, due to the influx that tyrannical education had in the habits of violence and pride of the children over their domestic and fellow citizens, which indicated that it was much more difficult to reform, while not abolishing “the sad *Law of Captivity*, which could only be the work of the OMNIPOTENT HAND” (LISBOA, 1827, p. 73)

In addressing youth, he shared the fear of the presence of the corruption of the century in all classes. Even though he recognized this element, he believed that, in general, parents and teachers valued living in the Catholic Church, although it was not less certain, that, due to “fatal misfortune”, there were also *infidels* in Brazil, especially after the spread of corrupting books from foreign nations, “threatening to produce an *unbelieving and perverse generation*” (idem, p. 65).

As can be seen, the discourse of fear and dangers arising from harmful doctrines seems to act as a cement for the interventions of the man of letters. Attentive to the normative movement underway in the process of organizing the independent national state, the scholar from Bahia, a court man, experienced in the old and new world, produces pieces designed to direct the moral constitution and duties of the citizen, according to the spirit of constitution of the Brazilian Empire, opting to conduct the doctrinal debate, reportedly guided by orthodox

postulates of the Catholic Church. Investment that implies placing this discourse in a long chain, from antiquity to his contemporaries, in which the author seeks support, a device that allows him to print a certain meaning, (re)animate existing themes, recognize opposite strategies, make irreconcilable interests appear. In the established discursive order, he ends up arranging the elements that outline the game of the true, the legitimate, the good and the necessary.

The position of the Viscount is also visible in speeches aimed at schooling, at the time when he writes and publishes the book intended to standardize the Brazilian school or useful instruction aimed at all classes. In this material, from the title, it explains that it is about extracting rules of conduct and general principles directly from Sacred Scripture, interwoven in a complex of statements, in which it represents the difference and dispersion with great danger to be fought, from an early age. In this way, it tries to mobilize and make agents of the school and the house allies in this program, since, at the limit, what was at stake was the project of a theocratic constitutional monarchy. Horizon and commitment that marks, guides and allows us to perceive the regularity of certain statements, the existence of a dispersion system, which is grouped and separated to ensure the success of the company, in which the subject of the statements worked here appears as a protagonist quite active in defense of a new regime, maintaining, however, the centrality of the figure of the emperor and the Catholic religion. Traces of the old regime that should be preserved in the structuring and functioning of the new tropical empire.

Finally, it is worth reflecting on the theme of political emancipation in the field of the historiography of education. As a matter deeply involved with the possibilities of understanding the *national*, it is necessary to analyze how it appears in narratives specialized in the history of education. For that, I made a topical incursion in two classic books, to understand the knowledge and the truth that was intended to crystallize and reproduce in this specific type of narrative.

## CONCLUDING WORDS

In 1889, the last year of the monarchy, a report was published, in which Nunes (1995) considers the first attempt to systematize the history of Brazilian education. As studies on this report-book indicate (GONDRA & MENEZES, 2015; VIEIRA, 2016), this is an order designed to represent Brazil at the 1889 Paris International Exhibition. In the document produced, the author, doctor and the monarchist, by privileging the use of official sources, highlights points of tension around which he does not shy away from expressing his position, many times, colliding with widespread claims that his work is all laudatory and proud. Such adjectives can be associated with the heroes of the history of education constituted by/in the writing of Doctor Pires de Almeida, which does not occur in relation to the various points he addressed throughout his study, among which the issue of financing, teacher training, competitions, the structure and functioning of teaching, school institutions and legislation.

In this type of program (and advertising), affiliation to the monarchical regime, the male condition, medical training and performance in the area of public hygiene, urban planning, journalism and theater are elements that mark the words of the Court doctor, visible in the composition and handling of the documentation, in the highlighted articles, in the perspective with which he operates and in the very design of the narrative used in the report-book. By taking this statement as a discourse deeply interested in building an important link between instructing and civilizing, readers therefore have the possibility to enter the debate about education in Colony and, above all, in the Empire, through a well-defined statement.

In dealing with the independence process, Almeida argues in favor of a new milestone for the history of Brazil. For him, the arrival of D. João VI had completely changed the conditions of the country, in all aspects. With the arrival of the royal family, “the constitution of Brazilian nationality, the nationality proclaimed in December 1815” would have begun (ALMEIDA, 1989, p. 41). With



the gesture of granting Brazil the title of Kingdom<sup>39</sup>, he had defined “the constitution of Brazilian nationality, the declaration of its independence” (idem, 1989, p. 43). Then, he analyzes the fifteen years of the reign of King João VI, qualifying as the most fertile for the constitution of Brazil, with excellent results, with public education being the object of special attention. This assessment makes it support a new periodization and, therefore, specific intelligibility to understand the political emancipation of Brazil. In his perspective,

National historians really only started our history, as a recognized people, having their place in the repair of nations, in 1822 and they always say, when speaking of the kingdom of S.M.D. Pedro II, **second reign**<sup>40</sup>. But, it is really the third<sup>41</sup>, because the kingdom of D. João VI, in Brazil, was one of the most notable and fruitful and will occupy an important place in the country’s history. This systematic exclusion has no reason to be. *There is no enlightened Brazilian who does not admit D. João VI as the true founder of the Empire of Brazil*<sup>42</sup>, under another title, it is true, but that does not diminish in any way the vigorous impulse that this monarch was able to give to the civilization of the country. (ALMEIDA, 1989, p. 50-51).

As can be seen, the doctor-author promotes a retreat in the consecrated periodization, proposing an *intelligence* that recognized the actions of D. João VI in the process of national independence that, under this point of view, would have been proclaimed on December 16, 1815<sup>43</sup>. With this gesture, Brazilians began to

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<sup>39</sup> The prince regent and future king D. João VI, during the final period of his mother’s reign, D. Maria I, on December 16, 1815, elevated Brazil from the condition of colonial viceroyalty to autonomous kingdom, entitled since then by the *Grace of God Prince-Regent of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves, and of either side of the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India*. The city of Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the kingdom.

<sup>40</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>41</sup> In this case, the author refers to the reigns of D. Maria I (1815-1816) and D. João VI (1816-1822), as a United Kingdom. As an independent nation, Brazil had two monarchs, the emperors D. Pedro I (1822-1831) and D. Pedro II (1831-1889).

<sup>42</sup> My emphasis.

<sup>43</sup> The Charter of Law, raises the State of Brazil to graduation and category of Kingdom. A copy is available at <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/carlei/anteriores/1824/cartadelei-39554-16-dezembro-1815-569929-publicacaooriginal-93095-pe.html> Accessed on April 24, 2020.



have the duty to give their children, not only the moral education and the primary or scientific education necessary for all men (an obligation), but also to inculcate them, as it were, in the national soul, this feeling of brotherhood towards all men in the country itself, a condition that would have strengthened the nation and ensured its independence; advocates the author. In short, we see once again, through the lens of the rapporteur, in the sovereigns and leaders of the people, the habit of great thoughts, of broad views, of the whole view, the faculty of synthesizing, in the measures of the present, the possible developments of the future (idem, 1989, p. 51).

For him, it was in these terms that the story should be narrated, reproduced. Written in French, this book gained greater circulation with the translation, a century later, into Portuguese, outside the initial environment of its production, but still maintaining the defense of the initiatives of the monarchy, with an important shift with regard to the initiatives of the second monarch. Strictly speaking, it produces a line of continuity with the gestures of the grandson of D. João VI, D. Pedro II, with whom the narrator has doctrinal ties in terms of maintaining the regime and belief in instruction as the foundation of nationality.

However, the dissemination of the report-book was not limited to an exhibitor at the Brazilian pavilion, in the French capital, in 1889<sup>44</sup>. One example is the reference that Peixoto (1930) makes to this document in the text regarding primary education, prepared on the occasion of the centenary of the Chamber of Deputies. For the Bahian doctor, synthetically produced as a deputy, Pires de Almeida is classified as an optimistic writer who, when writing a thick book, “*L’instruction publique au Brésil*”<sup>45</sup>, was coerced to confess that primary education was out of harmony as the place that Brazil should occupy among educated peoples (Peixoto, 1930, p. 70).

When summoning his professional colleague, Peixoto recognizes the

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<sup>44</sup> *Revista Sul-Americana*, of July 30, 1889, advertises Almeida’s book, alongside many other book advertisements.

<sup>45</sup> “The Public instruction in Brazil”.

“optimistic” character of the report-book, while selecting an element that helps to strengthen the representation he seeks to build from *other presents* of Brazilian education, that is, the disharmony of Brazil in the field of education when compared to the countries considered more cultivated.

The presence of the “thick book” in the production of the Bahian doctor is not restricted to the balance of the centenary of primary education (1826-1926), having been remobilized in the course-book resulting from his condition as a teacher of history of education at the *Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro*. Once again, he turns to the monarchist to support the story that the Bahian man tells. In this case, even in the condition of being in line with the empire, Almeida was also surprised by the failure to implement some measures resulting from the additional act of 1834, such as the inspection of primary education.

With regard to the narrative aimed at teaching the history of education, we chose to make a foray into the manual written by the Bahian doctor, in this case, the book “*Noções de História da Educação*”<sup>46</sup> by Julio Afranio Peixoto<sup>47</sup>, to observe the representation he produces of the event of Independence of Brazil.

As a doctor, Peixoto taught the subjects of hygiene, forensic medicine and criminology at the Faculty of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro; acting equally in parliament, in public administration and in the literary and history fields<sup>48</sup>. For three years of his life (1932-1934), he taught history of education at the *Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro* (IERJ). This experience resulted in that book, the object of three successive reissues (1933, 1936 and 1942), in which he systematized the “dictated” course and produced a memory of what should be taught to future teachers in the capital<sup>49</sup>. In this course-book, he establishes a

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<sup>46</sup> Notions of History of Education.

<sup>47</sup> Regarding this book, cf. Gondra, 2020.

<sup>48</sup> Concerning Peixoto’s trajectory, cf. his biography written by one of his disciples at the Faculty of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro: Ribeiro, 1950.

<sup>49</sup> Book that, according to the author, would have been inspired by two “worthy of copy” manuals, the books of Paul Monroe (1907 and 1908) and Stephen Duggan (1916). Regarding the Monroe manual, cf. Silva; Favaro, 2014.

certain representation of the event of independence. In his narrative, contrary to the book of his colleague, the Johannine period is made invisible and, with this, erases the recognition of who would have been the true founder of the nationality, according to the perspective contained in the book of the rapporteur-doctor, from 1889.

Peixoto adheres to the historiography that enshrines Independence as a date, a scene and a protagonist who, in his narrative, fails to carry out the project education for all, even though he admits the existence of a set of initiatives in the plans of the executive and legislative.

Recognizing the positive initiatives of the Brazilian Empire, he indicates that they had not been implemented. To do so, it uses the available literature, parliamentary archives, ministerial reports and those of the Emperor himself to inform future teachers of the diagnosis of the lack and/or insufficiency of teaching, at the different levels and modalities, indicating the need to merge the project with its execution, an aspect that, in the narrator's perspective, could only be conducted by the generation that integrates it and the type of social reform that this group intended to develop, including in schools and in the creation of an effective teaching system.

This movement helps to understand the absence of an edifying history of education when referring to the emancipation of Brazil. What matters to be taught is a story that mixes good intentions and failures, an expedient adopted to produce the lack that his generation intended to fill in terms of intellectual, physical and moral education. Unlike Lisbon and Almeida, who narrate the successes of the Monarchy, the teacher-doctor is busy presenting a gallery of failures, a marker that organizes the information dictated in his classes for normalists and made available to all the recipients of the notions he publishes. From this topical incursion in the first manual for the training of teachers, there are at least two vectors to be explored.

The first confirms the narrative canon of national history, in which independence as an event constitutes a compulsory item, since, as in old

biographies, it indicates a date of birth and seeks to confer and authenticate paternity and/or patriarchy.

The second vector, which we were able to explore in this work, suggests the existence of a dispute over the real, the possibilities of understanding and the social struggles, more or less exuberant around a *national* project.

For the purposes of this work, we emphasized the more or less subtle mediations around aspects associated with moral education, sealed by an order and published under the protection of August Emperor, D. Pedro I. Element that reappears in the report that represented Brazil at the Paris International Exhibition in 1889, in which the protagonists are D. João VI and, above all, D. Pedro II.

The concern with moral is rehabilitated more than a hundred years later in a dictated course, converted into a book, for future primary school teachers. In the new investment, the moral order is maintained, being, however, in that *present*, calibrated by the air of a scientific and renewed pedagogy, a device that ends up summarizing the history of the Brazilian empire to a succession of failures or miseries; condition to enable the new narrators and pedagogy as science to occupy the center of the scene.

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